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HISTORY OF INDIA.

J. GARRETT.

1854



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FOR CONSULTATION ONLY

PREFACE.

1901H

It was stated in the Preface to the first edition of this work that "the early History to the extinction of the Mogul empire, is an abridgement of the valuable work of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone. The eras of Clive and Hastings have been illustrated by extracts from the brilliant sketches of Macaulay. The popular narratives of Murray and Macfarlane, form the basis of the remaining portions of the work; with such corrections and alterations as were suggested by Professor Wilson's History, and his notes to Mill. For example, Macfarlane's depreciatory notice of Lord William Bentinck has been suppressed, and in its place the more impartial testimony of Professor Wilson inserted."

Additions have since been made from the recent works of Campbell and Kaye; from the Calcutta Review, and the Friend of India. The narrative of events has also been brought down to the present year: and some intro-



PREFACE.

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ductory chapters prefixed, containing an account of the Hindu religion, and a description of the manners and customs of the people; chiefly condensed from the work of Mr. Elphinstone.

Some statements have been admitted into the work not taken from any of the writers above specified: such as those which relate to the changes made in the government of Mysore (Chap. XXXIX); but for these the compiler has had unquestionable living authority.

J. G.

BANGALORE,
September, 1854.



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CSL

HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT HINDU CIVILIZATION.

Aborigines—The Hindus—Early Civilization—Its Causes—Origin of Classes—State of the Ancient Hindus—Menu—Society—Manners and Customs—Subsequent Innovations—Stagnation and Decline of Hindu Civilization.

THE original inhabitants of India were no doubt the tribes who are now found only amongst its mountains. These races, in their appearance, language, and manners, differ entirely from the present inhabitants of the plains. But of their history nothing whatever is known.

As to the time when India was first peopled by the Hindus, from whom they descended, and what countries they migrated from, no reliable information exists. Hindu literature is singularly deficient in historical records. It contains genealogies of different lines of kings; but they are mythological, not historical.

Still, notwithstanding the obscurity in which the early history of India is involved, the Hindus are no doubt entitled to claim great antiquity among existing nations. They shared in that ancient Eastern civilization, which, at a very remote period, prevailed in India, Persia, Assyria, and Egypt; long before Western civilization had been commenced by the Greeks.



It does not admit of doubt that before the commencement of the Christian era, India exhibited the appearance of a country whose manners had become fixed by time: where useful and even luxurious arts had been long known and practised; and where people had leisure and inclination to engage in intellectual occupations.

We may ascribe, if not the origin, at least the continuance, of this civilization, to the rich alluvial lands of the Ganges, the Euphrates, and the Nile. There the earth yielded more than sufficient to support those employed in cultivating it. This surplus produce gave a portion of society leisure for following the arts of civilization, and at the same time rendered necessary certain laws to regulate its disposal.

In the early stages of society the sanctions of religion are always necessary to enforce law. These, the framers of the laws, took care to supply, and naturally acquired an influence over the other classes. Whether the Bramins took their origin in India or came from some other country, they early became a ruling class: and whether originally warlike or not, they took in the end rather a priestly than a military character.

It was in Northern India that the ancient Hindus first settled. They resembled the Egyptians not only in their institutions and manners, but also in physical appearance. There is much evidence to show that the original Hindus were of that glossy, long-eyed, Egyptian cast of countenance, and sleek supple-jointed bodies, which we see in monuments. They had little physical energy and courage, but much acuteness and cunning.

The earliest authentic account of the ancient Hindus is furnished by Menu B.C. 800. The Bramins seem to have been a great priestly tribe settled in large numbers on



the Ganges. The class next in importance were the Cshetriyas, or military, who may have been the forerunners of the agricultural classes. The country was divided among them into petty independent kingdoms. These contained corporate villages governed by a head man appointed by the king. The revenue was derived from the surplus produce, or rent of the land. In the Hindu constitution everything was hereditary; and to this may be traced the stationary character of the civilization attained.

More than two hundred years after the time of Menu India was invaded by the Persians, under Darius Hystaspes, and from authentic accounts we learn that the country was at that time populous, fertile, and well cultivated.

A hundred and sixty years after this, Alexander the Great attempted the conquest of India; and from the accounts left by the accurate Greek writers, we may trace the changes which had taken place between the time of Menu's code and that of Alexander. These were—the complete emancipation of the servile class; the more general occurrence, if not the first instances, of the burning of Hindu widows; the prohibition of intermarriages between casts; the employment of the Bramins as soldiers, and their inhabiting separate villages; and perhaps the commencement of the monastic orders.

Most of these innovations were decidedly for the worse; and in tracing the progress of subsequent changes, of purely Hindu origin, we shall find an equal deterioration.

The total extinction of the servile condition of the Sudras is, doubtless, an improvement; but in other respects we find the religion of the Hindus debased, their restrictions of cast more rigid (except in the interested relaxation of the Bramins), the avowed imposts on the



land doubled, the courts of justice disused, the laws less liberal towards woman, the great works of peace no longer undertaken, and the courtesies of war almost forgotten. We find, also, from their extant works, that the Hindus once excelled in departments of taste and science on which they never now attempt to write; and that they formerly impressed strangers with a high respect for their courage, veracity, simplicity, and integrity,—the qualities in which they now seem to be most deficient.

It is impossible, from all this, not to come to a conclusion that the Hindus were once in a higher condition, both moral and intellectual, than they are now; and as, even in their present state of depression, they are still on a footing of equality with any people out of Europe, it seems to follow that, at one time, they must have attained a state of civilization only surpassed by a few of the most favoured of the nations, either of antiquity or of modern times.

The causes of their decline are obvious. Their religion encourages inaction, which is the first step towards decay. The rules of cast check improvement at home, and at the same time prevent its entering from abroad. Despotism would doubtless contribute its share to check the progress of society; but it was less oppressive and degrading than in most Asiatic countries.

The minute subdivision of inheritances is not peculiar to the Hindus; and yet it is that which most strikes an inquirer into the causes of the abject condition of the greater part of them. By it the descendants of the greatest landed proprietor must, in time, be broken down to something between a farmer and a labourer, but less independent than either; and without a chance of accumulation to enable them to recover their position. Bankers



and merchants may get rich enough to leave all their sons with fortunes ; but, as each possessor knows that he can neither found a family nor dispose of his property by will, he endeavours to gain what pleasure and honour he can from his life-rent, by ostentation in feasts and ceremonies ; and by commencing temples, tanks, and groves, which his successors are too poor to complete or to repair.

The effect of equal division on men's minds is as great as on their fortunes. It was resorted to by some ancient republics to prevent the growth of luxury and the disposition to innovation. In India it effectually answers those ends, and stifles all the restless feelings to which men might be led by the ambition of permanently improving their condition. A man who has amassed a fortune by his own labours is not likely to have a turn for literature or the fine arts ; and if he had, his collections would be dispersed at his death, and his sons would have to begin their toils anew, without time for acquiring that refinement in taste, or elevation of sentiment, which is brought about by the improved education of successive generations.

Hence, although rapid rise and sudden fortunes are more common in India than in Europe, they produce no permanent change in the society ; all remains on the same dead level, with no conspicuous objects to guide the course of the community, and no barriers to oppose to the arbitrary will of the ruler.

Under such discouragements we cannot be surprised at the stagnation and decline of Hindu civilization. The wonder is, how it could ever struggle against them, and how it attained to such a pitch as exists even at this moment.

At what time it had reached its highest point it is not easy to say. Perhaps in institutions and moral character it was at its best just before Alexander ; but learning was



much longer in reaching its acme. The most flourishing period for literature is represented by Hindu tradition to be that of Vicramaditya, a little before the beginning of the Christian æra; but some of the authors who are mentioned as the ornaments of that prince's court, appear to belong to later times; and the good writers, whose works are extant, extend over a long space of time, from the second century before Christ to the eighth of the Christian æra. Mathematical science was in most perfection in the fifth century after Christ; but works of merit, both in literature and science, continued to be composed for some time after the Mahometan invasion.

Probably four hundred years elapsed between the time of Menu and the invasion of Alexander the Great. In that comparatively brief period we have seen that many important changes occurred. But it is remarkable that from the time of Alexander to the present, the social condition of the people should have been so slightly modified. The descriptions left by Alexander's officers, of the Hindu manners and customs, give a very exact picture of what we now see in the rural districts of India. The vicissitudes of two thousand years seem to have had little effect in altering the habits of the mass of the people.



CHAPTER II.

RELIGION—PAST AND PRESENT.

The Vedas—Menu—Four Casts—Their Character—Bramins—Cshetriyas—Veisyas—Sudras—Veda doctrines—Present doctrines.

A view of the religion of the Hindus is given by the Vedas, a collection of ancient hymns and prayers, which are supposed to have been reduced to their present form in the fourteenth century before the Christian æra ; but the first complete picture of the state of society, is afforded by the Code of Laws which bears the name of Menu, and which was probably drawn up in the ninth century before Christ.

The first feature that strikes us in the society described by Menu, is the division into four classes or casts ; the sacerdotal, the military, the industrious, and the servile. In these the position of the Bramin is one of prodigious elevation and sanctity, while that of the lowest class is one of studied degradation.

The three first classes, though by no means equal, all partake in certain sacred rites ; and appear to form the whole community for whose good the laws are framed. The fourth class, and the outcasts, are no further considered than as they contribute to the advantage of the superior casts.

The sacred class, or Bramins, are considered the chief of all created beings. The military, or Cshetriyas, are treated with respect. The third class, or Veisyas do not rank high ; they are to perform all commercial and agri-



cultural duties. The chief duty of the fourth class, or Sudras, is to serve the Bramins. A Sudra is not to amass wealth, and is subjected to every possible degradation.

The religion taught in the Institutes of Menu is derived from the Vedas. Their primary doctrine is the unity of God. Among the creatures of the Supreme Being are some superior to man, who should be adored, and from whom protection and favours may be obtained through prayer. It will, however, be more important in this work to describe the present religious system, which has very considerably departed from that taught in the Vedas.

The principal changes in religion since Menu are :—

The neglect of the principle of monotheism :

The neglect of some gods, and the introduction of others :

The worship of deified mortals :

The introduction (or at least the great increase) of sects, and the attempt to exalt individual gods at the expense of the others :

The doctrine that *faith* in a particular god is more efficacious than contemplation, ceremonial observance, or good works :

The use of a new ritual instead of the Vedas ; and the religious ascendancy acquired by the monastic orders.

The nature of these changes will appear in an account of the Hindu religion as it now stands, which is essential to an understanding of the ordinary transactions of the people.

There is, indeed, no country where religion is so constantly brought before the eye as in India. Every town has temples of all descriptions, from a shrine, which barely holds the idol, to a pagoda with lofty towers, and spacious



courts, and colonnade. To all these, votaries are constantly repairing, to hang the image with garlands, and to present it with fruits and flowers. The banks of the river, or artificial sheet of water, (for there is no town that is not built on one or other,) has often noble flights of steps leading down to the water, which are covered, in the early part of the day, with persons performing their ablutions, and going through their devotions, as they stand in the stream.

Parties of Bramins and others pass on similar occasions ; and frequently numerous processions move on, with drums and music, to perform the ceremony of some particular holiday. They carry with them images borne aloft on stages, representations of temples, chariots, and other objects, which, though of cheap and flimsy materials, are made with skill and taste, and present a gay and glittering appearance.

At a distance from towns, temples are always found in inhabited places ; and frequently rise among the trees on the banks of rivers, in the heart of deep groves, or on the summits of hills. Even in the wildest forests, a stone covered with vermillion, with a garland hung on a tree above it, or a small flag fastened among the branches, apprises the traveller of the sanctity of the spot.

Troops of pilgrims and religious mendicants are often met on the road ; the latter distinguished by the dress of their order, and the pilgrims by bearing some symbol of the god to whose shrine they are going, and shouting out in the most melancholy monotonous manner, his name or watchword, whenever they meet with other passengers. The numerous festivals throughout the year are celebrated by the native princes with great pomp and expense ; they afford occasions of display to the rich, and lead to some little show and festivity even among the lower orders.



But the frequent meetings, on days sacred to particular gods, are chiefly intended for the latter class, who crowd to them with delight, even from distant quarters.

Though the religion presented in so many striking forms does not enter, in reality, into all the scenes to which it gives rise, yet it still exercises a prodigious influence over the people; and has little, if at all, declined, in that respect, since the first period of its institution.

The objects of adoration, however, are no longer the same.

The theism inculcated by the Vedas as the true faith, in which all other forms were included, has been supplanted by a system of gross polytheism and idolatry; and, though nowhere entirely forgotten, is never steadily thought of, except by philosophers and divines.

The authors of the Vedas, though they ascended beyond the early worship of the elements, and the powers of nature, to a knowledge of the real character of the Divinity, and though anxious to diffuse their own doctrines, did not disturb the popular belief; but, actuated either by their characteristic respect for immemorial usage, or, perhaps, by a regard for the interests of the priesthood (from which the most enlightened Bramin seems never to have been free), they permitted the worship of the established gods to continue, representing them as so many forms or symbols of the real Divinity. At the same time, they erected no temple and addressed no worship to the true God. The consequence was such as was to be expected from the weakness of human nature: the obvious and palpable parts of their religion prevailed over the more abstruse and more sublime: the ancient polytheism kept its ground, and was further corrupted by the introduction of deified heroes, who have, in their turn, superseded the



deities from whom they were supposed to derive their divinity.

The scriptures of this new religion are the Puranas, of which there are eighteen, all alleged by their followers to be the works of Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas ; but, in reality, composed by different authors between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, although, in many places, from materials of much more ancient date. They contain theogonies ; accounts of the creation ; philosophical speculations ; instructions for religious ceremonies ; genealogies ; fragments of history ; and innumerable legends relating to the actions of gods, heroes, and sages. Most are written to support the doctrines of particular sects, and all are corrupted by sectarian fables ; so that they do not form a consistent whole, and were never intended to be combined into one general system of belief. Yet they are all received as incontrovertible authority ; and, as they are the sources from which the present Hindu religion is drawn, we cannot be surprised to find it full of contradictions and anomalies.

The Hindus, as has been said, are still aware of the existence of a Supreme Being, from whom all others derive their existence, or, rather, of whose substance they are composed ; for, according to the belief of the principal sect, the universe and the Deity are one and the same. But their devotion is directed to a variety of gods and goddesses, of whom it is impossible to fix the number. Some accounts, with the usual Hindu extravagance, make the deities amount to 330,000,000 ; but most of these are ministering angels in the different heavens, or other spirits who have no individual name or character, and who are counted by the million.

The following seventeen, however, are the principal,



and, perhaps, the only ones universally recognised as exercising distinct and divine functions, and therefore entitled to worship :—

1. Brahma, the creating principle ;
2. Vishnu, the preserving principle ;
3. Siva, the destroying principle ;

With their corresponding female divinities, who are mythologically regarded as their wives, but metaphysically, as the active powers which develop the principle represented by each member of the triad ; namely,—

4. Sereswati.
5. Lakshmi.
6. Parvati, called also Dévi, Bhaváni, or Durga.
7. Indra, god of the air and of the heavens.
8. Varuna, god of the waters.
9. Pávana, god of the wind.
10. Agni, god of the fire.
11. Yama, god of the infernal regions and judge of the dead.
12. Cuvéra, god of wealth.
13. Cártikeia, god of war.
14. Cáma, god of love, or lust.
15. Surya, the sun.
16. Sóma, the moon.
17. Ganésa, who is the remover of difficulties, and, as such, presides over the entrances to all edifices, and is invoked at the commencement of all undertakings. To these may be added the planets, and many sacred rivers, especially the Ganges, which is personified as a female divinity, and honoured with every sort of worship and reverence.

The three first of these gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, form the celebrated Hindu triad, whose separate



characters are sufficiently apparent, but whose supposed unity may perhaps be resolved into the general maxim of orthodox Hindus, that *all* the deities are only various forms of one Supreme Being.

Brahma, though he seems once to have had some degree of pre-eminence, and is the only one of the three mentioned by Menu, was never much worshipped, and has now but one temple in India: though invoked in the daily service, his separate worship is almost entirely neglected.

His consort, Sereswati, being goddess of learning and eloquence, has not fallen so completely out of notice.

It is far different with Vishnu and Siva. They and their incarnations now attract almost all the religious veneration of the Hindus; the relative importance of each is eagerly supported by numerous votaries; and there are heterodox sects of great extent which maintain the supreme divinity of each, to the entire exclusion of his rival.

Siva is thus described in the Purānas. "He wanders about, surrounded by ghosts and goblins, inebriated, naked, and with dishevelled hair, covered with the ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones, sometimes laughing and sometimes crying." The usual pictures of him correspond with these gloomy descriptions, with the addition that he has three eyes, and bears a trident in one of his hands: his hair is coiled up like that of a religious mendicant; and he is represented seated in an attitude of profound thought.

Bloody sacrifices are performed to Siva, though discouraged by the Bramins of his sect; and it is in honour of him, or of his consort, that so many self-inflicted tortures are incurred on certain days in every year. On those occasions, some stab their limbs and pierce their tongues



with knives, and walk in procession with swords, arrows, and even living serpents thrust through the wounds ; while others are raised into the air by a hook fixed in the flesh of their backs, and are whirled round by a moveable lever, at a height which would make their destruction inevitable, if the skin were to give away.

The nature of Siva's occupations does not indicate much attention to the affairs of mankind : and, according to the present Hindu system, there is no god particularly charged with the government of the world ; the Supreme Being, out of whose substance it is formed, taking no concern in its affairs : but the opinion of the vulgar is more rational than that of their teachers ; they mix up the idea of the Supreme Being with that of the deity who is the particular object of their adoration, and suppose him to watch over the actions of men, and to reward the good and punish the wicked both in this world and in the next.

The heaven of Siva is in the midst of the eternal snows and glaciers of Keilás, one of the highest and deepest groups of the stupendous summits of Hémaláya.

His consort, Parvati or Káli, is at least as much an object of adoration as Siva ; and is represented in still more terrible colours. Even in the milder forms in which she is generally seen in the south of India, she is a beautiful woman, riding on a tiger, but in a fierce and menacing attitude, as if advancing to the destruction of one of the giants, against whom her incarnations were assumed. But in another form, occasionally used everywhere, and seemingly the favourite one in Bengal, she is represented with a black skin, and a hideous and terrible countenance, streaming with blood, encircled with snakes, hung round with skulls and human heads, and in all respects resembling a fury rather than a goddess. Her rites in those



countries correspond with this character. Human sacrifices were formerly offered to her ; and she is still supposed to delight in the carnage that is carried on before her altars. At her temple, near Calcutta, 1000 goats, besides other animals, are said to be sacrificed every month.

In other respects the worship of Parvati does not differ much from that of the other gods ; but it sometimes assumes a form that has brought suspicion or disgrace on the whole of the Hindu religion. Secret orgies are practised, with which are connected the grossest debauchery. Besides these votaries of Parvati, and entirely unconnected with her worship, there are some few among the varieties of religious mendicants who consider themselves above all law, and at liberty to indulge their passions without incurring sin. These add to the ill repute of the religion of the Hindus ; and it is undeniable, that a strain of licentiousness and sensuality mixes occasionally with every part of their mythology ; but it is confined to books and songs, and to temples and festivals, which do not fall under every one's observation.

To return to the gods of the Hindus : Vishnu is represented as a comely and placid young man, of a dark azure colour, and dressed like a king of ancient days. He is painted also in the forms of his ten principal incarnations, which illustrate the genius of Hindu fiction.

The first avatar was that of a fish, to recover the Vedas which had been carried away by a demon in a deluge ; the second was that of a boar, who raised on his tusks the world, which had sunk to the bottom of the ocean ; and the third was a tortoise, that supported a mountain in one of the most famous legends. The fourth was that of a man with the head and paws of a lion. The fifth was as a Bramin dwarf. The sixth incarnation is Paris Rám,



a Bramin hero, who made war on the Cshetriya, or military class, and extirpated the whole race. The seventh was Ráma. The eighth was Crishna, a hero who delivered the earth from giants. The ninth was Budha, a teacher of a false religion, whose form Vishnu assumed for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods : a character which plainly points to the religion of Budha, so well known as the rival of that of the Bramins. The tenth is still to come.

But all his other forms are thrown into the shade by the incarnations of Ráma and Crishna, who have not only eclipsed their parent Vishnu, in Hindostan at least, but have superseded the worship of the old elementary gods, and indeed of all other gods, except Siva, Súrya, and Ganésa. Ráma, thus identified with Vishnu by the superstition of his admirers, was a king of Oude, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindu traditions whose actions have something of a historical character. He is said to have been at first excluded from his paternal kingdom, and to have passed many years in religious retirement in a forest. His queen, Síta, was carried off by the giant Rávana ; for her sake he led an army into the Deckan, penetrated to the island of Ceylon, of which Rávana was king, and recovered Síta, after a complete victory over her ravisher. In that expedition his allies were an army of monkeys, under the command of Hanuman, whose figure is frequently seen in temples, and who, indeed, is at least as much worshipped in the Deckan as Ráma or any of the other gods. Ráma is represented in his natural form, and is an object of general adoration. But in this respect he falls far short of the popularity of another deified mortal, whose pretensions are by no means so obvious either as a king or a conqueror. He was born of the royal family of Matta, on the Jumna ; but brought up by a herdsman in



the neighbourhood, who concealed him from a tyrant who sought his life. This is the period which has made most impression on the Hindus, who are never tired of celebrating Crishna's frolics and exploits as a child—his stealing milk, and his destroying serpents. There is also amongst them an extensive sect which worships him under his infant form, as the supreme creator and ruler of the universe.

Crishna is the greatest favourite with the Hindus of all their divinities. The greater part of these votaries of Crishna maintain that he is not an incarnation of Vishnu, but Vishnu himself, and likewise the eternal and self-existing creator of the universe.

These are the principal manifestations of Vishnu; but his incarnations or emanations, even as acknowledged in books, are innumerable; and they are still more swelled by others in which he is made to appear under the form of some local saint or hero, whom his followers have been disposed to deify.

Even villages have their local deities, which are often emanations of Siva or Vishnu, or of the corresponding goddesses. But all these incarnations are insignificant, when compared to the great ones of Vishnu, and above all to Rāma and Crishna.

The wife of Vishnu is Lakshmi. She has no temples; but, being the goddess of abundance and of fortune, she continues to be assiduously courted, and is not likely to fall into neglect.

Of the remaining gods, Ganésa and Surya (the sun) are the most generally honoured.

They both have votaries who prefer them to all other gods, and both have temples and regular worship. Ganésa, indeed, has probably more temples in the Deekan than any other god except Siva. Surya is represented in a chariot, with his head surrounded by rays.



Ganēsa, or Ganpatti, is a figure of a fat man, with an elephant's head.

None of the remaining nine of the gods enumerated have temples, though most of them seem to have had them in former times. Some have an annual festival, on which their image is made and worshipped, and next day is thrown into a stream: others are only noticed in prayers. Indra, in particular, seems to have formerly occupied a much more distinguished place in popular respect than he now enjoys.

The Asúras are the kindred of the gods, disinherited and cast into darkness, but long struggling against their rivals; and bearing a strong resemblance to the Titans of the Grecian mythology.

The Deityas are another species of demon, strong enough to have mustered armies and carried on war with the gods.

The Rákshasas are also gigantic and malignant beings; and the Pisáchas are of the same nature, though perhaps inferior in power. Bhutas are evil spirits of the lowest order, corresponding to our ghosts and other goblins of the nursery; but in India believed in by all ranks and ages.

A most extensive body of divinities is still to be noticed; although they are not individually acknowledged except in confined districts, and although the legality of their worship is sometimes denied by the Bramins. These are the village gods, of which each village adores two or three, as its especial guardians; but sometimes as its dreaded persecutors and tormentors. They bear some resemblance to the penates or lares of the Romans; and, like them, they are sometimes the recognised gods of the whole nation (either in their generally received characters, or in local incarnations); but much oftener they are the spirits of deceased persons, who have attracted the notice of the neighbourhood.



They have seldom temples or images, but are worshipped under the form of a heap of earth. It is possible that some of them may be the ancient gods of the Sudras, who have survived the establishment of the Bramin religion.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE HINDU RELIGION.

Mythological Legends—Their Extravagance and Contradictory Character—Religious Austerities—A Future State—Its Influence—Ceremonies—Sects—Religion of the Báudhas and Jáinas.

THE last chapter gives a brief outline of the religion of the Hindus. To give a conception of its details, it would be necessary to relate some of the innumerable legends of which their mythology is composed,—the churning of the ocean by the gods and asuras, for the purpose of procuring the nectar of immortality, and the subsequent stragem by which the gods defrauded their coadjutors of the prize obtained; the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the invocation of a saint; its falling with violence on the head of Siva, wandering for years amidst his matted locks, and tumbling at last to the earth, with all its train of fishes, snakes, turtles, and crocodiles; the production of Ganésa, without a father, by the intense wishes of Dévi; his temporary slaughter by Siva, who cut off his head and afterwards replaced it with that of an elephant, the first that came to hand in the emergency;—such narratives, with the quarrels of the gods, their occasional



loves and jealousies ; their wars with men and demons ; their defeats, flights, and captivity ; their penances and austerities for the accomplishment of their wishes ; their speaking weapons ; the numerous forms they have assumed, and the delusions with which they have deceived the senses of those whom they wished to injure ;—all this would be necessary to show fully the religious opinions of India ; but would occupy a space for which the value of the matter would be a very inadequate compensation.

It may be sufficient to observe, that the general character of these legends is extravagance and incongruity. The Greek gods were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties, and acted as men would do if so circumstanced ; but with a dignity and energy suited to their nearer approach to perfection. The Hindu gods, on the other hand, though endued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious in their conduct. They are of various colours,—red, yellow, and blue ; some have twelve heads, and most have four hands. They are often enraged without a cause, and reconciled without a motive. The same deity is sometimes powerful enough to destroy his enemies with a glance, or subdue them with a wish ; and at other times is obliged to assemble numerous armies to accomplish his purpose, and is very near failing after all.

The powers of the three great gods are coequal and unlimited ; yet are exercised with so little harmony, that in one of their disputes, Siwa cuts off one of Brahma's heads. Neither is there any regular subordination of the other gods to the three, or to each other. Indra, who is called the King of Heaven and has been compared to Jupiter, has no authority over any of the rest. These and



more incongruities arise, in part, from the desire of different sects to extol their favourite deity ; but, as the Purānas are all of authority, it is impossible to separate legends founded on those writings from the general belief of all classes.

The most singular anomaly in the Hindu religion is the power of sacrifice and religious austerities. Through them a religious ascetic can inflict the severest calamities, even on a deity, by his curse ; and the most wicked and most impious of mankind may acquire such an ascendancy over the gods as to render them the passive instruments of his ambition, and even to force them to submit their heavens and themselves to his sovereignty. Indra, on being cursed by a Bramin, was hurled from his own heaven, and compelled to animate the body of a cat. Even Yama, the terrible judge of the dead, is said, in a legend, to have been cursed for an act done in that capacity, and obliged to undergo a transmigration into the person of a slave.

The danger of all the gods from the sacrifices of one king has appeared in the fifth incarnation of Vishnu ; another king actually conquered the three worlds, and forced the gods, except the three chief ones, to fly and to conceal themselves under the shapes of different animals ; while a third went still further, and compelled the gods to worship him.

These are a few out of the numerous instances of a similar nature ; all, doubtless, invented to show the virtue of ritual observances, and thus increase the consequence and profits of the Bramins. But these are rather the traditions of former days, than the opinions by which men are now actuated in relation to the Divinity. The same objects which were formerly to be extorted by sacrifices and



austerities are now to be won by faith. The followers of this new principle look with scarcely disguised contempt on the Vedas, and all the devotional exercises there enjoined.

It is an uncommon, though not exclusive, feature in the Hindu religion, that the gods enjoy only a limited existence : at the end of a cycle of prodigious duration, the universe ceases to exist ; the triad and all the other gods lose their being ; and the Great First Cause of all remains alone in infinite space. After the lapse of ages, his power is again exerted ; and the whole creation, with all its human and divine inhabitants, rises once more into existence.

The belief of the Hindus respecting a future state is full of contradictions. Their peculiar doctrine, as is well known, is transmigration ; but they believe that, between their different stages of existence, they will, according to their merits, enjoy thousands of years of happiness in some of the heavens described in their books, or suffer torments of similar duration in some of their still more numerous hells. Hope, however, seems to be denied to none : the most wicked man, after being purged of his crimes by ages of suffering and by repeated transmigrations, may ascend in the scale of being, until he may enter into heaven, and even attain the highest reward of all the good, which is incorporation in the essence of God.

These rewards and punishments are often well apportioned to the moral merits and demerits of the deceased ; and they no doubt exercise considerable influence over the conduct of the living. But, on the other hand, the efficacy ascribed to the observance of the forms of devotion, and the facility of expiating crimes by penances, are, unfortunately, prevailing characteristics of this religion,



and have a strong tendency to weaken its effect in supporting the principles of morality.

Its indirect influence on its votaries is even more injurious than these defects. Its gross superstition debases and debilitates the mind; and its tendency to regard repose in this world, and absorption hereafter as the highest good, destroys the great stimulants to virtue afforded by love of enterprise and of posthumous fame. Its usurpations over the provinces of law and science tend to keep knowledge fixed at the point to which it had attained at the time of the pretended revelation by the Divinity; and its interference in the minutiae of private manners extirpates every habit and feeling of free agency, and reduces life to a mechanical routine.

The Hindu ceremonies are numerous, but far from impressive; and their liturgy, judging from the specimen afforded by Mr. Colebrooke, though not without a few fine passages, is in general tedious and insipid. Each man goes through his daily devotions alone, in his own house, or at any temple, stream, or pool that suits him; so that the want of interest in his addresses to the divinity is not compensated by the effect of sympathy in others.

A strict Bramin, performing his full ceremonies, would still be occupied for not less than four hours in the day. But even a Bramin, if engaged in worldly affairs, may perform all his religious duties within half an hour; and a man of the lower classes contents himself with repeating the name of his patron deity while he bathes.

The increase of sects is both the cause and consequence of the ascendancy of the monastic orders. Each of these is in general devoted to some particular divinity, and its importance is founded on the veneration in which its patron is held.



There are three principal sects the Sáivas (followers of Siva), the Váishnavas (followers of Vishnu), and the Sáktas (followers of some one of the Saktis ; that is, the female associates or active powers of the members of the triad).

Each of these sects branches into various subordinate ones, depending on the different characters under which its deity is worshipped, or on the peculiar religious and metaphysical opinions which each has grafted on the parent stock. The Saktas have three additional divisions of a more general character, depending on a particular goddess whom they worship. The followers of Parvati, however, are out of all comparison more numerous than both the others put together.

Besides the three great sects, there are small ones, which worship Surya and Ganésa respectively ; and others which, though preserving the form of Hindúism, approach very near to pure deism.

The Sáivas, in all places, form a considerable portion of the regular orders ; among the people they are most numerous in the Mysore and Maratta countries. Further south, the Váishnavas prevail ; but *there* the object of worship is Vishnu, not in his human form of Ráma or Crishna, but in his abstract character, as preserver and ruler of the universe. Sáktas, or votaries of the female divinity, are mixed with the rest ; but are most numerous in particular places. Three fourths of the population of Bengal worship goddesses, and most of them the cruel Parvati.

Religion of the Búdhas and Jáinas.

There are two other religions, which, although distinct from that of the Hindus, appear to belong to the same



stock, and which seem to have shared with it in the veneration of the people of India, before the introduction of an entirely foreign faith by the Mahometans.

These are the religions of the Báudhas (or worshippers of Budha) and the Jáins.

They both resemble the Bramin doctrines in their character of quietism, in their tenderness of animal life, and in the belief of repeated transmigration, of various hells for the purification of the wicked, and heavens for the solace of the good. The great object of all three is, the ultimate attainment of a state of perfect apathy, which, in our eyes, seems little different from annihilation ; and the means employed in all are, the practice of mortification and of abstraction from the cares and feelings of humanity.

The differences from the Hindu belief are no less striking than the points of resemblance, and are most so in the religion of the Báudhas.

The most ancient of the Báudha sects entirely denies the being of God ; and some of those which admit the existence of God refuse to acknowledge him as the creator or ruler of the universe.

According to the ancient atheistical sect, nothing exists but matter, which is eternal. The power of organization is inherent in matter ; and although the universe perishes from time to time, this quality restores it after a period, and carries it on towards new decay and regeneration, without the guidance of any external agent.

There have been many human Budhas or avatars in this and former worlds ; but the seven last are particularly noticed, and above all, the last, whose name was Gótama, or Sakya, who revealed the present religion, and established the rules of worship and morality ; and who, although



long since passed into a higher state of existence, is considered as the religious head of the world, and will continue so until he has completed his allotted period of five thousand years.

The Jâins hold an intermediate place between the followers of Budha and Brahma.

They agree with the Báudhas in denying the existence, or at least the activity and providence, of God; in believing the eternity of matter; in the worship of deified saints; in their scrupulous care of animal life, and all the precautions which it leads to; in their having no hereditary priesthood; in disclaiming the divine authority of the Védas; and in having no sacrifices, and no respect for fire.

They agree with the Báudhas also in considering a state of impassive abstraction as supreme felicity, and in all the doctrines which they hold in common with the Hindus.

The Jâin temples are generally very large and handsome; often flat roofed, and like private houses, with courts and colonnades; but sometimes resembling Hindu temples, and sometimes circular and surrounded by colossal statues of the Tirtankaras. The walls are painted with their peculiar legends, mixed, perhaps, with those of the Hindus. Besides images, they have marble altars, with the figures of saints in relief, and with impressions of the footsteps of holy men; a memorial which they have in common with the Báudhas.

By far the finest specimen of Jâin temples of the Hindu form are the noble remains in white marble on the mountain of Abu, to the north of Guzerât. There are Jâin caves also, on a great scale, at Ellóra, Nássik, and other places, and there is, near Chinraipatam, in the My-



...a statue of one of the Tirtankaras, cut out of a rock, which is upwards of seventy feet in height.

CHAPTER IV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE.

Many different Nations in India—Majority of people Agricultural—Villages—No furniture—Daily life—Towns—Government—Food—Amusements—Customs—Entertainments—Religious Festivals—Fairs—Pilgrimages—Gardens—Dress—Women—Domestic Slavery—Marriages—Children—Education—Funerals.

TEN different civilized nations are found in Hindostan and the Deckan. All these nations differ from each other in manners and language; they have however a general resemblance. The dress differs in many respects, and the people differ in appearance; those of the north being tall and fair, and the others smaller and darker. The northern people live much on wheat, and those of the south on rice and ragi.

Notwithstanding the abundance of large towns in India, the great majority of the population is agricultural. The peasants live assembled in villages; going out to their fields to labour, and returning, with their cattle, to the village at night.

Villages vary much in different parts of the country: in many parts they are walled, and capable of a short defence against the light troops of a hostile army; and in



some disturbed tracts, even against their neighbours, and against the government officers : others are open ; and others only closed by a fence and gate, to keep in the cattle at night.

Each village has its bazar, composed of shops for the sale of grain, tobacco, sweetmeats, coarse cloth, and other articles of village consumption. Each has its market day, and its annual fairs and festivals ; and each, in most parts of India, has, at least, one temple, and one house or shed for lodging strangers. All villages make an allowance for giving food or charity to religious mendicants, and levy a fund for this and other expenses, including public festivities on particular holidays. The house for strangers sometimes contains also the shrine of a god, and is generally used as the town house ; though there are usually some shady trees in every village, under which the heads of the village and others meet to transact their business. No benches or tables are required on any occasion.

In houses, also, there is no furniture but a mat for sitting on, and some earthen and brass pots and dishes, a hand-mill, pestle and mortar, an iron plate for baking cakes on, and some such articles. The bed, which has neither bedding nor curtains, is set upright against the wall during the day ; and cooking is carried on under a shed, or out of doors. The huts, though bare, are clean and neat.

There is scarcely more furniture in the houses of the richer inhabitants of the village. Their distinction is, that they are two stories high, and have a court-yard.

The condition of the country people is not, in general, prosperous. They usually borrow money to pay their rent, and consequently get involved in accounts and debts, through which they are so liable to imposition, that they



can scarcely get extricated. They are also, in general, so improvident, that if they were clear, they would omit to lay up money for their necessary payments, and soon be in debt again. Some, however, are prudent, and acquire property.

The husbandman rises with the earliest dawn ; washes, and says a prayer ; then sets out with his cattle to his distant field. After an hour or two, he eats some remnants of his yesterday's fare for breakfast, and goes on with his labour till noon, when his wife brings out his hot dinner ; he eats it by a brook or under a tree, talks and sleeps till two o'clock, while his cattle also feed and repose. From two till sunset he labours again ; then drives his cattle home, feeds them, bathes, eats some supper, smokes, and spends the rest of the evening in amusement with his wife and children, or his neighbours. The women fetch water, grind the corn, cook, and do the household work, besides spinning and such occupations.

Hindu towns are formed of mud, brick, or stone houses, with a few small and high-placed windows, over very narrow streets, which are paved (if paved at all) with large uneven slabs of stone. They are crowded with people moving to and fro ; processions, palankeens, and carriages drawn by oxen ; running footmen with sword and buckler, religious mendicants, soldiers out of service smoking or lounging ; and sacred bulls, that can scarcely be made to move their unwieldy bulk out of the way of the passenger, or to desist from feeding on the grain exposed for sale.

The most conspicuous shops are those of confectioners, fruiterers, grainsellers, braziers, druggists, and tobacconists ; sellers of cloth, shawls, and other stuffs, keep their goods in bales ; and those of more precious articles do not expose them. They are quite open towards the



street, and often are merely the veranda in front of the house; the customers standing and making their purchases in the street.

Towns are often walled, and capable of defence.

They have not hereditary headmen and officers, like villages, but are generally the residence of the government agent in charge of the district, who manages them, with the help of an establishment for police and revenue. They are divided into wards for the purposes of police; and each cast has its own elected head, who communicates between the government and its members. These casts being in general trades also, are attended with all the good and bad consequences of such combinations.

The principal inhabitants are bankers and merchants, and people connected with the government.

The food of the common people, both in the country and in towns, is rice or unleavened bread with boiled vegetables, clarified butter or oil, and spices. Smoking tobacco is almost the only luxury. Some few smoke intoxicating drugs; and the lowest casts alone, and even they rarely, get drunk with spirits. Drunkenness is confined to damp countries, such as Bengal, the Concans, and some parts of the south of India. It increases in the British territories, where spirits are taxed; but is so little of a natural propensity, that the absolute prohibition of spirits, which exists in most native states, is sufficient to keep it down. Opium, which is used to great excess in the west of Hindostan, is peculiar to the Rajputs, and does not affect the lower classes. All but the poorest people chew bítel (a pungent aromatic leaf) with the hard nut of áreca, mixed with a sort of lime made from shells, and with various spices, according to the person's means.

The upper classes, at least the Bramin part of them,



have very little more variety; it consists in the greater number of kinds of vegetables and spices, and in the cookery. Assafoetida is a favourite ingredient, as giving to some of their richer dishes something of the flavour of flesh. The caution used against eating out of dishes or on carpets defiled by other casts gives rise to some curious customs. At a great Bramin dinner, where twenty or thirty different dishes and condiments are placed before each individual, all are served in vessels made of leaves sewed together. These are placed on the bare floor, which, as a substitute for a table cloth, is decorated for a certain distance in front of the guests, with patterns of flowers, &c., very prettily laid out in lively-coloured sorts of sand, spread through frames in which the patterns are cut, and swept away after the dinner. The inferior casts of Hindus eat meat, and care less about their vessels; metal, especially, can always be purified by scouring. In all classes, however, the difference of cast leads to a want of sociability. A soldier, or any one away from his family, cooks his solitary meal for himself, and finishes it without a companion, or any of the pleasures of the table, but those derived from taking the necessary supply of food. All eat with their fingers, and scrupulously wash before and after meals.

Though they have chess, a game played with tables and dice as backgammon is, and cards, (which are circular, in many suits, and painted with Hindu gods, &c., instead of kings, queens, and knaves,) yet the great in-door amusement is to listen to singing interspersed with slow movements which can scarcely be called dancing.

In the houses of the rich, the doorways are hung with quilted silk curtains; and the doors, the arches, and other



wood-work in the rooms are highly carved. The floor is entirely covered with a thin mattress of cotton, over which is spread a clean white cloth to sit on; but there is no other furniture of any description. Equals sit in opposite rows down the room. A prince or great chief has a seat at the head of the room between the rows, very slightly raised by an additional mattress, and covered with a small carpet of embroidered silk. This, with a high round embroidered bolster behind, forms what is called a masnad or gádi, and serves as a throne for sovereigns under the rank of king.

Great attention is paid to ceremony. A person of distinction is met a mile or two before he enters the city; and a visitor is received (according to his rank) at the outer gate of the house, at the door of the room, or by merely rising from the seat. Friends embrace if they have not met for some time. Bramins are saluted by joining the palms, and raising them twice or thrice to the forehead: with others, the salute with one hand is used, so well known by the Mahometan name of sálám. Bramins have a peculiar phrase of salutation for each other. Other Hindus, on meeting, repeat twice the name of the god Ráma. Visitors are seated with strict attention to their rank, which, on public occasions, it often takes much previous negotiation to settle. Hindus of rank are remarkable for their politeness to inferiors, generally addressing them by some civil or familiar term, and scarcely ever being provoked to abusive or harsh language.

The lower classes are courteous in their general manners among themselves, but by no means so scrupulous in their language when irritated.

All visits end by the master of the house presenting bítel leaf with areca nut, &c. to the guest: it is accompa-



nied by attar of roses or some other perfume put on the handkerchief, and rose-water sprinkled over the person ; and this is the signal for taking leave.

Entertainments, besides occasions of rare occurrence, as marriages, &c., are given on particular festivals, and sometimes to show attention to particular friends. Among themselves they commence with a dinner ; but the essential part of the entertainment is dancing and singing, sometimes diversified with jugglers and buffoons ; during which time perfumes are burnt, and the guests are dressed with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers : presents, as above described, are no less essential.

At courts there are certain days on which all the great and all public officers wait on the prince to pay their duty ; and, on those occasions, the crowd in attendance is equal to that of a birthday levee in Europe.

The religious festivals are of a less doubtful character. In them a great hall is fitted up in honour of the deity of the day. His image, richly adorned, and surrounded by gilded ballustrades, occupies the centre of one end of the apartment, while the prince and his court, in splendid dresses and jewels, are arranged along one side of the room as guests or attendants. The rest of the ceremony is like other entertainments. The songs may, perhaps, be appropriate ; but the incense, the chaplets of flowers, and other presents are as on ordinary occasions : the bítel leaf and attar, indeed, are brought from before the idol, and distributed as if from him to his visitors.

There is less grandeur, but scarcely less interest, in the fairs and festivals of the common people.

These have a strong resemblance to fairs in England, and exhibit the same whirling machines, and the same amusements and occupations. But no assemblage in



England can give a notion of the lively effect produced by the prodigious concourse of people in white dresses and bright coloured scarfs and turbans, so unlike the black head-dresses and dusky habits of the north. Their taste for gaudy shows and processions, and the mixture of arms and flags, give also a different character to the Indian fairs. The Hindus enter into the amusements of these meetings with the utmost relish, and show every sign of peaceful festivity and enjoyment. They may, on all these occasions, have some religious ceremony to go through, but it does not take up a moment, and seldom occupies a thought. At the pilgrimages, indeed, the long anticipation of the worship to be performed, the example of other pilgrims invoking the god aloud, and the sanctity of the place, concur to produce stronger feelings of devotion.

But, even at pilgrimages, the feeling of amusement is much stronger than that of religious zeal; and many such places are also among the most celebrated marts for the transfer of merchandise, and for all the purposes of a fair.

Among the enjoyments of the upper classes, should be mentioned their gardens, which, though always formal, are nevertheless often pleasing. They are divided by broad alleys, with long and narrow ponds or canals inclosed with regular stone and stucco work running up the centre, and, on each side, straight walks between borders of poppies of all colours, or of other flowers in uniform beds or in patterns. Their summer houses are of white stucco, and though somewhat less heavy and inelegant than their ordinary dwellings, do not much relieve the formality of the garden: but there is something rich and oriental in the groves of orange and Citron trees, the mixture of dark cypresses with trees covered with flowers or blossoms, the



tall and graceful palms, the golden fruits and highly scented flowers. In the heat of the summer, too, the trellised walks, closely covered with vines, and the slender stems and impervious shade of the areca tree, afford dark and cool retreats from the intolerable glare of the sun, made still more pleasant by the gushing of the little rills that water the garden, and by the profound silence and repose that reign in that overpowering hour.

The dress of the women is nearly the same as that first described for the men; but both the pieces of cloth are much larger and longer, and they are of various bright colours as well as white. Both sexes wear many ornaments. Men even of the lower orders wear earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. They are sometimes worn as a convenient way of keeping all the money the owner has; but the necklaces are sometimes made of a particular berry that hardens into a rough but handsome dark brown bead, and sometimes of particular kinds of wood turned; and these are mixed alternately with beads of gold or coral. The neck and legs are bare; but on going out, embroidered slippers with a long point curling up are put on, and are laid aside again on entering a room or a palankeen. Children are loaded with gold ornaments, which gives frequent temptation to child murder.

Women, however, do not join in the society of men, and are not admitted to an equality with them. In the lower orders, the wife, who cooks and serves the dinner, waits till the husband has finished before she begins. When persons of different sexes walk together, the woman always follows the man, even when there is no obstacle to their walking abreast.

Another reproach to Hindu civilization, falls very short of the idea it at first sight suggests. Domestic



slavery in a mild form is almost universal. The slaves are home-born; or children sold by their parents during famine, and sometimes children kidnapped by Banjáras, a tribe of wandering herdsmen, who gain their subsistence by conveying grain and merchandise from one part of the country to another. Domestic slaves are treated exactly like servants, except that they are more regarded as belonging to the family.

Marriages are performed with many ceremonies, few of which are interesting: among them are joining the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and tying them together with a blade of sacred grass; but the essential part of the ceremony is when the bride steps seven steps, a particular text being repeated for each. When the seventh step is taken, the marriage is indissoluble. This is the only form of marriage now allowed, the others being obsolete.

In all cases the procession in which the bride is taken home after the marriage, is as showy as the parties can afford.

In Bengal these processions are particularly sumptuous, and marriages there have been known to cost lacs of rupees. The parties are generally children when betrothed; the bride must always be under the age of puberty, and both are usually under ten. These premature marriages, instead of producing attachment, often cause early and lasting disagreements.

Hindu parents are remarkable for their affection for their children while they are young; but they not unfrequently have disputes with grown-up sons, the source of which probably lies in the legal restrictions on the father's control over his property.

Boys of family are brought into company dressed like



men, (with little swords, &c.,) and behave with all the propriety, and almost all the formality, of grown-up people.

The children of the common people sprawl about the streets, pelt each other with dust, and are less restrained even than children in England. At this age they are generally very handsome.

The education of the common people does not extend beyond writing and the elements of arithmetic. There are schools in all towns, and in some villages, paid by small fees. In Bengal and Behár the fee is often only a small portion of grain or uncooked vegetables.

People in good circumstances seldom send their children to school, but have them taught at home by Bramins retained for the purpose. The higher branches of learning are taught gratuitously; the teachers maintaining themselves, and often a portion of their scholars, by means of presents received from princes and opulent individuals.

There is now no learning, except among the Bramins, and with them it is at a low ebb.

The Hindus in general burn their dead, but men of the religious orders are buried in a sitting posture cross-legged. A dying man is laid out of doors, on a bed of sacred grass. Hymns and prayers are recited to him, and leaves of the holy basil scattered over him. If near the Ganges, he is, if possible, carried to the side of that river.

The funeral pile for an ordinary person is not above four or five feet high; it is decorated with flowers, and clarified butter and scented oils are poured upon the flames. The pyre is lighted by a relation, after many ceremonies and oblations; and the relations, after other observances, purify themselves in a stream, and sit down on a bank to wait the progress of the fire. They present a melancholy



spectacle on such occasions, wrapped up in their wet garments, and looking sorrowfully on the pyre. Neither the wet dress nor the sorrow is required by their religion: on the contrary, they are enjoined to alleviate their grief by repeating certain verses, and to refrain from tears and lamentations.

The Hindus seldom erect tombs, except to men who fall in battle. Before the abolition of suttee, they were also erected to widows who were burned with their husbands.

It is well known that Indian widows sometimes sacrifice themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, and that such victims are called Sattis. The period at which this barbarous custom was introduced is uncertain. It is not alluded to by Menu, who treats of the conduct proper for faithful and devoted widows, as if there were no doubt about their surviving their husbands. Suttee has been abolished by the British Government.

The Hindus have some peculiarities that do not admit of classification. As they have casts for all the trades, they have also casts for thieves, and men are brought up to consider robbing as their hereditary occupation. Most of the hill tribes, bordering on cultivated countries, are of this description; and even throughout the plains there are casts more notorious for theft and robbery than gipsies used to be for pilfering in Europe.

In their case hereditary professions seem favourable to skill, for there are nowhere such dexterous thieves as in India. Travellers are full of stories of the patience, perseverance, and address with which they will steal, unperceived, through the midst of guards, and carry off their prize in the most dangerous situations. Some dig holes in the earth, and come up within the wall of a well-closed



house: others, by whatever way they enter, always open a door or two to secure retreat; and proceed to plunder, naked, smeared with oil, and armed with a dagger; so that it is as dangerous to seize them as it is difficult to hold.

One great class, called Thugs, continually travel about the country assuming different disguises; an art in which they are perfect masters. Their practice is to insinuate themselves into the society of travellers whom they hear to be possessed of property, and to accompany them till they have an opportunity of administering a stupifying drug, or of throwing a noose over the neck of their unsuspecting companion. He is then murdered without blood being shed, and buried so skilfully that a long time elapses before his fate is suspected. The Thugs invoke Káli, and vow a portion of their spoil to her. This mixture of religion and crime might of itself be mentioned as a peculiarity; but it is paralleled by the vows of pirates and banditti to the Madonna; and in the case of Mussulmans, who form the largest portion of the Thugs, it is like the compacts with the devil, which were known in days of superstition.

The hills and forests in the centre of India are inhabited by a people differing widely from those who occupy the plains. They are small, black, slender, but active, with peculiar features, and a quick and restless eye. They wear few clothes, are armed with bows and arrows, make open profession of plunder, and, unless the government is strong, are always at war with all their neighbours. When invaded, they conduct their operations with secrecy and celerity, and shower their arrows from rocks and thickets, whence they can escape before they can be attacked, and often before they can be seen.



They live in scattered and sometimes moveable hamlets, are divided into small communities, and allow great power to their chiefs. They subsist on the produce of their own imperfect cultivation, and on what they obtain by exchanges or plunder from the plains. They occasionally kill game, but do not depend on that for their support. In many parts the berries of the mahua tree form an important part of their food.

Besides one or two of the Hindu gods, they have many of their own, who dispense particular blessings or calamities. The one who presides over the small-pox is, in most places, looked on with peculiar awe.

Character. In India, a warm temperature is accompanied by a fertile soil which renders severe labour unnecessary, and an extent of land that would support an almost indefinite increase of inhabitants. The heat is moderated by rain, and warded off by numerous trees and forests: every thing is calculated to produce that state of listless inactivity which foreigners find it so difficult to resist. The shades of character that are found in different parts of India tend to confirm this supposition. The inhabitants of the dry countries in the north, which in winter are cold, are comparatively manly and active. The Marattas, inhabiting a mountainous and unfertile region, are hardy and laborious; while the Bengalese, with their moist climate and their double crops of rice, where the cocoanut tree and the bamboo furnish all the materials for construction unwrought, are more effeminate than any other people in India. But love of repose, though not sufficient to extinguish industry or repress occasional exertions, may be taken as a characteristic of the whole people.

Akin to their indolence is their timidity, which arises



more from the dread of being involved in trouble and difficulties than from want of physical courage : and from these two radical influences almost all their vices are derived. Indolence and timidity themselves may be thought to be produced by despotism and superstition without any aid from nature ; but if those causes were alone sufficient, they would have had the same operation on the indefatigable Chinese and the intrepid Russian : in the present case they are as likely to be effect as cause.

The most prominent vice of the Hindus is want of veracity, in which they outdo most nations even of the East. They do not even resent the imputation of falsehood ; the same man would calmly answer to a doubt by saying, "Why should I tell a lie?" who would shed blood for what he regarded as the slightest infringement of his honour.

Perjury, which is only an aggravated species of falsehood, naturally accompanies other offences of the kind (though it is not more frequent than in other Asiatic countries) ; and those who pay so little regard to statements about the past, cannot be expected to be scrupulous in promises for the future. Breaches of faith in private life are much more common in India than in England ; but even in India, the great majority, of course, are true to their word.

It is in people connected with government that deceit is most common ; but in India, this class spreads far ; as from the nature of the land revenue, the lowest villager is often obliged to resist force by fraud.

In some cases, the faults of the government produce an opposite effect. Merchants and bankers are generally strict observers of their engagements. If it were otherwise, commerce could not go on where justice is so irregularly administered.



Hindus are not ill fitted by nature for intrigue and cunning, when their situation calls forth those qualities. Patient, supple, and insinuating, they will penetrate the views of a person with whom they have to deal; watch his humours: soothe or irritate his temper; present things in such a form as suits their designs, and contrive, by indirect manœuvres, to make others even unwillingly contribute to the accomplishment of their ends. But their plots are seldom so daring or flagitious as those of other Asiatic nations, or even of Indian Mussulmans, though these last have been softened by their intercourse with the people among whom they are settled.

It is probably owing to the faults of their government that they are corrupt; to take a bribe in a good cause is almost meritorious; and it is a venial offence to take one when the cause is bad. Pecuniary fraud is not thought very disgraceful, and, if against the public, scarcely disgraceful at all.

It is to their government, also, that we must impute their flattery and their importunity. The first is gross, even after every allowance has been made for the different degrees of force which nations give to the language of civility. The second arises from the indecision of their own rulers; they never consider an answer final, and are never ashamed to prosecute a suit as long as their varied invention, the possible change of circumstances, or the exhausted patience of the person applied to, gives them a hope of carrying their point.

Like all that are slow to actual conflict, they are very litigious, and much addicted to verbal altercation. They will persevere in a law-suit till they are ruined; and will argue, on other occasions, with a violence so unlike their ordinary demeanour, that one unaccustomed to them expects immediate blows or bloodshed.



The public spirit of Hindus is either confined to their cast or village, in which cases it is often very strong; or if it extends to the general government, it goes no further than zeal for its authority on the part of its agents and dependents. Great national spirit is sometimes shown in war, especially where religion is concerned, but allegiance in general sits very loose: a subject will take service against his natural sovereign as readily as for him; and always has more regard to the salt he has eaten than to the land in which he was born.

Although the Hindus, as has been seen, break through some of the most important rules of morality, we must not suppose that they are devoid of principle. Except in the cases specified, they have all the usual respect for moral obligations; and to some rules which, in their estimation, are of peculiar importance, they adhere, in spite of every temptation to depart from them. A Bramin will rather starve to death than eat prohibited food: a headman of a village will suffer the torture rather than consent to a contribution laid on the inhabitants by a tyrant, or by banditti: the same servant who cheats his master in his accounts may be trusted with money to any amount in deposit. Even in corrupt transactions, it is seldom that men will not rather undergo a punishment than betray those to whom they have given a bribe.

Their great defect is a want of manliness. Their slavish constitution, their blind superstition, their extravagant mythology, the subtleties and verbal distinctions of their philosophy, the languid softness of their poetry, their effeminate manners, their love of artifice and delay, their submissive temper, their dread of change, the delight they take in puerile fables, and their neglect of rational history, are so many proofs of the absence of the more robust



qualities of disposition and intellect throughout the mass of the nation.

But this censure, though true of the whole, when compared with other nations, by no means applies to all classes, or to any at all times. The labouring people are industrious and persevering ; and other classes, when stimulated by any strong motive, and sometimes even by mere sport, will go through great hardships and endure long fatigue.

They are not a people habitually to bear up against desperate attacks, and still less against a long course of discouragement and disaster ; yet they often display bravery not surpassed by the most warlike nations ; and will always throw away their lives for any consideration of religion or honour. Hindu Sepoys in English pay have, in two instances, advanced, after troops of the King's service had been beaten off ; and on one of these occasions they were opposed to French soldiers. The sequel of this history will show instances of whole bodies of troops rushing forward to certain death, while, in private life, the lowest orders do not hesitate to commit suicide if they once conceive their honour tarnished

The villagers are generally an inoffensive simple people, affectionate to their families, kind to their neighbours ; and, towards all but the government, honest and sincere.

The townspeople are of a more mixed character ; but they are quiet and orderly, seldom disturbing the public peace by tumults, or their own by private broils.

The natives of India are often accused of wanting gratitude : but it does not appear that those who make the charge have much to inspire such a sentiment. When masters are really kind and considerate, they find as warm



a return from Indian servants as any in the world ; and there are few who have tried them in sickness, or in difficulties and dangers, who do not bear witness to their sympathy and attachment. Their devotion to their own chiefs is proverbial, and can arise from no other cause than gratitude, unless where cast supplies the place of clannish feeling. The fidelity of the Sepoys to their foreign masters has been shown in instances which it would be difficult to match, even among national troops, in any other country.

Hindu children are much more quick and intelligent than European ones. The capacity of lads of twelve and fourteen is often surprising ; and not less so is the manner in which their faculties become blunted after the age of puberty.

But at all ages they are very intelligent ; and this strikes us most in the lower orders, who, in propriety of demeanour, and in command of language, are far less different from their superiors than with Europeans.

The cleanliness of the Hindus in their persons is proverbial. They do not change their clothes after each of their frequent ablutions ; but even in that respect the lower classes are more cleanly than those of other nations. The public parts of their houses are kept very neat ; but they have none of the English delicacy which requires even places out of sight to partake of the general good order.



CHAPTER V.

EARLY HINDU HISTORY.

Early History—Purána Account—Ráma—His History—Mahá Bhárata—War of the Pándus and Kurus—Magada—Saha Deva—Ajata Satru—Nanda—Chandragupta or Sandracoptus—Vicramaditya—Sáliváhana—Rája Bhója.

THE first information we have on Hindu history is obtained from a passage in the Institutes of Menu, from which we learn that the residence of the Hindus was at one time between the rivers Seraswatti (Sersooty) and Drishdawatti (Caggar.) This tract of country is about 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in extent about sixty-five miles long and forty broad. Menu says it was called Bramháverta, because it was frequented by gods. This tract of country was also the scene of the fabulous adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages who figure in the early legends. The country between that tract and the Jumna, and all to the north of the Jumna and Ganges, including North Behár, is mentioned in the second place under the name of Bramarshi, and may be considered as the first country acquired after that on the Seraswatti.

The Puránas pass over these early stages unnoticed, and commence with Ayódha (Oude) which is situated about the middle of the last mentioned tract of country. It is there that the solar and lunar races have their origin, and from thence the princes of all other countries are sprung. From fifty to seventy generations of the solar race



are distinguished from each other by purely mythological legends.

After these comes Ráma, who seems entitled to take his place in real history.

His story, when stripped of its fabulous and romantic decorations, merely relates that Ráma possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan; and that he invaded the Deckan and penetrated to the island of Ceylon, which he conquered.

The first of these facts there is no reason to question; and it may be true that Ráma led an expedition into the Deckan; but it is highly improbable that he should have conquered Ceylon. If he did so, he could not have lived, as is generally supposed, before the compilation of the Vedas; for even in the time of Menu's Institutes, there were no settlements of Hindu conquerors in the Deckan: yet the undoubted antiquity of the "Ramayana" is the best testimony to the early date of the event which it celebrates.

After Ráma sixty princes of his race are said to have ruled in succession over his dominions.

The war celebrated in the Mahá Bhárata is the next historical event that deserves notice.

This was a contest between the two branches of the reigning family, the Pándus and Kurus, for the territory of Hastinápura, a city to the north-east of Delhi. The exact date of the war cannot be ascertained, but it is calculated to have been probably in the fourteenth century before Christ, and two hundred years before the siege of Troy.

The Pándus were victorious, but paid so dear for their success, that the survivors, broken hearted for the loss of their friends, and the destruction of their armies, abandoned the world and perished among the snows of Hima-



Crishna their great ally, fell in the midst of civil wars in his own country.

Twenty-nine of the descendants of the Pándus are said to have succeeded them on the throne, but only their names have been preserved. The seat of their government was transferred to Delhi.

Among the allies of the Pándus were the kings of Magada, who seem always to have possessed extensive authority. The first of them (he who is mentioned in the Mahá Bhárata) is represented as the head of a number of chiefs and tribes, but most of them were probably within the limits of Bengal and Behar.

Saha Deva was king of Magada at the end of the war of the Mahá Bhárata.

The thirty-fifth king in succession from him was Ajatu Satru, in whose reign Sakya or Gótama, the founder of the Budha religion, flourished. We may safely fix the period of Sakya's death at about 550 B.C.

It was about this time that the Persians, under Darius Hystaspes, conquered a portion of India, but its extent is not known. It must however have been considerable, since the amount of tribute drawn from the Indian Satrapy is stated to have been nearly one third of the revenue of the Persian monarchy.

The next invader of India of whom we have any record, was Alexander the Great. He crossed the Indus, traversed the Punjáb, and designed to advance to the Ganges; but this intention was frustrated; for his soldiers had suffered so much from their march through the Punjáb in the rainy season, that they refused to follow him. Foiled in his plan of advancing to the Ganges, Alexander was more successful in another direction. A large fleet was collected, in which he proceeded down the Indus to the



Ocean, while a portion of his army, overrunning the country on each side of the river, compelled it to acknowledge the Macedonian conqueror. The progress to the sea was necessarily slow. When completed, the less serviceable ships were laid up in the Delta, while a select number of the best class, manned by about ten thousand Greeks and Phenicians, were placed under the command of Nearchus, for the purpose of exploring the navigation between the Indus and the Euphrates, the king himself leading back the remainder of his army through the parched desert of Beloochistan.

To return to the Hindu History. The sixth in succession from Ajatu Satru, inclusive, was Nanda, on whose date many others depend. The ninth from Nanda was Chandragupta; and the third from him was Asóca, a prince celebrated among the Báudhas of all countries, as one of the most zealous disciples and promoters of their religion.

It has been determined by Mr. Elphinstone and other learned writers, after great research, that Chandragupta is the Sandracoptus of European writers; who concluded a treaty with Seleucus, the founder of a Greek dynasty in Asia, after the death of Alexander the Great.

Chandragupta reigned over Magada not long after Alexander retired from India. He sprang from a low class, and all the succeeding kings of Magada were Sudras. Chandragupta was indebted to the arts of his minister for the preservation of his kingdom from foreign invasion. The Macedonian garrisons on the Indus were ceded to him by Seleucus. His grandson Asóca was in his youth governor of Malwa, which must therefore have been a possession of his father.

Hindu Chronology, however, is insufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily any other dates, from this



period till the æra of Vicramaditya, who reigned at Ujein, fifty-six years before the time of Christ, and established the æra still current throughout all the countries north of the river Nerbudda.

The name of Vicramaditya is of constant occurrence in Hindu tales. He is the hero of as many wonders as Harun al Raschid is in the Arabian legends. Nothing however is known with certainty, but that he was a powerful monarch, who ruled a comparatively civilized and prosperous country, and was distinguished for his encouragement of learning and the arts.

Another æra that has been determined with some certainty is that of Sáliváhana (A.D. 77) who ruled over the Marattas in the Deckan. He seems also to have been a powerful monarch, but though the subject of many fabulous and wonderful stories, no circumstance of his history has been preserved in an authentic form.

The next epoch is that of Rája Bhója, whose name is one of the most renowned in India, but of whose exploits no trustworthy record has been preserved. His long reign terminated about the end of the 11th century.

The grandson of Bhója was taken prisoner, and his country conquered by the Raja of Guzerat; but Málwa soon recovered its independence under a new dynasty; and was finally subdued by the Mahometans, A.D. 1231.

The residence of Crishna, and other events of those times, impress us with the belief of an early principality in Guzerat; and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion by a Greek writer of the second century.

Few of the ancient Hindu states have attracted more notice than Canacubya or Canouj. It is one of the most ancient places in India: it gave rise, and gives a name, to one of the greatest divisions of the Bramin class; and its



wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to accelerate the ruin of Hindu independence. This kingdom appears in early times to have been called Páñchála: it was a long but narrow territory, extending on the east to Nepal (which it included) and on the west as far as Ajmír. But almost nothing authentic is known of its early history.

It would be tedious to go through the names of the various petty Hindu states, that existed at various periods in Hindostan. The native books contain lists of kings extending over many centuries. Among them is one named Chandrapála, who is said to have conquered all Hindostan; but the information is too vague to be of any service.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DECKAN.

Extreme South—Tamul Country and Literature—Pándya and Chola—Malabár and Canara—Carnáta—Chalukyas—Telingána—Andra—Orissa—Maratta Country.

IN the extreme South a degree of civilization prevailed several centuries before the Christian æra. The Tamul language seems to have been formed before the introduction of the Sanscrit; and the Tamul literature, unlike that of the rest of India, is not exclusively the production of Bramins. Some of its most esteemed authors are of the lowest cast, or Pariars.



There are five languages spoken in the Deekan, which doubtless mark an equal number of early national divisions. The most ancient kingdoms are those in the extreme south, in all of which the Tamul language prevailed. There are various traditions and records of two kingdoms of Pándya and Chóla founded by persons of the agricultural class. The first derives its name from its founder, who is supposed to have flourished in the fifth century before Christ.

In the time of Ptolemy the seat of government was fixed at Madura where it remained a century ago.

The wars and rivalries of all the Pándyan princes were with the adjoining kingdom of Chóla. At one period a long union existed between them. They, however, resumed their separate sovereignty, and retained it till 1736, when the ruling prince Náyar was conquered by the Nabob of Arcot.

The kingdom of Chóla continued an independent or feudatory state until the end of the seventeenth century, when a brother of the founder of the Maratta state was sent to aid the last rajah, and supplanted him in his government. He was the first of the present family of Tanjore. Their capital was formerly Conjeveram.

Malabár and Canara were peopled by bramins from the south in the first or second century. They divided the country into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast, renting the lands to the inferior classes. In time they appointed a chief of the military class. Malabár and Canara became separate kingdoms. In the ninth century Malabár broke up into many petty principalities, among the chief of which was that of the Zamorins, whom Vasco de Gama found in possession of Calicut in the end of the fifteenth century.



The dynasty established in Canara lasted till the twelfth century, when it was overturned, by the Belall rajas, and the state made tributary.

The family of Belall were Rajpúts who in the middle of the eleventh century became the ruling dynasty in Carnáta. At one time their power extended over the Tamil country and part of Telingána. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310 or 1311.

A Rajpút family of the Chalakya tribe reigned at Calian, on the border of Carnáta and Maharashtra. They are traced with certainty by inscriptions from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1200. They appear at one time to have possessed the whole of Maharashtra to the Nerbudda. The last king of the race was deposed by his minister, who in his turn was assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingayet sect, which was then rising into notice.

Another branch of the tribe of Chalukya ruled over the eastern portion of Telingána. Their dynasty lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and perhaps began two centuries earlier. It was greatly reduced by the kings of Andra; and finally subverted by the rajas of Cuttack.

The Telugu kings of Andra are said to have been connected with the race in Magada. The native records mention Vicrama and Sáliváhana among the earliest monarchs; after these they place the Chóla rajas; who were succeeded in the sixth century by the Mussulmans (called Yavans.) In 1332 their capital, Varangul, north east of Hyderabad, was taken. They merged at last in the Mussulman kingdom of Golconda.

The history of Orissa, like all others in the Deckan, begins with princes connected with the Mahá Bhárat. Here also Vicrama and Sáliváhana are made to occupy the



throne in succession. But the first glimmering of authentic history commences with the expulsion of the Yavans, in A.D. 473. Thirty-five rajas of the Kesari family follow in a period of 650 years, until A.D. 1131 when their capital was taken, by a Midnapore prince whose dynasty occupied the throne till near the Mahometan conquest.

The Maratta country is situated on the frontier of the Deckan, and its language is very extensively spoken. But there are few historical facts known respecting it until the time of the Mussulmans. The most important is the reign of Sáliváhana whose era begins from A.D. 77. He is said to have been the son of a potter; to have headed an insurrection; overturned a dynasty, and established his capital at Páitan in the Gódávery. Sáliváhana was a powerful monarch; yet, as already noticed, scarcely one circumstance of his history has been preserved in an authentic or even credible form. His name is still well known, and his æra still that in ordinary use.

The cave temples of the Marattas show a great and long continued application of skill and power; and those of Ellóra attracted the attention of the Mussulmans in their very first invasions.

In recent times the Marattas have acquired greater distinction than all other Hindu nations; and made a nearer approach to universal sovereignty in India.



CHAPTER VII.

ARAB CONQUESTS IN INDIA.

Arabia—Its Character—Mahomet—His History—Circumstances of Neighbouring Nations—Mussulmans in India.

ONE of the very earliest objects of commerce seems to have been to satisfy the craving of less favoured nations for the valuable productions of India. Even before the time of Moses, a communication with western Asia had been established for this purpose: it was the monopoly of this trade which more than any other cause contributed to the proverbial prosperity of Tyre, and which, after the destruction of that city, rendered Alexandria the commercial capital of the world. The growing demand for Eastern commodities, consequent on the progress of luxury throughout the Roman Empire, occasioned a diligent cultivation of the intercourse with India. This was interrupted by the rise of the Mahometan power. Their occupation of Egypt and great part of Asia, gave them the command of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, then the two great channels of Indian commerce.

The attacks of either Greeks or barbarians had hitherto made no impression beyond the frontiers of India, and the Hindus might have long remained undisturbed by foreign intrusion, if a new spirit had not been kindled in a nation till now as sequestered as their own.

Arabia has always been celebrated for its precious productions, and distinguished as the home of liberty and independence. The country was composed of some



mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, like the coasts and islands of a sea. The desert was scattered with small camps of predatory herdsmen, who pitched their tents where they could quench their thirst at a well of brackish water, and drove their camels over extensive tracts where no other animal could have found a subsistence.

The settled inhabitants, though more civilized, were scarcely less simple in their habits, and were formed into independent tribes, between whom there could be little communication except by rapid journeys on horseback, or tedious marches under the protection of caravans.

Such was the nation that gave birth to the false prophet, whose doctrines have so long and so powerfully influenced a vast portion of the human race.

Mahomet was born in April, in the year 569 of the Christian æra, and though he belonged to the head family of one of the branches of the illustrious tribe of Korésh, appears to have been poor in his youth, and used to accompany his uncle's camels in some of those long trading journeys, which the simplicity and equality of Arab manners made laborious even to the wealthy.

He was raised to independence by his marriage to Cadijah, a rich widow, fifteen years his senior; and had now ample leisure to pursue those occupations which were most congenial to his mind.

At this time the bulk of the Arab nation was sunk in idolatry and their morals were in as little check of law as of religion.

Mahomet's attention is said to have been drawn to the doctrine of the unity of God by his intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, who was skilled in Jewish learning, and who is said to have translated the Scriptures from



Hebrew into Arabic. Through intense study he became almost insane, before he gave way to the impulse which he felt within him, and revealed to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family, that he was commissioned by the only God to restore his pure belief and worship. Mahomet was at this time forty years of age, and three or four more years elapsed before he publicly announced his mission. During the next ten years he endured every species of insult and persecution; and he might have died an obscure enthusiast, if the gradual progress of his religion, and the death of his uncle and protector, Abu Tàleb, had not induced the rulers of Mecca to determine to take his life. In this extremity he fled to Medina, resolved to repel force by force; and throwing off all the mildness which had hitherto characterised his preaching, he developed the full vigour of his character, and became more eminent for his sagacity and boldness as a leader, than he had been for his zeal and endurance as a Missionary.

At the commencement of Mahomet's preaching he seems to have been perfectly sincere; and although he was provoked by opposition to support his pretensions by fraud, and in time became habituated to hypocrisy and imposture, yet it is probable that to the last, his original fanaticism continued to influence his actions.

Mahomet did not profess to set up a new religion; but to restore that derived in the earliest times from God himself. Still, whatever may have been the reality of his zeal and even the merit of his doctrine, the spirit of intolerance in which it was preached, and the bigotry and bloodshed which it engendered and perpetuated, must place its author among the worst enemies of mankind.

Until his flight to Medina, Mahomet had uniformly disclaimed force as an auxiliary to his cause. He now



declared that he was authorised to have recourse to arms in his own defence; and soon after, that he was commanded to employ them for the conversion or extermination of unbelievers. His new spirit agreed well with that of his countrymen; and before his death in A.D. 632 (the tenth after his flight,) he had brought all Arabia under his obedience, and had commenced an attack on the dominions of the Roman emperor.

But it was not merely to a warlike spirit that he was indebted for his popularity. He was a reformer as well as a conqueror. His religion was partially founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament; and however faulty his morality may appear to modern Christians, it was pure compared to that which then prevailed in Arabia. His law, also, which prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and sentence, was a bold attempt to bridle the vindictive passions of his countrymen, so long fostered by the practice of private war.

The conversion of the Arabs therefore was probably as sincere as it was general: and their religious spirit being now thoroughly aroused, every feeling of their enthusiastic nature was turned into that one channel: to conquer in the cause of God, or to die in asserting his unity and greatness, was the longing wish of every Musulman: the love of power or spoil, the thirst of glory and even the hopes of Paradise, only contributed to swell the tide of this absorbing passion.

The circumstances, both political and religious, of the neighbouring countries, were such as to encourage the warmest hopes of these fanatical adventurers.

The Roman Empire was broken and dismembered by the barbarians: and Christianity was degraded by the corruptions, and weakened by the controversies of oppos-



ing sects. Persia was sinking in the last stage of internal decay, and her cold and lifeless superstition required little to bring it to the ground.

Mahomet's attack on the Roman Empire was in the direction of Syria; and within six years after his death that province and Egypt had been subdued by his successors. Roman Africa and Spain followed in succession; and within a century from the death of their founder the Mussulmans had pushed their conquests into the heart of France. In the opinion of Sir James Mackintosh, all Europe would probably have been overrun by them, had not a strong and general resistance been awakened by the Crusades. These extensive operations, however, did not retard their enterprises towards the East. Persia was invaded in A.D. 632, and not long after annexed to the Arab Empire.

In A.D. 664, an Arab force penetrated to Cábul. This was the first appearance of the Mussulmans in India. In the reign of Calif Walid, Sind was conquered by Moham-med Cásim, after several well-contested engagements.

The Arabs displayed their usual mixture of ferocity and moderation in their treatment of the conquered countries. On the first invasion each city was called on, as the army approached, to embrace the Mussulman religion or to pay tribute. In case of refusal the city was attacked, and if it did not capitulate, all the fighting men were put to death and their families sold for slaves. When tribute was once agreed to, the inhabitants were entitled to all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion.

The advance of the Mahometan arms in India ceased with the life Cásim A.D. 714. His conquests were made over to his successor Temím, in the hands of whose family



they remained till the downfall of the house of Ommeia, that is, for about thirty-six years; when, by some insurrection of which we do not know the particulars, the Mussulmans were expelled by the Rajpút tribe of Súmera, and all their Indian conquests restored to the Hindus, who retained possession for nearly 500 years.

No materials exist for furnishing an authentic account of the state of India during this period. The narratives contained in the native records are too confused and contradictory to be of any historical value.

It is only necessary to follow the course of Arab History, in so far as it is connected with the establishment of a Mahometan government in India.

After the empire of the Califs had been broken up, several dynasties were formed, of longer or shorter duration. The house of Sámáni subsisted for more than 120 years, and though not invaders of India were in various ways connected with it. In the reign of Abdulmelek, (A.D. 960) the fifth prince of this house, a slave named Alptegin rose into importance and became the founder of the house of Ghizni. His successor, Sebektegin conquered Jeipál, the Raja of Lahore, levied heavy contributions, and took possession of the country up to the Indus. Sebektegin died in his way back to Ghizni, A.D. 997.



CHAPTER VIII.

SULTAN MAHMUD.

Mahmúd's First Expedition to India—Second, Third, and Fourth Expeditions—Decisive Battle—Temple of Nagercót—Fifth and Sixth Expeditions—Seventh and Eighth—Other Conquests—Ninth Expedition to India—Tenth and Eleventh—Twelfth—Somnát—Great Victory—Return—Khorasan—Death—Character—Anecdote.

SEBEKTEGIN'S son, Mahmúd, was thirty years of age when he succeeded his father, (A.D. 997) and had given early indications of a warlike and decided character. India presented a wide field for the display of his abilities. Its great extent and rumoured magnificence were sufficiently alluring. Then the adventures to be expected in such a country derived fresh lustre from their being the means of extending the Mahomedan faith.

Mahmúd accordingly left Ghizni with a large force, and was met by his father's old antagonist, Jeipál of Lahore, in the neighbourhood of Peshawur. Mahmúd totally defeated him, took him prisoner, and pursued his march beyond the Sutledje. He stormed Batinda and returned to Ghizni loaded with plunder. He released the Hindu prisoners for a ransom, on the Rája's renewing his promises of tribute; but Jeipál, on returning home from his captivity, worn out by repeated disasters, made over his crown to his son Anangpál, and mounting a pyre which he had ordered to be constructed, perished in the flames. Anangpál acknowledged his kingdom tributary to Ghizni.

The two next expeditions of Mahmúd were made with



the view of collecting imposts, and suppressing partial rebellions. The fourth was in 1008, when Anangpál was found prepared for the attack. He had sent ambassadors to all the great Hindu princes, pointing out to them the danger with which they were threatened by the progress of the Mussulmans and the necessity of an immediate combination to prevent the total destruction of their religion and independence. The Rájás of Delhi, Canouj, Oujein, Gwalior, and others, entered into a confederacy: and uniting their forces, advanced into the Punjáb with the largest army that had yet taken the field. Mahmúd, alarmed at this unexpected display of force, halted in the presence of the enemy, and took up a position near Peshawur in which he remained on the defensive. During his inaction the hostile army daily increased; the Hindu women sold their jewels, melted down their golden ornaments, and sent their contributions from a distance to furnish resources for the war: and the Gakkars and other warlike tribes joining their army, they surrounded the Mussulmans who were obliged to intrench their camp. But Mahmúd had not lost his courage: he sent out a strong body of archers, who, however, were at once repulsed by the Gakkars; and a numerous body of these mountaineers, bareheaded and barefooted, passed the intrenchments and falling in with astonishing fury among the cavalry, proceeded with their swords and knives to cut down and maim both horse and rider, until above 3000 fell victims to their savage impetuosity.

Mahmúd at length discovered that the elephant of his antagonist, the prince of Lahore, having taken flight, either at the flights of arrows, or at a fire ball, was running off and carrying his master from the field. This incident struck a terror into the enemy: the Hindus thinking



themselves deserted by their general, soon gave way, and then fled in complete and irretrievable confusion. Mahmúd took immediate advantage of this, and destroyed a great number of the routed army. Not content with this he followed them into the Punjáb, and soon found them so effectually dispersed, that he had time to execute one of those schemes of plunder in which he took so much delight. The rich temple of Nagercót was defenceless, and its accumulated treasures fell into the conqueror's hands. With this vast booty Mahmúd returned to Ghizni, where much of it was spent in triumphant feasts, in alms to the poor, and presents to persons distinguished for merit or sanctity.

Mahmúd's fifth expedition to India was in 1010, when Multan was taken; the following year saw him at Tanesar near the Jumna, where he plundered the temple, sacked the town, and returned with a great number of captives to Ghizni.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the next three years, except two predatory expeditions to Cashmír. In 1016 he extended his dominions to the Caspian Sea, and the great scale of his operations in that direction seems to have enlarged his views in his designs on India. Up to this period the Punjáb had been his ordinary field of action: in his next campaign he resolved to move direct to the Ganges. His preparations were commensurate to his design. He assembled an immense army drawn from all parts of his dominions, more especially from those recently conquered; by which prudent policy a dangerous soldiery were removed, and attached to his service by the prospect of plunder.

Mahmúd set out from Péshawur, and passing near Cashmír, kept close to the mountains, where the rivers



are most easily crossed, until he had passed the Jumna, when he turned towards the south and unexpectedly presented himself before the great city of Canouj. The Rájá was taken entirely unprepared, and so conscious of his helpless situation that he at once gave himself up. Canouj was left uninjured. No such clemency was shown to Muttra, one of the most celebrated seats of the Hindu religion. During a halt of twenty days the city was given up to plunder.

Having now learned the way into the interior, Mahmúd made two subsequent marches into India, in 1022 and 1023. The first of these was to the relief of the Rájá of Canouj, (against whom a confederacy had been formed to punish his alliance with Mahmúd,) but he was cut off by the Rájá of Calinger before the Sultan arrived. Jeipál II, who had succeeded to the Government of Lahore, being led to oppose this march to Canouj, the results were, the annexation of Lahore and its territory to Ghizni; the first instance of a permanent garrison on the east of the Indus; and the foundation of the future Mohammedan empire in India.

In the year 1024 the conqueror undertook his twelfth and greatest expedition to India. In the province of Guzerat on the shore of the Indian ocean stood Sómnáth, a temple of great sanctity and wealth—and at that time the most frequented and famous place of worship in the country.

To reach this place, Mahmúd, besides a long march through inhabited countries, had to cross a desert 350 miles broad. To do this with an army would be an exceedingly difficult undertaking at the present day; but to do so then, with the chance of meeting a hostile army on the edge, required extraordinary skill and enterprise.



The army moved from Ghizni in September A.D. 1024, and reached Múltan in October. The Sultan had collected 20,000 camels for carrying supplies : and as soon as he had completed his arrangements for the march, crossed the desert without any disaster. On reaching Ajmír, the Rája fled. Mahmúd next arrived at Anhalwára, the capital of Guzerat, which was also abandoned by the Raja with precipitation.

Without being diverted by this valuable conquest Mahmúd pursued his march to Sómnáth, and at length reached that great object of his exertions. He found the temple situated on a peninsula, connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were manned in every point, and from whence issued a herald, who brought him defiance and threats of destruction in the name of the god. Little moved by these menaces, Mahmúd brought forward his archers and soon cleared the walls of their defenders, who now crowded to the temple, and prostrating themselves before the idol, called on him with tears for help. But Rajpúts are as easily excited as dispirited ; and hearing the shouts of "Alláho Akbar !" from the Mussulmans, who had already begun to mount the walls, they hurried back to their defence, and made so gallant a resistance, that the Mussulmans were unable to retain their footing, and were driven from the place with loss.

The next day a general assault was ordered; but as fast as the Mussulmans scaled the walls, they were hurled down headlong by the beseiged, who seemed resolved to defend the place to the last.

On the third day the princes of the neighbourhood, who had assembled to rescue the temple, presented themselves in order of battle, and obliged Mahmúd to relin-



quish the attack, and move in person against his new enemy. The battle raged with great fury, and victory was already doubtful, when the Rájah of Anhalwára arrived with a strong reinforcement to the Hindus. This unexpected addition to their enemies so dispirited the Mussulmans that they began to waver, when Mahmúd, who had prostrated himself to implore the divine assistance, leaped upon his horse, and cheered his troops with such energy, that ashamed to abandon a king under whom they had so often fought and bled, they with one accord gave a loud shout, and rushed forwards with an impetuosity that could no longer be withstood. Five thousand Hindus lay dead after the charge; and so complete was the rout of their army that the garrison gave up all hopes of further defence, and breaking out to the number of 4000 men, made their way to their boats; and though not without considerable loss, succeeded in escaping by sea.

Mahmúd entered the temple and was struck with the grandeur of the edifice, the lofty roof of which was supported by fifty-six pillars curiously carved, and ornamented with precious stones. The external light was excluded, but the temple was illuminated by a lamp which hung down in the centre from a golden chain. Ferishta says that opposite the entrance stood Sómnáth, an idol five yards high, of which two were buried in the ground; Mahmúd instantly ordered the image to be destroyed; when the brahmins of the temple threw themselves before him, and offered an enormous ransom if he would spare their deity. Mahmúd, after a moment's pause, exclaimed that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and struck the image with his mace. His example was instantaneously followed, and the image, which was hollow, burst with the blows, and poured forth



quantity of diamonds and other jewels which had been concealed in it, that amply repaid Mahmúd for the sacrifice of the ransom. Such is Ferishta's account, and may be true of some idol in the temple, but the real object of worship at Sómnáth was not an image but a simple cylinder of stone.

[Professor Wilson says "The whole story of Mahmúd's destruction of Sómnáth, is a curious specimen of the manner in which a story is embellished by repetition. According to earlier Mohammedan writers, the idol Sómnáth, was a straight solid block of stone, three cubits long; which, upon the temple being pillaged, was broken to pieces: they say nothing of the mutilation of its features, for, in fact, it had none; nothing of the treasures it contained; which, as it was solid, could not have been within it; nor do they speak of the sums offered for its ransom. Even Ferishta says nothing of any definite sum of money being offered for it. His words are, the Bramins went to the attendants of Mahmúd, and said, if the king will let the image alone, we will give as much gold, meaning, probably, an equal weight, to the public treasury. The crores and millions are due to Dow and Gibbon. Ferishta, however, invents the hidden treasure of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant. Sómnáth was, in fact a Linga, Náth, or a deity ascribed to Sóma, the moon, as having been erected by him in honour of Siva. It was one of the twelve principal types of that deity, which were celebrated in India at the time of the first Mohammedan invasion."

Two pieces of the idol were sent to Mecca and Medina, and two to Ghizni; the large sandal wood gates of the temple were also carried to Ghizni, and used in the construction of the magnificent tomb which still exists, bearing the name of Sultan Mahmúd. When Ghizni was taken



by the English in 1842, the celebrated gates were restored to India by order of Lord Ellenborough, then Governor General. They have since been sent to England.]

Mahmúd was so much pleased with Guzerat, that he deliberated whether he should not make it the principal seat of his government, or at least annex it permanently to his dominions; but he became satisfied, that the distance from Ghizni was too great, and the communications too difficult. He attempted, however, to retain a control over this fine country, by raising to the sovereignty a Bramin of humble birth; but he had not long departed when the people again transferred their allegiance to their ancient race of kings.

The victor, while on his return to Ghizni, suffered considerably in passing through the vast deserts; and was greatly annoyed also by the Játs a tribe inhabiting Múltan, who, by their strong force of warboats, commanded the navigation of the Indus. The indignant monarch undertook next year an expedition against the people, and having prepared a vast number of small vessels fortified with iron spikes, encountered, and, after an obstinate conflict, defeated them so completely, that almost the whole nation were slain or taken prisoners.

The following season he was employed in an expedition into Khorasan, which is said to have left a great stain on his memory, and on his return from it, in 1030, he was taken ill, and died in Ghizni at the age of 63.

Shortly before his death he commanded all the most costly of his treasures to be displayed before him; and, after long contemplating them, he is said to have shed tears at the thought that he was soon to lose them. It is remarked that, after this fond parting with his treasures, he distributed no portion of them among those around him, to whom also he was about to bid farewell.



Thus died Mahmūd, certainly the greatest sovereign of his own time, and considered by the Mohammedans among the greatest of any age. Though some of his qualities have been overrated, he appears on the whole to have deserved his reputation. Prudence, activity, and enterprise, he possessed in the highest degree; and the good order which he preserved in his extensive dominions during his frequent absences, is a proof of his talents for government.

He seems to have made no innovation in internal government: no laws or institutions are referred, by tradition, to him.

The real source of his glory lay in his combining the qualities of a warrior and a conqueror, with a zeal for the encouragement of literature and the arts, which was rare in his time, and has not yet been surpassed. His liberality in those respects is enhanced by his habitual economy. He founded a university in Ghizni, with a vast collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. He appropriated a large sum of money for the maintenance of this establishment, besides a permanent fund for allowances to professors and to students. He also set aside a sum, nearly equal to 10,000*l.* a-year, for pensions to learned men; and showed so much munificence to individuals of eminence, that his capital exhibited a greater assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to produce.

Notwithstanding the bloodshed and misery of which he was the occasion, he does not seem to have been cruel.

We hear of none of the tragedies and atrocities in his court and family which are so common in those of other despots. No inhuman punishments are recorded; and rebels, even when they are persons who had been pardon-



ed and trusted, never suffer any thing worse than imprisonment.

Mahmúd was about the middle size ; athletic, and well proportioned in his limbs, but disfigured with the small-pox to a degree that was a constant source of mortification to him in his youth, until it stimulated him to exertion, from a desire that the bad impression made by his appearance might be effaced by the lustre of his actions.

He seems to have been of a cheerful disposition, and to have lived on easy terms with those around him.

An example is given of his sense of his duty to his people. Soon after the conquest of Irák, a caravan was cut off in the desert to the east of that country, and the mother of one of the merchants who was killed went to Ghizni to complain. Mahmúd urged the impossibility of keeping order in so remote a part of his territories ; when the woman boldly answered, "Why, then, do you take countries which you cannot govern, and for the protection of which you must answer in the day of judgment?" Mahmúd was struck with the reproach ; and, after satisfying the woman by a liberal present, he took effectual measures for the protection of the caravans.



CHAPTER IX.

MAHMUD'S SUCCESSORS.

Sultan Mohammed—Masaúd—Downfal of the House of Ghizni—Mohammed Ghór—His Invasion of India—Repulse—Second Invasion—Success—Third and Succeeding Expeditions—Victories—Return—Assassination.

SULTAN MAHMUD left two sons, one of whom, Mohammed, had so ingratiated himself with his father, that he fixed on his successor, and he was accordingly crowned. But his brother, Masaúd, was more popular with the army, and Mohammed was seized, blinded, and sent into confinement. Masaúd ascended the throne within five months of his father's death. All the new monarch's energy was required to suppress the rising power of the Seljuks, whose inroads into Khorasan then became troublesome. In a decisive encounter with them he was deserted by some of his Turki followers, and compelled to fly to Meru. Misfortunes increased ; he was soon after deposed ; and his brother Mohammed restored to the throne. This latter prince being incapable from blindness of conducting the government, appointed his son Ahmed to reign.

The events which follow have little interest in Indian history. The revolutions in the government, being like those common to all Asiatic monarchies, fatigue without instructing ; the struggles with the Seljuks only affected the Western dominions of Ghizni, and those with the Hindus had no permanent effect at all. For the history of the people Asiatic writers afford no materials.



This dynasty of the house of Ghizni continued during two centuries, and its downfall at last arose from an internal cause. Ghori or Ghór forms a rude district, situated on the loftiest branch of Caucasus, or Hindu Coosh, where it borders on Tibet and Turkistan. Its princes, commanding a race of hardy mountaineers, gradually made themselves nearly independent of the Ghiznian government, and even obtained possessions in Tartary and Khorasan. This excited so strongly the jealousy of Behram, who in 1115 had ascended the throne of Ghizni, that he put to death, by stratagem, a prince of Ghór. The attempt to revenge this tragic occurrence led to fierce contests, with various success on both sides. At length Behram yielded, and fled with his scattered army towards Hindostan where he soon after died of grief. The victor, in 1152, marched upon Ghizni, when that splendid city was given up to a general pillage, and to the sword of the enraged Ghorians.

Mohammed Ghór obtained the government of Ghizni in 1174, and commencing his career with the occupation of Lahore, he made it his principal object to extend his dominion over India. Collecting all his forces he advanced against Ajmír, which at first submitted; but the king of Delhi, having formed an alliance with several neighbouring princes, hastened to its relief with two hundred thousand infantry, and three thousand elephants. Mohammed, trusting to the courage of his mountain-tribes, rushed fearlessly to the attack; but the view of this immense host wheeling round to enclose them, and the mighty array of its elephants, seems to have struck with panic these undisciplined warriors. Many of the chiefs with their followers fled, leaving the king surrounded by the enemy, whose superiority in numbers was now greatly increased. The Moslem on horseback encounter-



ed hand to hand the King of Delhi, seated on his war-elephant. The Ghórian prince, after a desperate struggle, was pierced in the arm, fell to the ground, and was with difficulty carried off by a trusty band of his adherents. The rout was complete, and the pursuit was continued forty miles.

The emperor spent a year in repairing the effects of this dreadful disaster, and organizing the means of a new invasion. He at first degraded the omrahs who had fled, subjecting them to the humiliation of marching round the city with bags of barley suspended from their necks, and of feeding out of them; but when proceeding on his next expedition, it was represented to him that he thereby deprived himself of the services of many of his choicest warriors; upon which he allowed them to resume their stations, and obtain an opportunity of redeeming their fame.

Mohammed, having mustered all his forces, marched into India, where he met troops still more numerous than those who had vanquished him in the preceding year; all of whom had now bound themselves by the water of the Ganges to conquer or die. The Indian princes advanced with boundless confidence; sending at the same time a friendly remonstrance, that if Mohammed was weary of his own life, he should at least pity the men whom he was leading to so cruel a destiny. Retreat was still open to him; but if urged on by his evil genius, "we have sworn," said they, "by our gods, to advance upon you with our rank-breaking elephants, war-treading horses, and blood-thirsty soldiers, early in the morning, to crush your unfortunate army." The wary commander returned an answer seemingly inspired by alarm; stating, that he carried on the war only in obedience to his brother,



without whose orders he could not retreat, but would gladly arrange the terms of a truce till he should receive further instructions. The Indians, lulled by this submissive tone, gave themselves up to security, and spent the following night in merriment. Mohammed, watching the moment when they were completely off their guard, made an attack during the darkness, defeating and putting to flight several large bodies ; yet so immense was the circuit of their camp, that there were rallied next morning numbers which seemed more than enough to crush the whole host of the invaders. The Mussulman then adopted the old Scythian warfare ; with his squadrons of cavalry he alternately attacked and retreated, till towards evening, seeing the enemy completely exhausted, he charged them at the head of his chosen band of mailed horsemen, who bore down all opposition, and drove the whole of their army into a tumultuary flight. The King of Delhi fell, and immense spoil came into the hands of the conqueror. Having advanced to the capital, the victor was prevailed upon by a high ransom to spare it, but left a strong force under his lieutenant, Kutb, to maintain his authority in that quarter. This officer soon after assembled a large body of followers, subverted the throne of Delhi, and reigned there as viceroy. Thus a Moslem dominion was for the first time established in the heart of India, and in one of its greatest cities.

After a lapse of a short period, Mohammed made another expedition into Hindostan. Being joined by Kutb, he totally defeated the Prince of Canouj, then marched against Benares, broke the idols of its thousand shrines, and loaded four thousand camels with the wealth of that sacred city. Following a career similar to that of the Ghiznevide, he made nine expeditions into India, and



accumulated treasures which almost rivalled those of his great predecessor. But this splendid light of conquest was in one moment extinguished; for, on his way from Lahore to Ghizni, he pitched his tent for the night on the banks of the Indus or one of its tributaries; where a band of the mountain-tribe of Gakkars, many of whose relations had perished in war with Mohammed, had vowed, at whatever cost, to purchase revenge. The season being extremely hot, the *canats* or screens enclosing the imperial tents, had been thrown open for the admission of air. Twenty conspirators, availing themselves of this circumstance, stole in unperceived, stabbed the sentry on guard, and, having drawn off the attention of the others, penetrated to the chamber of the king, who was lying asleep, with two slaves fanning him. All their daggers were instantly plunged in his breast, and he sunk under their hands, pierced by twenty-two wounds.

Thus perished this great conqueror, whose dominion was almost as extensive as that of Mahmúd of Ghizni. Like him, according to Ferishta, he was not devoid of virtues, yet has left behind a darker reputation, redeemed by fewer traits of refinement and humanity. With him the dynasty of Ghór rose and fell, for he left no descendants possessed of energy sufficient to support the weight of his ill-balanced empire. His lieutenants, Eldóz in the mountain-territory, and Kutb in India, soon erected for themselves independent sovereignties.



CHAPTER X.

THE SLAVE KINGS—PATAN DYNASTY.

Independence of India—Kutb u dīn—Progress of a Turki slave—Arām—Altamsh—Irruptions of the Moguls under Genghis Khān—Sultāna Rezia—Rebellion—Behrām—Masāūd—Bulbun—His Character—Victory and Death of the Heir Apparent—Death of Bulbun—Kei Kobād—Influence of His Vizīr—King's Interview with his Father Bakarra Khān—Murder of the Vizīr—King Dethroned and put to death.

FROM the death of Mohammed Ghór, India became an independent kingdom; and after the disturbance occasioned by the dissolution of his empire had subsided, it ceased to have any connexion with the countries beyond the Indus.

The life of Kutb u dīn, the founder of this new monarchy, affords a specimen of the history of the Túrki slaves, who rose to sovereignty throughout Asia, and who furnished a succession of rulers to India.

He was brought to Nishapúr in his infancy, and purchased by a wealthy person who had him instructed in Persian and Arabic. His patron dying, he was sold to a merchant who presented him to Mohammed Ghór. Kutb soon acquired his master's favour, and was in command of a body of horse, when he distinguished himself in some border warfare, and by his subsequent good conduct stood so high in his sovereign's estimation, that, after the defeat of the Rája of Ajmír, he was left in charge of all the new conquests. On Mohammed's death he became independent and was acknowledged as king. He reigned only four



years, but his administration extended over the twenty years that he officiated as the representative of Mohammed Ghór. He died in 1210.

Arám his son succeeded him, but showed no capacity, and was soon dethroned by his brother-in-law, Altamsh, who, though a Tartar of noble birth, had, like Kutb been sold as a slave, and purchased by that prince. Altamsh showed considerable vigour, distinguished himself by several conquests, and enjoyed a good reputation.

About this time A.D. 1217, an event occurred which changed the whole face of Asia. Genghis Khán, originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having subdued the three nations of Tartary, and swelled his bands with their united hordes, burst on the Mohammedan kingdoms with an army said to be the most numerous ever assembled.

This irruption of the Moguls, was the greatest calamity that has fallen on mankind since the deluge. They had no religion to teach, and no seeds of improvement to sow, nor did they offer an alternative of conversion or tribute; their only object was to slaughter and destroy: and the only trace they left was in the devastation of every country which they visited.

Genghis, after ravaging great part of Asia, attacked the Prince of the Afghans, whom he compelled to take refuge beyond the Indus. Altamsh refused to shelter him, and hence the arms of Genghis were turned aside at that time from India.

After the death of Altamsh, which took place in 1236, there was a succession of plots, mutinies, and revolutions, equally destitute of present interest and permanent effects. Altamsh's elder son who succeeded him was soon deposed, and Altamsh's sister Rezia raised to the throne. She is said to have been endowed with every princely virtue; and in



early youth had displayed such talents for administration that Altamsh, when absent on a campaign, left her in charge of his government in preference to his sons. But her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from the effects of a single weakness. Her Master of the Horse, formerly an Abyssinian slave, received extraordinary marks of favour, and though nothing criminal was alleged, the nobility were disgusted, and furnished with a plausible ground for exciting a clamour against her. Their discontent was soon matured into insurrection, and the fair ruler of India was finally defeated, imprisoned, and put to death. Her reign lasted three years and six months.

Behrá́m, her brother, succeeded, but before he was well established on the throne, his dominions were invaded by a body of Moguls, who penetrated to Lahore; and the assemblage of troops which followed, led to new plots which ended in his death after a reign of two and half years.

The next reign, that of Sultan Masáú́d, was a repetition of the same scenes, increased by the cruelty and licentiousness of the king, until in little more than two years he was deposed and put to death. A.D. 1243.

Mahmú́d II, grandson of Altamsh, who had been imprisoned after that prince's death, was now raised to the throne by the chiefs who had deposed his predecessor. His accession was hailed with general satisfaction. And though his reign was full of disturbances foreign and domestic, he defended his territories with vigour against numerous and formidable enemies. His private life was that of a dervise. He defrayed all his expenses, as he had done during his imprisonment, by copying books: his fare was of the humblest description, and was cooked by the queen, to whom he allowed no female servant. He was



an eminent patron of Persian literature, a protector of the people, and friend to the poor. Mahmúd died deeply regretted after a reign of 20 years. A.D. 1226.

His vizír, Bulbun (often called Balín) being already in possession of the powers of king, found no difficulty in assuming the title. Mahmúd had died without issue.

Bulbun has been set forth as a model emperor by most English historians of India : but Mr. Elphinstone, whose views deservedly possess the highest authority, furnishes a very different picture. "This narrow-minded and selfish tyrant," says he, "was raised by circumstances to the appearance of a liberal and enlightened monarch. The horrors of the Mogul invasion drove men of eminence from the countries to which it extended : and Bulbun's being the only Mohammedan government which was not subverted, his court was filled with illustrious exiles of that religion. The number of literary fugitives was still more considerable ; and as the king's eldest son, prince Mohammed, was a young man of the greatest accomplishments, his palace was the resort of all the famous authors of that age,"

Several insurrections were created by banditti for the sake of plunder ; but Bulbun succeeded in effectually crushing them. In Mewal he is said to have put 100,000 persons to the sword ; but he also cut down the forest over a great extent of country, and thus made it yield support to the husbandman, instead of its being an asylum to the robber.

A serious rebellion took place in Bengal which was with difficulty suppressed, and afterwards punished with more than the king's usual severity.

Not long after this he had the misfortune to lose his eldest son : a calamity to his people no less than to him-



The prince's death was worthy of the high character he had acquired. He was killed at the close of a complete victory he had gained over an army of Moguls.

This loss drew tears from all, and touched the heart even of Bulbun. That monarch had now reached his eightieth year, and was fast sinking when he summoned his second son Bakarra Khán to attend him on his death bed. His son, not thinking him in immediate danger, returned without leave to his province of Bengal, and Bulbun was so much offended that he declared Kei Kushru, prince Mohammed's son, his heir; and soon after died. The ministers, desirous of averting civil war, proclaimed Kei Kobád, the son of Bakarra Khán, and restored Khusru to the government of Múltan.

Kei Kobád was eighteen years old at his accession, and was encouraged in a career of licentiousness and vice by his vizír, Nizam dín, who entertained hopes of securing the crown to himself. In order to this, he procured the assassination of Kei Khusru, and brought about the death or disgrace of all the ministers who were not his own creatures.

Bakarra Khán, the king's father, hearing the state of affairs, marched with an army to look after the interests of his family. The vizír easily prevailed on the king to move out to oppose him; but, when the armies drew near; Bakarra Khán appealed so strongly to his son's affections, that the minister could no longer prevent an interview. He endeavoured to frustrate the effects of it by imposing many humiliating ceremonies on Bakarra Khán, to all which that prince submitted; until, after repeated obeisances, he found the king remaining unmoved on his throne; when, shocked by this unnatural behaviour, he burst into tears. This sight overpowered all the king's



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resolutions : he leaped from his throne, and ran to throw himself at his father's feet ; and, the father hastening to prevent him, he fell on his neck, and they remained for some minutes weeping in each other's arms, while the whole court was almost as much affected as themselves. When the first transport was over, Kei Kobád seated his father on the throne, and showed him every mark of love and reverence. All thoughts of war were now at an end ; but, after repeated interviews, Bakarrah Khán found that the vizír's vigilance, and his power over the enfeebled mind of the king, rendered it impossible to subvert his authority by peaceful means ; and, being unwilling, or unable, to resort to force, he returned to Bengal, and left his son to his fate.

Kei Kobád plunged anew into all sorts of debauchery ; and to such excess, that, at that early age, he entirely broke his constitution and brought on an attack of palsy. Being now driven on reflection, he perceived all the dangers of his situation ; and, unable to rid himself of his minister by honourable means, he had recourse to the lessons with which he had been made familiar, and succeeded, before long, in taking him off by poison.

The removal of this predominating influence served only to let loose a number of other enemies, all eager to seize on the power which the king was unable himself to retain.

The ascendancy of the slaves about the court had been destroyed by the policy of Bulbun, and the contest was now between the principal military leaders ; and, as the native Indians were not yet of sufficient importance to form a party, the only competitors were the Tartar chiefs and those of the old kingdom of Ghazni or Ghór. The Khiljis seem, from the ability of their chief, or some ad-



vantage of their own, to have been at the head of the latter class: they prevailed over the Tartars, and Jelál u dín Khilji was raised to the throne, after the way had been opened for him by the assassination of Kei Kobád. A.D. 1288.

CHAPTER XI.

SECOND PATAN DYNASTY.

Jelál u dín—His mild government—His nephew Alá's Invasion of the Deccan—Return—Assassination of Jelál—Alá u dín—Expedition to Guzerat—Invasion by the Moguls—Their Defeat—Conquests and Government of Alá—His Character—Death—Cáfur—Mobarik—Khusru—Tóghla—Juna Khán—Feroze III—Tamerlane—Lodi—Khizr—Seiad Mobarik—Belál Khán Lodi—Secander I—Ibrahim—Báber.

THE Khiljis were Turks by descent, but had been so long settled among the Afghans, that they had almost become identified with that people. Jelál (or Feroze,) was seventy years of age when he came to the government. He was a man of intelligence; and though guilty of cruelty and injustice in acquiring and establishing his throne, yet sought to distinguish himself by the justice and popularity of his administration. His lenity to his enemies was carried to a fault, he also retained the simplicity of his manners, and associated with his old friends on the same footing of familiarity that he did when a private man.



A rebellion took place which was soon quelled, and the chiefs who were taken prisoners were treated with extraordinary clemency. An insurrection in Malwa was but partially suppressed; but when the Punjáb was invaded by the Moguls, Jelál showed more vigour, and totally defeated them, but allowed the wreck of their army to retire unmolested.

The first invasion of the Deckan by Mohammedan arms took place in this reign. It was made by Alá, the nephew of Feroze, then governor of Karrah, (a country lying between the Ganges and Jumna). Without his uncle's leave, he set out with 8000 horse to Deógíri, (now Dowlatabad,) and by causing it to be believed that the force which accompanied him was only the vanguard of the main army, he intimidated the city into a surrender; put to flight a vast body of troops assembled for its defence, and returned with immense treasure.

Jelál had remained in suspense and anxiety both as to the fate and designs of his nephew; but when he heard that he was on his return, loaded with riches and glory, he felt nothing but delight at the intelligence: and instead of following the advice of his councillors, and adopting measures for the security of his own power, he resolved to repose on the fidelity of Alá. He was even induced to go to Karrah, and while in the act of embracing his treacherous nephew, was barbarously assassinated, after a reign of seven years; A.D. 1295. There was something peculiarly revolting in the way in which this murder was perpetrated, the head of the late monarch being ordered by the perfidious Alá to be stuck on a spear, and carried aloft through camp and city.

When the accounts of the late king's death reached Delhi, his widow made a feeble attempt to set up her



infant son in his place; on the approach of Alá she fled to Multán, where the only other surviving son of Jelál was governor: but the whole family were inveigled from this asylum by means of a fallacious promise, when the two princes were put to death and the queen imprisoned.

Alá tried to recover the good will of his people by the just exercise of the power he had obtained by so many atrocities: but as in the midst of his course of conciliation he could not refrain from acts of rapacity, and never repressed his arbitrary temper, he was only partially successful in his attempts to gain popularity: and although his reign was long, and in a military sense glorious, he was always disturbed by conspiracies and rebellions, and disquieted by suspicions even of his own family, and of those most trusted by him.

Alá's first great undertaking was an expedition against Guzerat, which was entirely successful. A formidable invasion of the Moguls, who penetrated to Delhi itself, was ably repelled by the distinguished general Zafar Khán, whose abilities however had excited so much jealousy that he was purposely left unsupported, and fell in the midst of the pursuit after the victory.

Other expeditions were made, and conquests gained in Telingána, Carnáta, and Malabar. Though Alá was ignorant and capricious as well as cruel and tyrannical, yet his foreign conquests were among the greatest ever made in India: and his internal administration, in spite of many oppressive measures, was on the whole successful. The provinces were quiet and secure; wealth increased, and showed itself in public and private buildings, and other forms of improvement and luxury. Alá was so illiterate that he began to learn to read after he attained the throne; yet so arrogant that his most experienced



ministers never dared to contradict him, and the best informed men in his court had to keep down their knowledge to the level of his acquirements. At one time he entertained thoughts of setting up for a prophet, and founding a new religion; and when that was dropped, he assumed the title of The Second Alexander, and publicly discussed a project of universal conquest.

When his constitution was broken down by intemperance, his ill health made him more suspicious and irritable than ever; and like most people who distrust the bulk of mankind he was the dupe of one artful individual. This was Cáfúr, the extent of whose abilities was equalled by the depravity of his principles. The use he made of his influence was to destroy any who might rival him in favour, and afterwards to irritate the king against his sons, and the queen their mother. Alá died in A.D. 1316—after a reign of twenty years: his end is said to have been accelerated by poison administered by Cáfúr.

On the death of Alá, Cáfúr produced a pretended will of that prince, appointing his infant son his successor, under the guardianship of Cáfúr. Having thus gained possession of the government Cáfúr put out the eyes of the king's two eldest sons, and not long after sent assassins to murder the third son Mobárik. The assassins however were induced to spare him, and before Cáfúr had time to take further measures, he was himself killed by the royal guard.

Mobárik was immediately raised to the government. He deprived his infant brother of sight and put to death the officers who had raised him to the throne. After liberating all prisoners, restoring confiscated lands, and making a vigorous military demonstration, Mobárik gave himself up to a course of the most degrading and odious



usurpation. At length Khusru Khán, a converted Hindu, who had been made vizír, and had the entire control of the administration, perpetrated the murder of his infatuated master, and at once assumed the vacant throne.

Khusru put to death all the survivors of the family of Alá, but soon perished in an insurrection excited against him by Gházi Khán Tóghlah, governor of the Punjáb. The death of the usurper produced general joy, and as no member of the Khilji family was found to have survived, Tóghlah was himself proclaimed under the title of Gheiás u dín.

Gheiás u dín Tóghlah was the son of a Turki slave by an Indian mother. His whole reign was as commendable as his accession was blameless. It was felt that a misfortune had happened to the empire, when, at the end of four years, he was killed by the fall of a pavilion erected for his reception by his son, Júna Khán—on whom some suspicion rested that the accident might have been contrived.

Júna Khán, who assumed the name of Sultán Moham-med, took possession of his dignity with extraordinary magnificence. He distributed gifts and pensions; established hospitals and alms-houses; and throughout his reign, was munificent to the learned. His private life was irreproachable and it is admitted that he was eloquent and accomplished. Yet all these talents were accompanied by a perversion of judgment which leaves us in doubt whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity.—His whole life was spent in pursuing visionary schemes by means equally irrational, and with such a total disregard of the sufferings which they occasioned to his subjects, that many of his atrocities exceeded those recorded of the worst of the Cæsars. His reign



lasted twenty-seven years, and its results were more calamitous than those of any that preceded it. It was in this reign the rājas of Carnāta and Telingana recovered their independence. He died in 1351.

Feroze III., nephew of Mohammed, succeeded him, and was happily a prince of a very different temper. Under him the arts of peace flourished, and the rights of humanity were respected. India, during his reign of thirty-eight years, enjoyed a respite from her many calamities; the condition of the people was improved; industry revived; vexatious taxes and fees were abolished; the roads were kept in good repair, and new ones made where required: one hundred and fifty bridges were built, and fifty dams thrown across rivers to promote irrigation; forty mosques and thirty colleges were erected in different parts of the empire; one hundred caravanseries for travellers, and as many hospitals for the sick, with the same number of public baths, were among the edifices, many of which still remain, that afford sufficient evidence of the enlightened spirit that pervaded the reign of Feroze III. This amiable prince died in A.D. 1388 at the advanced age of ninety.

The short reigns of Tóghlah II, Abubkr, and Mahomed IV. exemplified the precarious nature of oriental power. Mahmúd III, was yet a minor, and the rulers of the provinces were scheming how they might best throw off the imperial yoke, when the invasion of Tamerlane burst upon their heads and overwhelmed the contending parties in one common ruin.

Tamerlane (Teimúr) had united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent, as Genghis Khán; and like him, had carried his destructive inroads into all the surrounding countries. Though a Turk and a Mussulman, he was as barbarous in his mode



in war as the Mogul. Tamerlane set out from his capital in 1397, and after having encountered many difficulties on his march, and desolated most of the towns which lay in his way, arrived before Delhi, which at once surrendered under a solemn promise of protection; but when the Mogul army gained admittance, a scene of horror ensued easier to be imagined than described. Tamerlane was proclaimed emperor of India, but soon after quitted it, with the immense booty carried off from Delhi, and left anarchy, famine, and pestilence behind him.

There is a resemblance between the histories of Genghis Khán and Tamerlane; but of these two enemies of mankind, the first was perhaps the more violent, and the second the more perfidious.

For two months after Tamerlane's departure Delhi remained without a government, and almost without inhabitants. Mahmúd was at length restored to the possession of it, and died there after a nominal reign of twenty years.

He was succeeded by Doulat Khán Lodi; who at the end of fifteen months was expelled by Khizr Khán, the governor of the Punjáb. This new ruler was a Seiad, or descendant of the prophet, though a native of India. He had been governor of one portion of the Punjáb, which he lost during the confusion of Mahmúd's reign; but appealed to Tamerlane who gave him the whole. He now affected to recognise that conqueror as emperor, and to govern as his deputy. Khizr died in A.D. 1421.

Seiad Mobárik his son, succeeded to the throne; and after a reign of thirteen years, in which no remarkable events occurred, was assassinated by a party of Hindus, at the instigation of the vizír.

The vizír placed Seiad Mohammed, son of the late



prince, in his father's station, and made two of the Hindu assassins governors of provinces : but was soon after cut off himself. The weak reign of this prince, and his son and successor, Alá II, had nearly dissolved the empire, when it was seized and held by Behlál Khán Lódi, a noble who had some time before obtained possession of the Punjáb. Behlól's reign was long and vigorous, and at his death in 1488, he left a territory extending from the Jumna to the Himálaya mountains, as far east as Benares, besides a tract on the west of the Jumna extending to Bundulcund.

His son, Secander I, supported his reputation ; Secander's accession was disputed, but though his opponents were unsuccessful they were treated with clemency. Secander was in many respects a mild and excellent prince ; but bigoted in his opposition to Hinduism. He died at Agra after a reign of twenty-eight years.

Ibrahim, who succeeded, had none of his father's virtues, and his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. Various chiefs revolted. Doulat Khán Lódi, the governor of the Punjáb, called in the aid of Báber, who had for some time reigned in Cábul. At length, in 1526, a severe battle took place in which Ibrahim was killed and the Indian army suffered prodigious loss ; Báber seated himself on the throne of Delhi, and was the founder of a line of kings under whom India rose to the highest pitch of prosperity, and out of the ruins of whose empire all the existing states in that country are composed.



CHAPTER XII.

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B Á B E R .

Descent and Early Life of Báber—His Wars and Adventures in his Youth—Defeated by the Uzbeks—His cheerfulness under reverses—His love of flowers—Acquires the Kingdom of Cábul—Báber's Proceedings after his Victory over Ibrahím—War with Sanga, Rana of Mewár—Battle of Sikrî—Victory of Báber—Settlement of the country—Seige of Chándéri—Afghan Insurrection—Defeat of the King of Bengal—Sickness of Báber—His Death—Character.

THE early life of Báber was a tissue of surprising vicissitudes and romantic adventures. He was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane. The extensive dominions of his grandfather Abusaíd were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. Omar Sheikh Mirza the fourth son, and father of Báber, ruled in Ferghána, a small but beautiful country on the upper course of the Jaxartes, of which Báber in his Memoirs always speaks with fondness. The mother of Báber was a Mogul—but the circumstance inspired no attachment on the part of Báber towards the Mogul nation, whom he always regarded with aversion.

Báber was only twelve years old at the death of his father and his own accession (A.D. 1494). He was immediately involved in war with his uncles, and maintained himself against them, and other enemies, with varying fortune, sometimes reduced to the lowest ebb, at other times borne on a flowing tide. In 1500 he suffered total defeat from the Uzbeks, and spent nearly two years in the utmost poverty and distress. But he bore his nu-



merous reverses with the elasticity of youth. He himself tells us that he often shed many tears, and composed many melancholy verses; but his cheerful temper buoyed him up, and enabled him to enjoy the present, and to entertain favourable prospects for the future. He says he never had more perfect pleasure than for a few days after he evacuated Samarcand, when he first got a full meal, a quiet night's rest, and a temporary freedom from anxiety. It was owing to his sociable habits, and his relish for simple pleasures, that he so often had similar moments of enjoyment. In every interval of rest he was occupied with plants and gardening; and during all his marches, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away on him.

In 1504 he obtained possession of Cábul with less difficulty than might have been expected. In this country he reigned for twenty-two years, before engaging in the enterprises already related, and which led to his conquest of India.

After the taking of Delhi and Agra, Báber's first act was to distribute the captured treasures to his adherents. But great efforts were still demanded for the reduction of the provinces, the governors of which formed themselves into an extensive and formidable confederacy, setting a son of the late Secander, as sovereign, at their head. Báber's principal officers, alarmed by the resistance which it seemed necessary to overcome, combined in offering him advice to return. Báber, declaring that he would relinquish such a conquest only with his life, displayed so formidable a spirit of resolution and perseverance, that in a short time the confederacy began to dissolve. Many of the omrahs who had hitherto expected Báber to withdraw as Tamerlane had done, now made their submission; de-



detachments were sent to reduce others ; and in about four months all had been brought into subjection.

After he had thus been acknowledged by all the Mussulmans, Báber had to commence a war with the Hindús, who, contrary to their usual practice, were on this occasion the aggressors.

Sanga, the Rajpút prince, who had consolidated and extended his hereditary empire, and at first opened a friendly communication with Báber, no sooner saw him seated on the throne of Delhi, than he began to form combinations against him. Several chiefs of the house of Lodi joined Rája Sanga and his allies ; who all soon arrived at Biana, within 50 miles of Agra. The garrison of that place was soon driven with loss into the fort. Báber on hearing this, sent forward a detachment to observe the enemy, and soon after moved out with all his forces. As he neared the Hindú army his advanced guard was attacked and defeated with heavy loss. Had the Rája pressed on during the first panic, it is probable he would have obtained an easy victory. But by withdrawing his encampment he allowed Báber ample time to take up a position and fortify it. Báber's troops, however, were dispirited, and this feeling was increased by the adverse prognostications of an astrologer who arrived from Cábúl at the time. Some of the Indian troops deserted, and others went over to the enemy, and all were alarmed. Báber was not insensible to the dangers of his situation : he tells us that he repented of his sins, forswore wine, and gave away his gold and silver drinking vessels to the poor. But he was too much used to danger to be depressed ; and that he might infuse some of his own spirit into his troops, he assembled his officers of all ranks, and made a direct appeal to their sense of honour, and set the



chance of glory against the risk of death. The whole assembly answered him with one voice, and swore on the Koran to conquer or die. The result of the battle was that Báber gained a complete victory. Rájá Sanga escaped with difficulty, and many chiefs were slain.—Báber expelled the astrologer from his dominions but gave him a liberal present.

Having promised before the battle, that he would allow any one who wished it, leave of absence to Cábul, Báber formed all who desired to avail themselves of that permission, into a detachment, and sent them back under the command of his eldest son Humáyun.

Báber spent the next six months in internal arrangements, and restoring order throughout the provinces that had been disturbed during the doubtful period of his contest with Rájá Sanga: and by the end of the year his authority was everywhere established except in Oud beyond the Ganges.

About the beginning of the next year, (1528,) Báber marched against the Rajpút state of Chándéri, near Málwa, the chief of which had made good his retreat after the late battle, and now offered a desperate resistance. On the second day of the siege the Rajpúts gave up all for lost, and Báber witnessed one of those extraordinary instances of self-devotion which are so common in Rajpút history. The garrison put their women to death, and rushed forth naked, not to conquer, but to die. They drove the Mussulmans before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued their charge with unabated fury until they were overpowered and destroyed.

During the siege of Chándéri, Báber received intelligence of the defeat of his detachment in Oud by an Afghan chief, and immediately marched, himself, in that



direction. He compelled the rebels to take refuge in Bengal; and it was probably on this occasion that he reduced South Behár. After some months of ill health he was engaged in a serious contest, which resulted in his acquisition of all Behár. But from this time Báber's health failed, and his end was probably hastened by a superstitious ceremony in which he took part, with the hope of relieving his son Humáyun from a disease, by devoting his own life in his stead.

Báber died at Agra in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign—only five years of which, however, had been in India. His body was buried by his own desire at Cábul. He is regarded as in many respects the most admirable prince that ever reigned in Asia. His *Memoirs* contain a most minute account of his life in a plain and manly style. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, and productions, are full and accurate. Through life he retained the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out on his career. The possession of power and grandeur neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination. "It is a relief," says Mr. Erskine, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood." His mother and female relations are mentioned with as much interest as if he had never left their fireside; and his friends are as prominent in the personal part of his narrative as he is himself. These excellencies are not without a set off. Báber was too much disposed to conviviality; and his indulgence in wine is believed to have shortened his life.



CHAPTER XIII.

HUMAYUN.

Arrangements with the King's brothers—Conquests of Guzerat—Rebellion of the King's brothers—War with Shír Khán—Defeat of Humáyun—Retreat through the Desert—Birth of Akber—Flight to Persia—Reception—Help obtained—Advance to Cábul and Candahár—Victory—Shír Shah's Reign in India—His Son's—Restoration of Humáyun—His Death.

BABER bequeathed his troubled empire to his son Humáyun, an amiable and accomplished prince, possessed of refined though somewhat fantastic tastes. He was particularly devoted to the study of the heavenly bodies, which in that age and country was much tinged with judicial astrology. From these recreations he was roused by the urgent cares of empire, to which he showed himself fully equal.

He yielded the Punjáb and the country on the Indus, to his brother Camrán, then governor of Cábul. At the same time he gave to his other brothers Hindál and Mírza, respectively, the government of Sambal and Mewát. As he still possessed Báber's veteran army, and profited by the impression of his power, the effects of the dismemberment did not at first appear.

Humáyun was soon involved in war with Bahádur Sháh, who had obtained the sovereignty of Guzerat. A mistaken religious zeal induced him to leave that prince unmolested, while engaged in hostilities against the Pagan prince of Chitór; but he now advanced with so great a force, and conducted operations so ably, that the other



was obliged to retreat into Guzerat, unable to meet his antagonist in the field. He next fled to Ahmedabad, having deposited his treasures in Chupanni, which was then considered an almost impregnable fortress. The young emperor, however, at the head of a chosen band, mounted the face of the perpendicular rock by fixing in it iron spikes, and carried the place by surprise,—an exploit still celebrated as equal to any achieved either by Tamerlane or Báber.

After this glorious termination of his first war, he might have expected a peaceful and prosperous reign; but it was speedily disturbed by his brothers, Camiran and Hindal, who were emboldened in their criminal designs by his excessive mildness and lenity. Having divisions of the army placed under their command, they successively laid claim to the supreme power.

These dissensions encouraged Shír Khán, a Patan chief, still in possession of Bengal, to advance with a powerful host against Humayun; who, unable from the distracted state of his affairs to muster a sufficient force, was worsted, and returned in a discomfited condition to Agra. The brothers, seeing that their disunion was about to produce the ruin of their house, rallied round the emperor, though not with the requisite cordiality. This last, having recruited his ranks, marched against Shír, but was again completely defeated, obliged to abandon his capital, and to seek refuge among the minor princes on the border. Few, however, remained faithful to the fallen monarch. After being obliged to flee from several courts, he sought protection in that of Maldeo, who had been the most urgent in his proffers of amity and alliance; but finding that this base chief had resolved to seize and deliver him to the enemy, he felt himself compelled to



remove instantly with his few remaining adherents across the Western Desert to the banks of the Indus.

In this march he experienced a pressure of calamity such as scarcely ever befell even the most unfortunate princes of the east. After suffering dreadful agonies from want of water, the party came to a well in which there was abundance; but they had only one bucket, and when it was drawn up, such crowds rushed forward, that, the rope breaking, it fell to the bottom, and several were precipitated after it. Meantime the rear-guard was repeatedly obliged to turn and repulse the enemy, who pursued close behind. Many of them perished before they reached Amercôt, on the opposite boundary of the desert.

It was this period of depression and affliction that gave birth to Akber, a prince destined to raise the Indian Empire to the greatest lustre that it ever enjoyed, (Oct. 14, 1542). Humáyun had marched for Sind the previous day. The young prince fell into the hands of his uncle Cámrán.

Humáyun sought refuge in Persia, and was received with the most magnificent hospitality by Sháh Tahmasp, who enabled him to maintain the outward forms of imperial rank. Humáyun, after agreeing to embrace the Shía side of Mahometanism, was also furnished with ten thousand men, to be employed in the recovery of his lost empire. He marched first into Cábul, where he was again encountered by fraternal rivalry, that province having been usurped by Cámrán. He next advanced and laid siege to Candahár, which soon surrendered to him, when he proceeded with a superior force against Cábul. There his brother awaited his approach; and, on his arrival, exhibited on the walls his boy Akber, bound to a funeral-pile, intimating that he would forthwith put the child to



death if the father should proceed to an attack upon the city. The latter, unmoved by this painful spectacle, expressed his determination to persevere, only adding the most dreadful threats if the horrid deed were perpetrated. The barbarian renounced his meditated crime, and, with his adherents, commenced a retreat. Humáyun entered the gates, embraced the young prince, and found himself again a king. He reigned nine years in that city, though constantly harassed by his relative, who, after reducing him repeatedly to great distress, was at last completely vanquished.

Meantime Shír had become undisputed master of the empire, and extended its limits on every side. He swayed the sceptre wisely and well; at which the Mogul historians are astonished, considering the treason by which he gained it; but, as a Patan, he owed only a very slight allegiance to the house of Báber, and ought not to be regarded as an usurper. His arrangements for the accommodation of travellers, which in the East, devolve generally upon the sovereign, were on a scale of which no former reign afforded an example. Across the entire breadth of Hindostan, from the Ganges to the Indus, there was formed a high-road bordered with fruit-trees, with a well every two miles, and caravanserais at every stage, where the traveller was accommodated at the public expense. Justice was maintained inviolate: general security reigned; and his death, at the end of five years, was considered a national calamity. His son Selím, supplied his place nine years, though neither with equal wisdom nor ability; but when he died, leaving his heir a minor, the empire, during the short reigns of Mohammed and Ibrahim, was distracted by dissensions among the royal family, and by the revolt of numerous omrahs and



viceroy. The friends of Humáyun then assured him, that his appearance with an army in any degree formidable would at once lay in the dust this ill-cemented dominion. Not being yet firmly seated on the throne of Cábul, he felt considerable hesitation in answering this call ; but at length he mustered 15,000 horse, and marched to the Indus, where Behram, his best general, joined him with a body of veterans from Candahár.

The army having crossed the river, first encountered Tartar Khán, governor of Lahore, whom Behram surprised and defeated. Meantime the Patan omrahs had placed on the throne Secunder, nephew to Shír, a prince qualified to lead them with vigour and talent. Having assembled 80,000 men, he proceeded to meet the invader ; and the battle was fought with an obstinacy suitable to the great prize for which the parties contended. On the side of the Moguls, it was conducted with energy and prudence by Humáyun and Behram ; but it was chiefly distinguished for the splendid heroism exhibited by the young Akber, then scarcely thirteen, whose example inspired the troops with almost supernatural ardour. The Patan host was at length completely routed and dispersed, and Secunder fled into the mountains of the north, leaving all the fine plain of Hindostan open to the conqueror.

Humáyun advanced to Delhi, and seated himself on his father's throne, from which he had been thirteen years excluded. He mounted it, however, only that he might die in possession ; for in less than a year after, descending the marble stairs of the palace, he fell, and was so severely bruised that he expired in a few days. He was a prince, brave, amiable, and learned, and his life was diversified with greater vicissitudes than that perhaps



of any other eastern monarch. These are imputed in a great measure to his excessive lenity, especially towards brothers who ill deserved it ; Ferishta even decides, that had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater ruler. No example, indeed, can afford a stronger apology for that cruelty which deforms the history of oriental kings. The principle of primogeniture, so firmly established in Europe, has there scarcely any hold on the feelings of the people ; and any prince of the blood-royal, who can form a party, or become popular, may cherish the hope of expelling the reigning sovereign.

CHAPTER XIV.

AKBER.

Accession of Akber—Behram Khán—Loses his influence—Akber assumes the Government—His plan of restoring and consolidating the Empire—Conquest of Cashmir—Recovers Candahár—Intemperance of Akber's eldest Son—Akber's illness and death—His Character—His Internal Policy—Treatment of Hindús—Collection of Revenue—Administration of Justice—Reform of the Army—Akber an Administrator and Warrior.

AKBER was only thirteen years and four months old at his father's death, and though unusually manly and intelligent for his age, was obviously incapable of administering the government. Behram Khán, who was therefore intrusted with the exercise of all the powers of



sovereignty, had been a distinguished officer under Humáyun before his expulsion from India. In the final defeat of that monarch by Shír Sháh, Behram was separated from his master, but made his way through many dangers to Sind, where he joined Humáyun in the third year after his expulsion. He became thenceforward the most confidential of Humáyun's officers, and to his exertions may be chiefly attributed the restoration of the house of Tamerlane.

Behram's military talents had enabled him to surmount many external difficulties; and even his arbitrary and inflexible disposition was essential to the maintenance of subordination in an army which Humáyun had not been able to keep in strict order, and which must soon have overturned the government after it fell into the hands of a minor. Behram's domination was therefore submitted to for a time; but the king, now advancing towards manhood, soon became impatient of the insignificance to which he was reduced by the dictatorial proceedings of his minister. His indignation was increased by the injustice of some of Behram's acts of power.

At length Akber was induced to make an effort to deliver himself from the thralldom in which he lived. Behram exerted himself, when too late, to recover the king's confidence. All ranks soon forsook the falling minister, to court the sovereign from whose youthful virtues, and even weaknesses, they expected a happy contrast to the strict controul of Behram. The minister meditated various schemes for retrieving his power, but at length set off for Nágór with the avowed intention of embarking, in Guzerat, for Mecca. On his way, irritated at some further proceedings of Akber, he changed his mind, assembled a body of troops, and going openly into



insurrection, attempted an invasion of the Punjáb. He was disappointed in his reception in that province, and obliged to throw himself on the king's mercy. Akber did not forget the great services of his former minister; and after investing him with a dress of honour, gave him his choice of one of the principal governments under the crown, a high station at court, or an honourable dismissal on his pilgrimage to Mecca. Behram's pride and prudence equally counselled the latter course. He was assigned a liberal pension; but while preparing for embarkation at Guzerat, he was assassinated by an Afghán, whose father he had formerly killed in battle in Humáyun's reign.

The charge which Akber had taken on himself seemed beyond the strength of a youth of eighteen; but the young king was possessed of more than usual advantages both from nature and education. He was born in the midst of hardships and brought up in captivity. His courage was exercised in his father's wars, and his prudence called forth by the delicacy of his situation during the ascendancy of Behram.

It was Akber who formed the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or religion, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindús to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every party to the highest stations in the service, according to their rank and merit; until as far as his dominions extended, they were filled with a loyal and united people.

But these were the fruits of time: and the first calls on Akber's attention were of an urgent nature;—

1. To establish his authority over his chiefs.



2. To recover the dominions of the crown.
3. To restore, in the internal administration of them, that order which had been lost amidst so many revolutions.

These important objects were all gradually and judiciously attained : and his territories also enlarged by the acquisition of Guzerat and Bengal. In these, and indeed in all the contests in which Akber was engaged, he displayed an activity and energy that secured him lasting fame. On the death of his brother (1585) who had been governor of Cábul, Akber went in person to that province, and was induced to attempt the conquest of the celebrated kingdom of Cashmír. This "terrestrial paradise" can only be approached by difficult and dangerous passes, which are often rendered impassable by snow. Part of Akber's army succeeded in penetrating, but it was not till the year following that a complete victory was obtained, and Cashmír lay at the disposal of Akber. The king was enrolled among the nobles of Delhi, and had a jagír assigned in Behár. Akber afterwards made a journey to Cashmír to enjoy the pleasures of his new conquest, but only repeated his visit twice during his reign. It however became the favourite retreat of his successors, and still maintains its celebrity as one of the fairest spots on earth.

Akber's next operations were against the north-eastern Afgháns, and met with stouter resistance and less success than any in which he had previously been engaged. In 1594 Akber recovered possession of Candahár, an acquisition which placed him in complete possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus, and nearly at the same time he had completed the conquest of Hindostan Proper. Sind had fallen in 1592 ; the last attempt at rebellion in Cashmír was quashed about the same time ; the reduction



of Bengal was completed by the submission of Orissa ; and all disturbances in Guzerat terminated in 1593 ; so that the whole of Hindostan to the Nerbudda was more under Akber's authority than it had been under any former king. The next object for Akber was to extend his dominions over the Deckan. The military operations necessary to effect this occupied Akber for nearly a year, when his return to Hindostan was rendered necessary by the refractory conduct of his eldest son Selím.

This prince had impaired his understanding and temper by the excessive use of wine and opium. Drinking seems to have been the vice of the age among the Mahometan kings. When Akber had left for the Deckan he had declared Selím his successor, and appointed him viceroy of Ajmír : but in his father's absence Selím had attempted to seize on the provinces of Hindostan for himself.

However much Akber may have been afflicted by this conduct he determined not to drive his son to extremities. He wrote a temperate letter warning him of the consequences of his conduct, and assuring him of his own undiminished affection, if he would return to the path of duty. Selím replied in the most submissive terms, but still continued to levy troops. After a pretended reconciliation with his father, in which Akber manifested the utmost kindness, Selím had leave to return to his residence in Allahábád, where he gave himself up more than ever to debauchery.

The emperor was much perplexed as to the course to pursue, and determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his son. He therefore set off for Allahábád, and had advanced one or two marches when he heard of the alarming illness of his own mother, and returned just in time to receive her last breath.



On hearing of this journey, and the cause of its suspension, Selím determined on going to Agra and submitting in good earnest to his father. He was kindly received, but placed for a short time under restraint, and confided to the care of a physician. Before long he was restored to freedom and to favour.

Akber had some years before, lost his eldest son, Morád; he now received accounts of the death of his third son, Dániál, who fell a victim to intemperance in the thirtieth year of his age. This calamity was felt by Akber in the degree that was to be expected from the strength of his attachments: and it is probable that his domestic afflictions, and the loss of his intimate friends, began to prey upon his spirits and undermine his health. In the middle of September, 1605, he became seriously ill, and though he retained his faculties to the last, he was no longer capable of taking part in business. He pronounced Selím the lawful successor to the kingdom, and, repeating the Mahomedan confession of faith, died, after a reign of fifty-one years.

Akber is described as a strong and handsome man. In his youth he indulged in wine but early became abstemious. Although so constantly engaged in wars, and occupied with improvements in the civil government, yet, by the judicious distribution of his time, and by his talents for the dispatch of business, he always had leisure for study and amusement. He was fond of witnessing all exercises of strength and skill. He took great pleasure in hunting, especially when attended with danger, and often underwent great fatigue for the mere pleasure of exercise.

But it is to his internal policy that Akber owes his place in that highest order of princes whose reigns have been a blessing to mankind. Akber's tolerant spirit was



displayed early in his reign, and appears to have been entirely independent of any doubts about the Mahometan faith. It led him, however, to listen, without prejudice, to the doctrines of other religions, and involved him in enmity with the bigoted members of his own.

Akber did not interfere much with the Hindú usages, but forbade trial by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty; and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time; and positively prohibited the burning of Hindú widows against their will, and took effectual precautions to ascertain that their resolution was free and uninfluenced. On one occasion, hearing that the Rája of Jódpur was about to force his son's widow to the pile, he mounted his horse and rode post to the spot to prevent the intended sacrifice.

The employment of Hindús equally with Mahometans began with Akber's assumption of the government. In the seventh year of his reign he abolished an odious impost called the capitation tax on infidels. At the same time all taxes on pilgrims were abolished. Still earlier (in 1561) he issued an edict most beneficial in its consequences: it was a prohibition against making slaves of persons taken in war.

In the collection of revenue Akber spared no pains to give precision and correctness to the excellent system established by Shír Sháh in his short reign. To do this he obtained a careful and correct measurement of the land: then ascertained the amount of the produce of every acre, so as to fix the proportion of the amount that each had to pay to the government: and settled an equivalent in money for the proportion so fixed.

In the administration of justice every case was fully stated and investigated; and, where the judges followed



their instructions, always decided according to law. The spirit of all the rules was liberal and humane, and the governors of provinces were enjoined to inflict no capital punishment, except in cases of dangerous sedition, until the proceedings were sent to court for the emperor's confirmation.

Amidst the reforms of other departments Akber did not forget his army. It was taught to obey orders: and, as a means of introducing economy and efficiency into it, the troops were paid in cash, and with as much regularity as practicable. A license to plunder had too frequently constituted the pay of the soldiery in former reigns.

"Thus Akber was at once a conqueror and an administrator. He had no delight in conquest. He fought when it was necessary to fight—and he fought with courage and vigour seldom surpassed. But he was happiest when engaged in the work of civil administration; and history delights to contemplate him rather as a philanthropic statesman, whose internal policy has placed him in the first rank of the great kings of all ages and all countries, than as a warrior whose victories have secured him the applause of more vulgar and unreflecting minds."*

* Kaye.



CHAPTER XV.

JEHANGIR.

State of India — Rebellion of Jehángir's eldest son — How crushed — Story of Núr Jehán — Her marriage to the Emperor — Sir T. Roe — His accounts of the Kingdom — Decline of the administration — Magnificence of the Court — Emperor's habits — Illness — Schemes of Núr Jehán — Mohabat Khán — His arrest of the Emperor — Jehángir rescued.

SELIM took possession of the government immediately on his father's death, and assumed the title of Jehángir, (Conqueror of the world.)

He found the whole of his dominions on the north of the Nerbudda in as tranquil a state as could be expected in so extensive an empire ; though in the Deckan, affairs wore a troublesome aspect, and rebellion continued in part of Bengal.

Jehángir confirmed most of his father's old officers in their stations, and remitted some vexatious duties that had survived Akber's reforms : notwithstanding his own notorious habits he strictly forbad the use of wine and regulated that of opium. He restored the Mahometan confession of faith on his coin, but though more superstitious, he was less devout than Akber.

Khusru, the eldest son of the new emperor had long been estranged from his father ; and it is by no means probable that Jehángir's treatment of him was such as would be likely to sooth his feelings. His behaviour does not appear to have given rise to any suspicion until about four months after the accession, when Jehángir was



awakened at midnight, with the intelligence that his son had fled, with a few attendants, and taken the road to Delhi. He immediately dispatched a light force in pursuit, and followed himself next morning with all the troops he could collect.

Khusru had collected 10,000 men by the time he reached the Punjáb : and he was attempting to reduce the citadel of Lahore when he was disturbed by the approach of his father's advanced guard. He was soon totally defeated and brought in chains before his father. Khusru's principal advisers fell into the hands of the emperor, by whom they were most cruelly tortured : 700 prisoners were impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahore, and Khusru carried along the line on an elephant to witness their frightful agonies. The unhappy prince passed three days in bitter anguish, and remained for long after a prey to the deepest melancholy.

It was in the sixth year of his reign that Jehángir contracted a marriage with the celebrated Núr Jehán, an event which influenced all the succeeding transactions of his life.

The grandfather of this lady was a native of Teheran in Persia, of high birth. His son however, was reduced to poverty, and emigrated to India. On his arrival in Candahár in great distress, his wife was delivered of Núr Jehán ; and into so abject a condition had they fallen that the parents were unable to provide for the conveyance of their infant, or to maintain the mother so as to admit of her giving it support. The future empress was therefore exposed on the way by which the caravan was next morning to proceed. She was observed by a principal merchant of the party, who took her up and resolved to educate her as his own.



As a woman in a situation to act as nurse was not easy to be found in a caravan, it is a matter of no surprise that her own mother should have been the person employed in that capacity : and the merchant's attention being thus drawn to the distresses of the family, he perceived them to be persons much above their present condition, and after relieving their immediate wants, employed the father and his eldest son in matters connected with his business. Through his means they were subsequently introduced to Akber, and after filling some subordinate offices soon rose by their own abilities.

In the mean time Núr Jehán grew up and began to excite admiration by her beauty and elegance. She attracted the notice of Jehángír, then prince Selím. Akber remonstrated with his son, and recommended that Núr Jehán should be married and removed from the prince's sight. She was bestowed on Shír Afghán Khán, a young Persian lately come into the service, and to him Akber gave a jágír in Bengal.

But these means were not sufficient to efface the impression made on Jehángír, and after he became emperor he charged his foster brother Kutb u dín, the viceroy of Bengal, to procure for him the object of his passion. Shír Afghán no sooner suspected the design than he resigned his command and left the emperor's service. The viceroy in attempting to fulfil Jehángír's wishes was killed by Shír Afghán who immediately afterwards fell himself. Núr Jehán was seized and sent as a prisoner to Delhi. Jehángír tried in vain to soothe and conciliate her. She regarded him as the murderer of her husband, and rejected all his overtures. After the lapse of a considerable time she was induced to think more favourably of his offers, and their marriage was celebrated with great pomp.



Nūr Jihán was raised to honours such as had never before been enjoyed by the consort of any king in India. Her name was put on the coin along with the Emperor's. Her father was made prime minister. Her brother was placed in a high station: the Emperor took no step without consulting her. Though her sway produced bad consequences it was on the whole beneficial. Her father was a wise and upright minister, and from the time of his accession to office a great improvement took place in the government.

It was during this reign, in the year 1615, that Sir T. Roe arrived at the court, as ambassador from King James I. His accounts enable us to judge of the state of India under Jehángír.

The sea-ports and the customs were full of gross abuses, the governors seizing on goods at arbitrary prices. Even Roe, though otherwise treated with hospitality and respect, had his baggage searched and some articles taken by the governor. His journey from Surat, by Burhánpúr and Chitór, to Ajmír, lay through the Deckan, where war was raging, and the Rana's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or alarm, except from mountaineers, who then, as now, rendered the roads unsafe in times of trouble.

The Deckan bore strong marks of devastation and neglect. Burhánpúr, which had before, as it has since, been a fine city, contained only four or five good houses amidst a collection of mud huts; and the court of Parvíz, held in that town, had no pretensions to splendour.

In other places he was struck with the decay and desertion of some towns, contrasted with the prosperity of others. The former were, in some instances at least, deserted capitals; and their decline affords no argument against the general prosperity.



The administration of the country had rapidly declined since Akber's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors exacters and tyrannical.

Though a judicious and sober writer, Roe is profuse in his praise of the magnificence of the court; and he speaks in high terms of the courtesy of the nobility, and of the order and elegance of the entertainments they gave to him. His reception, indeed, was in all respects most hospitable, though the very moderate scale of his presents and retinue was not likely to conciliate a welcome where state was so generally maintained. He was excused all humiliating ceremonies, was allowed to take the highest place in the court on public occasions, and was continually admitted into familiar intercourse with the emperor himself.

The scenes he witnessed at his private interviews form a curious contrast to the grandeur with which the Mogul was surrounded. He sat on a low throne all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies; and had a great display of gold plate, vases, and goblets, set with jewels. The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them remaining sober, except Sir Thomas and a few other grave personages, who were cautious in their indulgence. Jehángir himself never left off till he dropped asleep, when the lights were extinguished and the company withdrew.

Though Roe speaks highly in some respects of particular great men, he represents the class as unprincipled, and all open to corruption. The treaty he had to negotiate hung on for upwards of two years, until he bribed Asof Khán with a valuable pearl; after which all went on well and smoothly. Both Roe and other contemporary travellers represent the military spirit as already much declined, and speak of the Rajpúts and Patans as the only brave soldiers to be found.



The manual arts were in a high state, and were not confined to those peculiar to the country. One of Sir T. Roe's presents was a coach, and within a very short period several others were constructed, very superior in materials and fully equal in workmanship. Sir Thomas also gave a picture to the Mogul, and was soon after presented with several copies, among which he had great difficulty in distinguishing the original. There was a great influx of Europeans, and considerable encouragement to their religion. Jehángir had figures of Christ and the Virgin at the head of his rosary; and two of his nephews embraced Christianity, with his full approbation.

In 1621 disturbances occurred in the Deckan which were quelled by Sháh Jehán, the emperor's second son.

Not longer after this success Jehángir was seized with a violent attack of asthma, and was for some time in such imminent danger as to lead to expectations of an immediate vacancy of the throne.

Prince Parváz, the Emperor's third son, hastened to court but was sent back with a reprimand. Prince Khusru died suddenly; and this event, which seemed to complete the security of Sháh Jehán's succession, was the cause of a series of dangers and disasters that nearly ended in his ruin.

Núr Jehán had affianced her daughter by Shír Afghán to prince Sheriar the youngest son of Jehángir; and now determined by all means to oppose the succession of Sháh Jehán. To aid her in this object she called to court the most rising general of the time, Mohábat Khán.

The distrust between the Emperor and Sháh Jehán was soon increased until it led to the open rebellion of the latter. Sháh Jehán was defeated and fled to the Deckan where he united with his old opponent Malik Amber.



Prince Parváz and Mohábat Khán, at the head of a large force, soon pressed him here so severely that his army deserted, and he offered his submission to the Emperor; who directed him to send his two sons, Dará and Aurang-zíb to court, as hostages for his future good behaviour.

No sooner was Sháh Jehán reduced to submission than the domineering spirit of Núr Jehán raised up new enemies. She now distrusted and persecuted Mohábat Khán, who was summoned to answer charges of oppression and embezzlement during the time of his occupation of Bengal. Finding his appearance insisted on, he set out, accompanied by 5000 Rajpúts, whom he had contrived to attach to his service.

When he perceived that he would not be admitted to the emperor's presence, he resolved not to wait till he should be separated from his troops, but to strike a blow the very audacity of which should go far to insure its success.

Jehángír was at this time encamped on the Hydaspes; and was preparing to cross it by a bridge of boats on his way to Cábul. He sent the army across the river intending to follow when the crowd and confusion should be over. The whole of the troops had passed, and the emperor remained with his personal guards, when Mohábat, before day break, sent a detachment of 2000 men to seize the bridge, while he himself, at the head of a chosen body pushed straight for the emperor's tent. The guards and attendants, were soon dispersed, when Jehángír, awakened by the noise started up and exclaimed, Ah Mohábat Khán, traitor! what is this? Mohábat prostrating, lamented that he had been obliged to have recourse to force to obtain, access to his master. Jehángír at first could scarcely restrain his indignation, but observing that,



amidst all Mohábat's humility, he was not to be trifled with, he endeavoured to conciliate his captor.

Mohábat now suggested to him that as it was near his usual time of mounting, it was desirable he should show himself in public to remove alarm and check mis-representation. Jehángír submitted to be placed on an elephant with armed Rajpúts by his side.

Núr Jehán, when she found all access to the emperor prevented, put on a disguise and set out for the bridge, in a litter of the most ordinary description. As the guards were ordered to let every one pass, but permit none to return, she crossed without obstruction. Immediate preparations were soon made for rescuing the Emperor, and the whole army moved to the attack, headed by Núr Jehán herself, who appeared in the howdah of a high elephant with a bow and two quivers of arrows. The bridge had been burned by the Rajpúts and the army began to cross by a ford : this was a narrow shoal between deep water, and full of dangerous pools.

The Rajpúts had the advantage of the ground and succeeded in keeping the troops from landing. A scene of universal tumult ensued and numbers perished. Núr Jehán escaped unhurt after being exposed to great perils. Seeing there was no hope of rescuing her husband by force, she determined to join him in his captivity, and trust to her own arts to effect his deliverance.

Mohábat soon felt his power insecure. The Emperor used various artifices to blind him, and as the army approached Cábul, the Rajpúts were involved in various quarrels with the Afgháns, which were promoted by the plots of Núr Jehán, until in September 1626, Jehángír was rescued, and Mohábat Khán's power irretrievably lost. He soon after joined Sháh Jehán, and as the death



of the Emperor occurred the following year, that prince took formal possession of the throne. Núr Jehán survived for many years, but received a liberal pension, and her name is never again mentioned in history.

Sheriar, the youngest and only other surviving son of Jehángir, to whom the crown had been bequeathed, was defeated and deprived of sight.

CHAPTER XVI.

SHAH JEHAN.

Local Disturbances—War in the Deckan—Conquest of Lódi—Subjugation of the Deckan—Attempt to recover Candahár—Death of Sáad Ulla Khán—Sháh Jehán's Four Sons—Their Conspiracies—Treachery and Success of Aurangzib—He deposes His Father—Imprisons His Brother—Character of Sháh Jehán's Reign—His Magnificence—Táj Mahal—Death.

WHEN firmly established in his government Sháh Jehán indemnified himself for his late fatigues and privations, by giving a loose to his passion for magnificent buildings and expensive entertainments.

He was disturbed in these enjoyments by an irruption of the Uzbeks into Cábul. They were soon put down by an army under Mohábat Khán; who had immediately afterwards to march into the Deckan against a more formidable enemy. This was Lódi, an Afghán who had held high office under the late emperor, and now suspected the



good faith of Sháh Jehán towards him. A severe contest followed, in which great bravery was shown on both sides, but Lódi ultimately fell, in the midst of a small band of faithful adherents who had accompanied him to Bundélcund, in the year 1630.

After the conquest of Lódi, the war in the Deckan was little else than a series of ravages. The princes were able to make little resistance. A dreadful famine, from several years of excessive drought, which prevailed throughout India and a great part of Asia, added its horrid evils to the calamities which overwhelmed the inhabitants of the Deckan. The princes sued for peace, and the Emperor agreed to withdraw his army, which he now found it difficult to subsist, retaining, as a security for good behaviour, the forts which had fallen into his hands.

The emperor, thus secured in the possession of the sceptre, added another to the list of princes who, after seizing it by violence, wielded it with firmness and justice. The sternness of his temper was now employed in overawing the haughty viceroys, and guarding the people against oppression. He derived, doubtless, much aid from the wise counsels of Asof Khán and Mohábat, whom, notwithstanding some fits of jealousy, he continued to employ. Sometimes their intercession softened the extreme rigour of his justice, particularly in the case of the Rája of Bundélcund, whom he had ordered for execution. When Mohábat pleaded for the life of the guilty chief, the monarch not only granted it, but restored him to his full dignity. At one time, though wholly indifferent to the Mohammedan religion, he was so provoked by the manifold absurdities of the Hindú worship, that he began to make it an object of persecution; but, seeing the eagerness with which the people clung to their proscribed ritual, he



became sensible of his error, and resumed the system of toleration which his family had been accustomed to extend to both creeds.

Several insurrections occurred in the Deckan, and in 1635 Sháh Jehán went in person to that country to make another effort to subdue it. After various engagements he returned to his capital in 1637, after entirely suppressing his most formidable enemies.

Having enjoyed several years of repose he was induced to assert the dormant rights of his family to Candahár. In this enterprise he was assisted by a large body of Rajpúts, whose energy and valour were most conspicuously displayed. They stormed mountain passes, made forced marches over snow, and bore up against the tempests of that frozen region as firmly as against the fierce attacks of the Uzbeks. Year after year all the resources of the empire were employed to no purpose on this object, and the last attempt of the Moguls to recover Candahár terminated in 1653.

Then followed two years of undisturbed tranquillity. During that time Sháh Jehán completed a revenue survey of his possessions in the Deckan on which he had been engaged nearly twenty years. An improved system of assessment and collection was the consequence.

This period was also marked by the death of the vizír, Saád Ulla Khán, the most able and upright minister that ever appeared in India. He had been of the greatest value to Sháh Jehán and the Empire, and for many years after his death, was referred to as a model of every excellence.

In the following year the war in the Deckan was renewed under the generalship of the emperor's third son Aurangzíb, who succeeded by treachery in taking Hyder-



abad, and afterwards in effecting the submission of the king of Golconda from whom a large annual tribute was exacted.

In 1657 the emperor was seized with an illness of so serious a nature that it not only threatened an immediate transfer of the crown to Dàrá, the eldest son, but invested him at the moment with the administration of his father's government.

Sháh Jehán had four sons, all of an age to render them impatient of a subordinate station. Dàrà was in his forty-second year; Shujá was forty; and Aurangzíb thirty-eight. Even Morád the youngest had long been employed in great commands. Dàrà was a frank and high-spirited prince, dignified and liberal; but impetuous, and impatient of opposition. Shujà was not destitute of abilities, but given up to wine and pleasure. Aurangzíb was a perfect contrast to Dàrà. He was cautious, artful, designing; a perfect master of dissimulation; and ever on the watch to gain friends and to propitiate enemies. To these qualities were joined great courage and military skill; with a bigoted adherence to the Mussulman creed. The youngest son, Morád, was brave and generous but dull, and vulgar in his pursuits.

Notwithstanding every precaution on the part of Dàrà, the brothers soon obtained information of the king's dangerous illness. The first to act was Prince Shujà the viceroy of Bengal, who immediately put his troops in motion.

Prince Morád, viceroy of Guzerat, soon followed his example and seized on all the money in the district treasuries,

Aurangzíb conducted himself with more caution. He did not assume the royal title as Shujà and Morád had



While he urged on the preparation of his troops he made no open declaration. He left Dàrà and Shujà to weaken each other for his profit, and applied all his arts to gain Moràd, whom he might hope to render an instrument in his own hands. He wrote to Moràd declaring it to be his own intention to renounce the world and to retire to Mecca; but yet offered his services against the irreligious Dàrà. This coarse artifice was perfectly successful. Moràd suspected nothing, and dazzled by the prospect of assistance so necessary to the support of his feeble cause.

Dàrà took various defensive measures to resist the threatened attacks of his rivals. He sent an army under Jeswant Sing, to watch Moràd and Aurangzīb. He himself went to Agra, and sent a force under his son Sólimàn to oppose the approach of Shujà. By this time Shàh Jehàn was sufficiently recovered to resume the general controul of the government; but his confidence in Dàrà was only increased by the misconduct of the other princes. He wrote to Shujà commanding him in positive terms, to return to his government. Shujà, however, continued to move on with his army until he met the force under Solimàn, by whom he was defeated, near Benares, and compelled to return to Bengal.

Meanwhile Aurangzīb formed a junction with Moràd, and their combined force attacked that under Jeswant Sing. The imperial army was defeated, though the Rajpúts fought bravely, and Jeswant Sing retired in disorder. Aurangzīb ordered all the chiefs, after this battle, to return their thanks to Moràd, as if he alone were the fountain of all honour. The two victorious princes then moved on to Chambal, near Gwàliór.

Dàrà advanced against them with a force greatly su-



superior in point of numbers, and without waiting for the addition that the arrival of Sólímán, then on his way from Benares, would have given to him, he commenced an action at Samaghar, near Agra. The bravery of the Rajpúts who fought under Dárá seemed to promise victory to the imperial army; but at the most critical juncture Aurangzíb was unshaken; he presented his elephant wherever there was the greatest danger, and called aloud to his troops that "God was with them and that they had no other refuge or retreat." The fate of the battle was decided by a circumstance that has so often produced a similar effect in oriental contests. Dárá was pressing forward on his elephant, conspicuous to all his troops, when a rocket from the enemy struck the elephant, and rendered it so ungovernable that he had no choice but to throw himself from its back and mount a horse. His disappearance struck a sudden alarm among the distant troops; the panic soon spread through the whole army. The death of an Asiatic leader is often the loss of the battle; in a civil war it is the annihilation of the cause.

The victory was no sooner decided than Aurangzíb threw himself on his knees and returned thanks to divine Providence. His next care was to salute his brother, Morád, and congratulate him on the acquisition of a kingdom.

Dárá fled to Agra with a mere wreck of the great army he had so lately led forth from it. He was ashamed to present himself before his father, to the disregard of whose opinion he partly owed his ruin; and after securing some valuables at his own palace, he continued his flight towards Delhi, accompanied by his wife and two of his children.

Aurangzíb marched to Agra three days after the battle; and took immediate possession of the city. He



protested his inviolable respect and duty to his father; but found it impossible to reverse his decision in favour of Dárá. He at length sent his own son Mohammed Sul-tán to take complete possession of the citadel. Sháh Jehán, was treated with the greatest respect, but, though he lived for seven years longer, his reign ends at this period. It seems unaccountable that so able a prince should have been thus dethroned without any of his old servants attempting to stir in his favour: but he had long ceased to head his armies, and the troops looked to the princes who had the immediate distribution of their honours and rewards. To this consideration must be added the peculiar ability of Aurangzíb for defeating conspiracies and managing factions.

Having soon no further use for Morád, Aurangzíb dismissed him from his pretended sovereignty, without even the ceremony of a quarrel or a complaint. He kept up the delusion of that simple prince, by submissive behaviour, till they had marched from Agra in pursuit of Dárá, when he one day invited Morád to supper, and circulated the wine so freely that Morád was soon in a state of helpless intoxication. On this he was stripped of his arms without resistance, was put into chains, and sent off on an elephant to Delhi, and afterwards to the state prison in Gwáliór: while three other elephants were dispatched under similar escorts, in different directions, to mislead people as to his place of confinement. Aurangzíb then continued his march to Delhi where he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor.

The reign of Sháh Jehán, thus harshly closed, was perhaps the most prosperous ever known in India. Though sometimes engaged in foreign wars, his own dominions enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity,



together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations.

Notwithstanding Sháh Jehán's love of ease and pleasure, and the time spent in his visits to Cashmír, and the erection of those celebrated structures in which he took so much delight, he never remitted his vigilance over his internal government; and by this, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system, and even introduced important improvements,—such as his survey of the Deckan.

Kháfi Khán, the best historian of those times, gives his opinion, that, although Akber was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a lawgiver, yet, for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances, and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Sháh Jehán.

Whatever might be the relative excellence of his government, we must not suppose that it was exempt from the evils inherent in a despotism: we may assume some degree of fraudulent exaction in the officers of revenue, and of corruption in those of justice; and we have the testimony of European travellers to acts of extortion by customhouse officers, and of arbitrary power by governors of provinces; but, after all deductions on these accounts, there will remain enough to convince us that the state of India under Sháh Jehán was one of great ease and prosperity.

Sháh Jehán was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact that they neither occasioned



any increase to his exactions nor any embarrassment to his finances. The most striking instance of his pomp and prodigality was his construction of the famous peacock throne. It took its name from a peacock with its tail spread (represented in its natural colours in sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other appropriate jewels,) which formed the chief ornament of a mass of diamonds and precious stones that dazzled every beholder. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, the common belief, that it cost 160,500,000 livres, nearly six millions and a half sterling.

But his greatest splendour was shown in his buildings. He founded a new city at Delhi, built on a regular plan, and far surpassing the old one in magnificence: three wide streets (one of great length ornamented by a canal and rows of trees, and composed of houses rising over a line of shops under arcades,) led to a spacious esplanade, in the centre of which, and on the Jumna, stood the fortified palace; the spacious courts, marble halls, and golden domes of which have so often been the subject of enthusiastic description. In the opinion of Bishop Heber it is far superior to the Kremlin at Moscow. The great mosque of the same city is a work of extraordinary elegance and grandeur.

But of all the structures erected by Sháh Jehán, there is none that bears any comparison with the Táj Mahal at Agra, a mausoleum of white marble decorated with mosaics, which, for the richness of the material, the chasteness of the design, and the effect at once brilliant and solemn, is not surpassed by any other edifice, either in Europe or Asia.

All these vast undertakings were managed with so much economy that, after defraying the expenses of his great expeditions to Candahár, his wars in Balkh, and



other heavy charges, and maintaining a regular army of 200,000 horse, Sháh Jehán left a treasure, which some reckon at near six, and some at twenty-four millions sterling, in coin, besides his vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in jewels.

Notwithstanding the unamiable character given of him in his youth, the personal conduct of Sháh Jehán seems to have been blameless when on the throne. His treatment of his people was beneficent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which (unlike most Eastern princes) he so generously reposed in his sons.

Sháh Jehán had reigned thirty years; he was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

CHAPTER XVII.

AURANGZIB.

Aurangzib marches after his brothers—Defeats Shujá—Attacks and defeats Dárá, who is captured and murdered—Treatment of Sháh Jehán—Aurangzib's administration—His illness—Rise of the Maratta power—Its founder Sévaji—Death of Sháh Jehán—Bernier's account of the country—War with Sévaji—His death—Latter years of Aurangzib—His character.

AURANGZIB was seated on the throne of India; but he did not consider his position secure while his brothers Dárá and Shujá lived, and were at the head of powerful armies. The former, from his brilliant qualities, and his



designation to the empire by Sháh Jehán, inspired the greatest apprehension; and against him the first efforts of the new sovereign were directed. Having withdrawn into Lahore, Dará had collected a numerous army, composed, however, chiefly of new levies, whom he was afraid to bring into the field against his brother's veteran forces. He therefore retired beyond the Indus; but retreat in these circumstances, and with such troops, was not less disastrous than actual defeat. His ranks gradually melted away, and he arrived at Tatta with only a small body of faithful adherents.

It would now have been the policy of Aurangzíb to pursue Dará without intermission; but he was necessarily checked by the intelligence that his brother Shujá, with a large force, was advancing from Bengal. He found this rival very strongly posted near Allahábad; but, trusting to the valour and hardihood of his own troops, he resolved to attack him. On the third or fourth day, Aurangzíb was forming his line before day break, when he was surprised by a prodigious uproar that suddenly arose in his rear. This was occasioned by Rájá Jeswant Sing, who though now serving in his camp, in command of the Rajpúts, had treacherously attacked his baggage. The rája had not been received with the distinction he expected, and had entered on a correspondence with Shujá, promising to fall upon the baggage at a particular hour, when the prince's army was also to attack in front. Had the co-operation been complete it must have been successful; for although Shujá was not at his post in time it had nearly occasioned the dispersion of his rival's army.

By this time the sun had risen, and Shujá was seen advancing to the attack. The battle began by a cannonade, soon followed by a close action: Aurangzíb's right



was forced back, and his centre, where he was himself, was hard pressed. He was often in imminent danger; and his elephant was charged by another of greater strength, and would have been borne to the ground, if the opposite driver had not been shot by one of the king's guards. But he still continued to press upon the enemy's centre, until they at length gave way and fled from the field, leaving 114 pieces of cannon and many elephants to the victor.

Aurangzib was again obliged to allow some respite to a vanquished adversary; for Dára, after reaching Tatta, re-crossed the Indus, and proceeded through the great desert into the province of Guzerat. There he prevailed upon the governor, whose daughter had been married to Morád, to espouse his cause; and having raised a considerable army, he advanced into Rajpútána, and in the neighbourhood of Ajmír, its capital, intrenched himself in a position of extraordinary strength.

Aurangzib, who marched from Agra as soon as he heard of the proceedings in Guzerat, was now at Jeipúr, and soon arrived in front of Dára's position. Cannonading for three days with loss to his own army, he ordered a general assault. It was obstinately resisted for many hours, till the death of Sháh Nawáz, who fell just as a party of Aurangzib's troops had mounted the rampart, so disheartened Dára, that he fled with precipitation, and his troops dispersed in all directions. Even the body of horse that adhered to his person gradually straggled and fell off, and some even plundered the treasure which he was endeavouring to save from the wreck of his resources.

He reached Ahmedábád after eight days and nights of almost incessant marching; exposed to intolerable heat and merciless attacks from the hill tribes. He was not



permitted to enter Ahmedábád, and, deserted by nearly all his followers, proceeded with his family to Cach, in the greatest distress. While continuing his march to Canda-hár, Dára and his son were treacherously seized by a chief of Jún and delivered to Aurangzíb.

He was led through Delhi miserably mounted and almost in rags. But Aurangzíb had miscalculated the effect of this exhibition; for the multitude, when they beheld their once noble and gallant ruler led to death under circumstances so fearfully changed, and beside him his son, a spirited and graceful boy, over whom so dark a destiny impended, were seized with the deepest sympathy, and melted into tears, mingled with curses against the tyrant. The capital seemed on the eve of insurrection. The emperor felt that he must hasten to close the tragedy. Assassins were accordingly introduced in the night, beneath whose blows his unfortunate brother fell after a desperate resistance; and, through the address of the monarch, the commotion in the city quickly subsided.

Aurangzíb had now only to dispose of Shujá, who, under favour of this diversion, had rallied his broken forces. But as little apprehension was felt in that quarter, it was thought enough to detach against him Prince Mohammed and Jumla the vizír.

Shujá, on retiring towards Bengal, had taken up a position at Móngír, and had thrown up a strong intrenchment between the hills and the Ganges. Prince Mohammed entered into a correspondence with Shujá, and finally deserted to his camp. Shujá received him with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but from some unknown cause, the prince, after taking part in hostilities, again deserted his party, and returned to Mír Jumla's camp. By Aurangzíb's order the prince was immediately



arrested and sent to the strong fortress of Gwáliór, where he pined away the remainder of his life, which terminated in seven years.

Shujá was defeated by Mír Jumla, and having fled into Arracan, was betrayed by the rája, and he with all his family perished. Sólimán, the son of Dará, was taken prisoner among the Himmaleh mountains, whither he had fled for refuge; and thus Aurangzíb was left without a rival. The atrocious murder of Morád, which took place a few months after Sólimán's imprisonment, justifies the worst suspicions in regard to the fate of all the others.

When the quiet of Bengal had been restored by the successes of Mír Jumla, it seems to have been an object with Aurangzíb to find employment for that powerful minister. To this end he was sent in March, 1662, on an expedition to Assam, of which he took possession. When the rainy season set in he and his troops suffered much, and he died on the journey home, from the fatigue endured. This was in 1663.

A few months before this Aurangzíb received a severe warning of the precarious terms on which he still held his life and empire. Soon after the fifth anniversary of his accession he was seized with a violent illness, which at first threatened his immediate death, and afterwards left him in a state of extreme bodily weakness. This unexpected event almost overturned his newly-established government. But all the plots and intrigues for this purpose were frustrated by the constancy and presence of mind of Aurangzíb himself: and as soon as he was able to travel he set off to Cashmír where he soon regained his strength. (Dec. 1662).

While Aurangzíb was seeking repose in the north, a scene was opening in the Deckan which soon demanded



his attention. Though the Marattas had never appeared in history as a nation, they had as strongly marked a character as if they had always formed a united commonwealth.

The north western part of peninsula India composes the territory of Maharashtra, and includes a surface of about 100,000 square miles. It is traversed by branches of the ghauts and Vindya mountains, diversified with bleak table lands, and broken by numerous streams and torrents. All the hills and fastnesses were occupied by petty chieftains, who paid a mere outward homage to the imperial throne, or the kingdom of Bijapúr; and during Aurangzíb's contests with his brothers, opportunities were offered to a leader of daring and ability, to erect them into an independent community. Such a person was Sévají, the founder of the Maratta dynasty.

Sévají was well descended, and his early training was such as to prepare him for the events of his subsequent history. The hill forts belonging to Bijapúr were generally much neglected; being remote and unhealthy. Of many of these Sévají contrived to get possession, and in time obtained the northern Concan. In 1662 he came to an open rupture with the Mogul Emperor, surprised Púna, and plundered Surat. The imperial government then sent Rája Jei Sing against him. Sévají despaired of successful resistance, and agreed to hold his possessions as a jagír from the Mogul emperor. He then went to Delhi, but was so disgusted by the haughty reception he met with from Aurangzíb, he soon contrived to make his escape from that court, and after nine months wanderings made good his retreat to his own dominions, arriving at Raighar in December 1666.

It was at this period that Sháh Jehán died. Though



always confined to the citadel of Agra, he had been treated with great respect, and allowed an ample establishment and complete authority within the palace. He carried this control so far as to prevent the removal of Dárá's daughter, whom Aurangzíb wished to marry to a son of his own; and also to withhold some valuable crown jewels which the emperor was anxious to possess: on these subjects, several letters of remonstrance and expostulation passed between him and his son.

Aurangzíb continued for many years to occupy the throne of the Mogul dominion, which, under him, attained to great extent and glory. After he had added to it the kingdoms of the Deccan, it included nearly the whole peninsula of India, with the neighbouring regions of Cabul and Assam,—territories, the population and wealth of which probably exceeded those of the Roman empire during its most flourishing period. The revenues amounted to 32 millions sterling, which, though inferior to the immense income of one or two modern European states, was then probably unexampled. His internal administration was conducted with great ability. Amid the somewhat ostentatious display and splendour of his court, his personal conduct remained pure and even austere; he neither allowed to himself, nor permitted in his palace, any species of disorder or licentiousness.

It was during the reign of Aurangzíb that Bernier, an intelligent and reflecting traveller, spent some years in India, and applied himself with diligence to investigate the state of the Mogul government and empire. The description he gives is that of a country going to ruin, rather than of one flourishing under a just and impartial government. He observes, that supposing the sovereign inclined to enforce justice, he might perhaps have suc-



ceeded within his own immediate circle, in Delhi, Agra, and the close vicinity of these capitals ; but in the provinces and remote districts the people had no adequate protection from the rapacity of the governors, who ruled with arbitrary power, and whom he characterizes as "men fit for ruining a world." This was confirmed by the mean garb, and the anxiety to assume the semblance of poverty, which prevailed even among those whom other circumstances proved to be possessed of exorbitant wealth. The people could appeal to no court of justice, no administrators of the law, no independent tribunals. The only object of those intrusted with any power was to amass wealth during the short and precarious tenure of their possession, regardless if afterwards the whole state should fall into ruin.

Aurangzib devised various schemes to entrap Sévaji, without the expense and damage of a protracted war. But Sévaji turned all the emperor's plans against himself ; and in 1670 again plundered Surat ; the following year he defeated the Mogul army in a field action at Aurangabad. Active operations were now suspended in the Deccan, as Aurangzib was occupied by a war with the north-eastern Afghans. In 1673 the emperor determined to conduct the war in person. This war lasted two years.

In 1676 Sévaji's success in Southern India again called the Emperor's attention to the Deccan. The open desertion of his son Akber, and the attempt made by him to secure the government, at one time placed Aurangzib in great peril, from which his presence of mind, and abilities for scheming, saved him.

In 1680 Sévaji died at the age of fifty-three. Though the son of a powerful chief he had begun life as a daring and artful captain of banditti, had ripened into a skilful



general and an able statesman, and left a character which has never been equalled by any of his countrymen. His son Sambají proved a weak, cruel, and despotic prince. In 1683 Aurangzib arrived in the Deckan in command of a large force, and after a desolating war that extended over five years, made Sambají prisoner, and put him to death.

In reviewing the events of these years, it is impossible not to admire the persevering spirit with which Aurangzib bore up against the difficulties and misfortunes that overshadowed his declining years. He was sixty-five when he crossed the Nerbudda to take the field in person against the Marattas; and had attained his eighty-first year before he quitted his cantonments for the seat of empire. The violent heats, in tents, and during marches, were often rendered overpowering by failure of water; general famines and pestilences came more than once, in addition to the scarcity and sickness to which his own camp was liable; and all was aggravated by accounts of the havoc and destruction committed by the enemy in distant places. But in all these discouragements Aurangzib retained his vigour. He alone conducted every branch of his government in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns and issued instructions during their progress; drawings of forts were sent for him to fix on the points of attack; his letters embrace measures for keeping open the roads in the Afghán country; for quelling disturbances in Múltan, and recovering Candahár, while every detachment in the Deckan had some orders from Aurangzib's own hand.

The latter years of Aurangzib, though they were not marked by any serious reverse, and though his power continued on the whole unbroken, were yet rendered gloomy by the disappointment of several important enter-



prises, and by the many omens of decline which thickened around his empire. His bigotry, always increasing, impelled him at length to the most violent measures for extirpating the Hindú religion. The superb temples of Muttra and Benares were razed to the ground, and mosques erected on their site. The pagoda of Ahmedabád, one of the most splendid of the national structures, was desecrated by killing a cow within its walls. These outrages, viewed by the superstitious people with the deepest horror, did not indeed excite them to direct rebellion; but still they spread throughout the empire a universal detestation of the Mogul yoke, and an eager disposition to rally round any standard whether erected by a chief or a government. To them may be ascribed in a great measure the rapid progress of the Maratta state, and the successful resistance of the petty Rajpút principalities.

The days of Aurangzib were also more and more imbittered by the disposition which his children showed to follow his example. Mohammed, his eldest son, had already died in prison,—the punishment of rebellion. During a dangerous illness, under which he suffered at an early period of his reign, Sháh Allum, the second, had too clearly shown how intently his mind was fixed on the succession; and though he had done nothing absolutely undutiful, or which would have justified his disgrace, the intercourse between him and his father was ever after marked by suspicion and distrust. Akber, another son, distinguished by the high rank of his mother, was guilty of open insurrection, and joined successively the hostile standards of the Marattas and the Rajpúts. Two others, A'zim and Kaum Buksh, were near him in his last illness; and he foresaw too clearly that his death would be the signal for dreadful conflicts, to be terminated only by the blood of all his male descen-



dants except one. Amid these troubles and gloomy presentiments the fatal term at length arrived; he expired in his camp on the 21st February 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his life, and fiftieth of his reign.

Historians have found much difficulty in forming a correct estimate of the character of this extraordinary monarch. Of all the kings of India he is the most venerated among the Mussulmans. But notwithstanding his talents, his success, and his splendour, it is impossible to admire the character of Aurangzib, or to regard him in any other light than that of a swindler, a murderer, and a plunderer,—one of the heaviest scourges that ever was laid upon a country, and the source of most of the trouble that for a century afterwards desolated India.* And yet, as a mere spectacle—a phenomenon in human nature,—there are few equal to him. He promoted the arts; he encouraged learning; he established schools, and erected public works; he was most active and impartial in the administration of justice; and he was liberal and ostentatious in his gifts. He rose at dawn every morning, and was in the hall of justice at seven. There he was accessible to all his subjects, heard their complaints, and, if they were poor, he had a heap of money beside him, out of which he paid them for the loss of time that they had sustained in coming for justice. The trappings of his state were costly beyond example and almost beyond credibility. But the government was a system of continual mistrust; every man's character was secretly investigated, and colleagues so selected that each might be a check on his neighbour; yet there never was a prince so much cheated, or so ill served.

* Mudie.



CHAPTER XVIII.

SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZIB.

Sháh Allum—Concedes to the Rajpúts and Marattas—The Sikhs—Their origin and progress—Battle with them—Character of Sháh Allum—His death—Succeeded by Moiz u din—Farokhsír—Death of the Sikh chief—Mohammed Sháh—Nizám ul Mulk—Súdat Khán—Progress of the Marattas.

ON the death of Aurangzib, the struggle for empire immediately commenced; yet it was neither so obstinate nor so bloody as had been anticipated. Sháh Allum, the eldest son, whose cause was embraced by the more powerful party, was of a temper peculiarly mild and amiable; he made the most liberal offers to his brothers, proposing to grant them the government of some of the finest provinces; but ambition and evil advisers urged them on to try the fortune of battle. They were vanquished; one of them was killed in the field, the other died from wounds received in battle; and Sháh Allum, by painful steps, but without guilt, ascended the throne.

The chief aim of this monarch seems to have been to restore peace to the empire, even at the cost of resigning some of the pretensions advanced by its rulers during the long period of progressive prosperity. He effected an accommodation with the Rajpúts, on terms which required from those haughty chiefs little more than the shadow of submission. The Marattas, during the latter part of the reign of Aurangzib, had offered to cease their depredations on condition of receiving the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue of the districts which were exposed to their



roads; but that proud sovereign, though unable to repel them, indignantly rejected the idea of listening to proposals made by the leaders of a predatory horde. Sháh Allum, however, finding that the empire did not afford the means of subduing these plunderers, determined, wisely perhaps, to accede to their terms, and thereby to deliver several of his finest provinces from so dreadful a scourge. On other occasions, when circumstances were more favourable, he showed himself not destitute either of enterprise or military skill. These qualities he had occasion to display against a new enemy, who about this time rose into political importance.

The Síkhs made their first appearance during the reign of Báber simply as a religious sect. Nannuk, the founder, is said to have been an amiable and intelligent man, of a mild and philosophic temper, who, seeing with pain the violent dissensions between the votaries of the Hindú and Mohammedan creeds, formed a scheme by means of which he hoped to effect a reconciliation. Borrowing some of the leading ceremonies of each, he endeavoured to inculcate the grand principles of a superintending providence and a future retribution acknowledged by both. The numbers of the Síkhs rapidly multiplied, being swelled by accessions from other sects; but they still conducted themselves as peaceable citizens, and, under the philosophic reigns of Akber and his immediate successors, suffered not the slightest molestation. It was the persecuting bigotry of Aurangzib which converted them into mortal enemies. He caused their chief or patriarch, Tíg Bahádur, to be seized, brought to the fort of Gwáliór, and there put to death. This furious proceeding changed entirely the character of the people; and Guru Govind, son to the murdered prelate, devoted his



whole life to the task of vengeance. He succeeded in inspiring all his followers with the same sentiments ; and, having armed and mounted them, he changed peaceful fakirs into daring troopers and fierce marauders. Being obliged, however, with these newly-levied bands, to encounter Aurangzib in the plenitude of his zeal and power, he was unable to make an effectual resistance. His troops were scattered ; his two sons were taken and put to death ; he himself became a hopeless exile ; and, overpowered by so many calamities, died bereft of reason.

But the spirit of the association did not sink ; on the contrary, under the pressure of wrong and suffering, it became more savage and resolute than ever. After lurking for many years, amid the hills and fastnesses on the rude border of the Himmaleh, they were encouraged by the death of Aurangzib again to approach the northern provinces. They were now led by Bandu, a follower of the late chief, who assumed also the name of Guru Govind ; and their devastations are represented to have been truly dreadful, inspired by an imbittered feeling of revenge, and an entire disregard of humanity. Bandu had occupied Sirhind, when he learned that the emperor with his whole force was advancing against him ; he then fell back upon Dabar, a hill-fort situated among the steepes of Himmaleh, on an elevated summit which could be approached only by craggy rocks and ravines.

The emperor regarded the position as so strong that he wished to decline the attack, and proposed rather to remain inactive, and, by appearing afraid of the enemy to allure them into the open field. The Khán Khánan or general, however, was animated with a more daring spirit ; and having obtained permission to advance with a party to reconnoitre, he immediately began to attack and drive the enemy from the heights surrounding the fortress.



This success roused the military ardour of the whole army, who instantly rushed forward in great numbers to join in the assault; and their imperial leader, with mingled anger and satisfaction, saw his troops, in defiance of his injunction, carrying all before them. They had driven the enemy into the central fort, which, relying chiefly on the strength of its approaches, was not calculated for any serious resistance; but darkness now fell, and the commander contented himself with closing all the avenues, and keeping strict watch through the night. In the morning, however, he was disappointed to find that, by a narrow path which had eluded his notice, the Sikh chieftain had effected his escape, and was retreating into the wildest recesses of the Himmaleh. His progress, notwithstanding, was checked for the present, though the sect retained their power unbroken, and were destined at a later period to act a conspicuous part on the theatre of India.

Though Sháh Allum did not possess the full energy suited to the trying circumstances of his government, his moderation and the general respect in which he was held might probably have averted the calamities which impended over this great empire; but, after a reign of five years, he was seized with a violent illness, and died in his camp at Lahore in the year 1712.

He left four sons, who, notwithstanding their peaceful conduct during his life, immediately began to contend with one another for the empire. The cause of Móiz u dín, the eldest, was espoused by Zulfikár Khán, one of the most powerful of the omrahs, who succeeded in defeating and putting to death the three others, and placing the crown on the head of this prince, who assumed the name of Jehándár Sháh. The new monarch, however,



was found wholly incapable of supporting, even with an appearance of decency, the exalted rank to which he had been elevated. Neglecting altogether the business of the state, he abandoned himself to dissoluteness. In a government of so little vigour, there were not wanting bold spirits to avail themselves of the opportunity which the weak character and bad administration of the emperor had created. Two brothers, Abdulla and Hosén, who boasted the high rank of Seiads, or descendants of the Prophet, undertook to recommend a successor, in whose name they might rule Hindostan. They nominated Farokhsír, the offspring of Azim u Shán, who was the favourite son of Sháh Allum. An army was soon raised, and though Zulfikár bravely defended the unworthy object whom he had placed on the throne, he was, after a short struggle, entirely overthrown, and both he and his master put to death.

The Seiads having thus elevated their candidate to power, considered him as their vassal, and proceeded to administer the empire at their pleasure. They discovered no want of vigour in the conduct of affairs. Bandu, the Síkh prince, having descended to the plains bordering on the Indus, was defeated, taken, and put to death with the most cruel tortures. The great omrahs, however, soon began to murmur at the supremacy of these chiefs. Even the emperor himself felt their yoke burdensome; and favourites were also found who exhorted him to submit no longer to this thralldom, but to assume real power in his own person. Thus his reign of seven years was spent in a continued series of intrigues, the issue of which was that the Seiads completely prevailed, put Farokhsír to death, (Feb. 1719,) and looked around for another high-born pageant on whom to confer the semblance of sovereignty.



They chose first a great-grandson of Aurangzib by his rebellious son Akber; but in three months he died of consumption. Next his brother Afi-u-Dirjat was named to succeed, but he survived his elevation only a few weeks. The Seiads then placed on the throne Roushen Akhter a grand-son of Sháh Allum, under the name of Mohammed Sháh.

This prince, like Farokhsír, paid at first implicit deference to the two individuals who had raised him to the empire; but he also soon listened to other counsellors, who exhorted him to emancipate himself from their tyrannical sway. He was at length induced to join in a regular conspiracy formed for that purpose. A misunderstanding had arisen between the two brothers and Nizám-ul-Mulk, a powerful chieftain who held the government of Málwa, and refused to resign it at their mandate. It was arranged that the emperor and Hosén should set out together, and subdue this refractory commander. A plot for the assassination of the Seiad was however matured; the three conspirators cast lots which of them should do the deed, and it fell upon one whose name was Hyder. Approaching the palankeen in which Hosén was seated, as if to present a petition, the murderer stabbed him so dexterously that he died in a few moments. He had only time to show his suspicion of the motive by calling out, "Kill the emperor!" and his nephew, at the head of a few resolute soldiers, made a desperate effort to fulfil this dying injunction; but precautions had been taken against the attempt. Mohammed then marched upon Delhi, where the remaining Seiad, determining to make a stand, set up a new monarch and collected an army; but he was defeated and taken prisoner. The victor made his triumphal entry into the capital, as if he had just begun to reign.



But he was no sooner in full possession of sovereign power than he displayed that incapacity which seemed to be now inherent in the Mogul race. He had two able and not unfaithful ministers, Nizám-ul-Mulk and Sádát Khán; but, disgusted with their grave and severe manners, he resigned himself to youthful advisers, who were easily found within the precincts of a court. Those two chiefs, irritated at finding themselves thus overlooked, withdrew, and endeavoured to establish a separate authority in other quarters; Nizám in the Deckan, where he has transmitted his name and title to a race of princes still nominally independent; and Sádát in Oud, where a branch of his family likewise continues to reign.

In this crisis the Marattas, who had been continually extending the range of their incursions, began openly to contend for the empire. After overrunning the greater part of Málwa and Guzerát, they pushed forward to the very gates of Agra, and struck terror into the imperial capital. Sádát Khán, who alone seemed to retain any regard for the honour and safety of the state, marched down from Oud, and gave them so great an overthrow as would have completely broken their power, had he been permitted to follow it up; but the weak emperor desired operations to be suspended till his favourite minister should have collected troops, and marched forth to take the chief command. Sádát then retired in disgust; after which the enemy rallied, made a fresh incursion as far as Delhi, plundered the environs of that capital, and returned laden with booty to Málwa. But, as if this combination of imbecility with intestine war were not enough, an assault from abroad, of the most formidable character, burst upon the sinking fabric of the Mogul empire.



CHAPTER XIX.

DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

Condition of Persia—Nádir Sháh—His invasion of India—Plunder of Delhi—Leaves India—Róhilcund—Ahmed Abdulla invades India—Ahmed Sháh—Holkár—Distracted state of the Empire—Afgháns and Marattas—Conquest of the Afgháns.

PERSIA had been recently exposed to the most violent revolutions. The Afgháns, a warlike race inhabiting the mountainous region which separates that country from India, took advantage of the weakness into which this once-powerful kingdom had fallen. They marched into its territory, defeated its troops, and laid close seige to Ispahan. Having reduced that capital, they put to death Hosén, the reigning sovereign, with all his family except one son, named Tahmasp. This young prince sought refuge among the pastoral tribes that occupy those elevated plains which extend over a great part of the Persian empire. These hardy and warlike shepherds, animated with loyal and patriotic feelings, warmly espoused the cause of this last branch of their royal house, and assembled round him in numbers, which became every day more formidable.

Among these volunteers a young chief, named Nádir, soon distinguished himself by such zeal and ability as raised him to be their leader. After having gained successive victories, he at length retook Ispahan, and drove the invaders completely out of the empire. In the course of so many successes, the troops contracted a stronger attachment to Nádir than to him for whom they



had taken up arms ; and this bold chief, finding himself within reach of the supreme power, placed the prince under restraint, allowing him the mere epithet and shadow of royalty. He afterwards put out his eyes, and seized the kingdom in his own person, under his original name of *Nádir Sháh*.

The new monarch was not content to be master of Persia ; but confident in the bravery and affection of his followers, he resolved to carry his conquests into the neighbouring countries. He invaded the territory of the Afgháns themselves, and having reduced Cábul and Candahár, at length approached the frontier of India. He professed to have no intention or wish to penetrate into that region ; but a reason for doing so soon arose. A number of his countrymen who had fled from him found an asylum in Hindostan. An ambassador and his escort, whom he sent to demand that these fugitives should be delivered up, were murdered by the inhabitants of Jellalábád ; and Mohammed refused to grant satisfaction for this outrage. The Persian prince advanced, burning for revenge, and probably not without some secret anticipation of ulterior objects, marched with such rapidity, by way of Pesháwer and Lahore, that he was within four days' march of Delhi before the supine emperor was aware of his approach. The latter then hastily mustered his troops, and obtained the able assistance of Sádát Khán ; but that officer, not duly aware of the high talent and valour opposed to him, committed the fatal error of quitting his intrenchments, and hazarding an engagement in the field with the veteran forces of Nádir. The effeminate pomp of an Indian host was quite unfit to contend with the rude valour of these pastoral bands ; hence the imperial army was totally routed, and their commander taken.



Nádir then proceeded to Delhi, which he seems to have entered amicably, intending to protect the inhabitants from outrage. For two days the strictest discipline was observed ; but unfortunately, in the course of the second night, a rumour was spread of his death, when the Hindús, emboldened to a vain resistance, killed a number of his troops. Their commander, whose fierce spirit had been with difficulty restrained, roused to the utmost fury by this outrage, issued orders for a general massacre in every house or lane where the body of a murdered Persian could be found. Till mid-day the streets of Delhi streamed with blood ; after which the conqueror suffered himself to be appeased,—and so complete a control did he exercise over his rude followers, that at his mandate the sword was immediately sheathed.

The imperial repositories were now ransacked, and found to contain specie, rich robes, and, above all, jewels to an almost incredible value. The Mogul emperors, since the first accession of their dynasty, had been indefatigable in the collection of these objects from every quarter, by presents, purchase, or forfeiture ; and the store had been continually augmented without suffering any alienation, or being exposed to foreign plunder. The invaders continued during thirty-five days to extract, by threats, torture, and every severity, the hidden treasures of that splendid capital. Historians hesitate not to estimate the spoil carried off by the Iranian monarch and his officers at thirty-two millions sterling, of which at least one-half was in diamonds and other jewels.

Nádir made no attempt to retain India, though it lay prostrate at his feet. He had probably the sagacity to perceive that so vast a country and Persia were incapable of being united into one kingdom. He contented himself



with exacting the cession of Cábul, Candahár, and all the provinces west of the Indus; then, seating Mohammed anew on the Mogul throne, he gave him some salutary advices, and departed without leaving a soldier or retaining a fortified post in Hindostan. Yet the empire, already greatly sunk, lost by this discomfiture the little remnant of respect which it had hitherto commanded.

In Rohilcund, a hilly district closely contiguous to the capital, some refugee chiefs of the Afghán race, with the brave inhabitants of the country itself, formed an independent state, which defied the imperial power. They were, it is true, obliged to give way before the united force of the vizír and the Nabob of Oud; but they held themselves in readiness to take advantage of those convulsions to which the successors of Akber were constantly becoming more and more exposed.

In 1747 the emperor Mohammed died, and was succeeded by his son, Ahmed Sháh, during whose short reign, as if foreign enemies had not been sufficient, the court was perpetually distracted by intestine dissension. The sovereign and his vizír were now almost in regular opposition. Ahmed being oppressed by one of these officers, Suffder Jung, employed against him Ghazí u dín, grandson to Nizám-ul-Mulk, who had died at the age of 104. This young man made considerable efforts to retrieve the affairs of the empire. He compelled the vizír, who had even set up another monarch, to relinquish his station. He undertook an expedition against the Játs, a wild tribe inhabiting the hilly tracts in the most western provinces, and who, amid the general anarchy, had shaken off the yoke. But, while thus employed, he excited the jealousy of his master the emperor, who, adopting the views of a new favourite, concerted with the enemy a plan for his



destruction. Aided, however, by the Maratta chief Holkar Mulhar, he completely baffled these designs, obtained possession of his master's person, put out his eyes, and raised to the throne a son of Jehándér Sháh, under the empty but imposing title of Aulumgír the Second.

The empire was now in a most distracted condition ; there was scarcely a power so insignificant as not to think itself sufficiently strong to trample on it. The Afgháns had completely conquered the provinces of Múltan and Lahore ; the Sikhs, in the same quarter, daily augmented their numbers and strength ; the Játs and Rohillas continued their predatory inroads ; while the Marattas extended their incursions, in the course of which they had even passed the Jumna, and obtained an important settlement in Rohilcund. Ghazí u dín precipitated the disaster by a rash attempt at conquest, to which his power was wholly inadequate.

An Afghán lady having been intrusted by Ahmed Abdulla with the government of Lahore, the vizír, under pretence of negotiating a marriage with her daughter, seized her person, and brought her a prisoner to Delhi. At this outrage the indignation of the barbarian king knew no bounds. He hastened at the head of a vast army, and made an unresisted entrance into the capital, which was given up to a sack almost as dreadful as it had suffered from Nádir. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The emperor besought the invader not to leave him without protection against his own vizír, who had raised him indeed to nominal power, but treated him as a mere pageant, while he himself exercised all the real authority. Ahmed accordingly made some arrangements for this purpose, placing Aulumgír under the guardianship of a Rohilla chief ; but these measures after his departure, proved



wholly insufficient. Ghazí u dín, having formed an alliance with the Marattas, easily obtained possession both of the capital and the sovereign. That unfortunate prince at first pretended a reconciliation, but, being soon after detected in a correspondence with the adverse party, was assassinated, and his body thrown into the Jumna. Yet Ghazí u dín himself, unable to withstand the numerous enemies who surrounded him, was at no distant period obliged to seek refuge in a castle belonging to the Játs.

Without attempting to thread further this labyrinth of treason, it may be observed generally, that the Mogul throne had now almost ceased to retain any degree of weight or importance. The contest for the empire of India lay entirely between the Afgháns and the Marattas ; and the latter, taking advantage of the absence of their rivals, determined upon a grand attempt to secure complete possession of Hindostan. Bringing up from the Deckan an immense body of cavalry, and being aided by the Sikhs, they overran not only the metropolitan provinces of Agra and Delhi, but also those of Múltan and Lahore, and drove the Afgháns beyond the Indus.

Ahmed Abdulla, however, was not of a character tamely to allow these fine countries to be wrested from his kingdom. He soon crossed the river with a formidable army, and was joined by many chiefs who were exasperated at the incursion of the Marattas. These plunderers at first retreated, and allowed him to occupy Delhi ; but immediately intrenched themselves in a strong camp, which he did not venture to attack. Pressed, however, by want of provisions, they imprudently came out and gave battle, when they experienced a total defeat ; their army of 80,000 men being almost entirely destroyed, and Duttáh Sindia, their general, killed. Another body under Holkár was



surprised near Secundra, and so completely worsted, that he himself fled naked with a handful of followers.

The Marattas, though humbled by this disaster, were not discouraged; and they resolved to make the most extraordinary exertions for retrieving their fortunes. Before the close of the year, they had assembled a force of 140,000 men, commanded by Sévadasheo Ráo, called the Bhow, nephew to their péshwa or supreme prince; and that chief, being joined by the vizír and the Ját leaders, advanced upon Delhi. The deep stream of the Jumna, swelled by the rains, separated the armies; but, though it could not be forded, the daring spirit of Abdulla impelled him to plunge into its waters, and swim across with his whole army. This achievement, which was almost without example, struck dismay into the host of the Marattas. Though triple the number of their antagonists, they did not venture to face them in the open field, but shut themselves up in an intrenched camp at Panniput, on a spot where the fate of the empire has been repeatedly decided. Ahmed for some time merely hovered round them and cut off their supplies; at length he ventured on an attempt to carry their position, but was obliged to retire without any important success.

Encouraged by this result, and distressed as formerly by the want of provisions, his active foe determined again to risk a battle in the open plain. Placing their artillery in front, they advanced with that impetuosity by which they were accustomed to carry all before them. The Afghán commander caused his troops to hold themselves in reserve till the enemy had nearly come up;—then gave the signal for a general charge. The light horse of the mountains were never able to resist, even for a short interval, the heavy cavalry of the more northern nations.



On the first onset a complete rout took place; their host was so scattered in every direction that only a remnant reached the Deckan : while 22,000 prisoners, and 50,000 horses, with an immense booty, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

It was now easy for the victorious Abdulla to seat himself on the vacant throne of the Mogul ; but he seems not to have felt any ambition for this high dignity. Perhaps he was sensible that, amid such a general agitation throughout Hindostan, and with so many nations in arms, such an acquisition was too distant from the centre of his dominions to be retained with advantage. Contenting himself with the provinces west of the Indus, he quitted in a few months the seat of government, leaving there Ali Ghór, eldest son of Aulumgír II., in possession of the empty but still venerated title of Great Mogul, to be the tool or the captive of the first daring warrior who should seize the capital. Having traced the decline of this mighty empire to so low an ebb, we shall now pause till we have marked the progress of that new power from a distant continent, which has seated herself on its ruins, and obtained a complete supremacy over all the states of India.



CHAPTER XX.

BRITISH CONNEXION WITH INDIA.

Origin of the East India Company—Its commercial character—Disputes with the French—Labourdonnais—His capture of Madras—Dupleix—His schemes—Attack of Fort St. David—Arrival of an English squadron—Lawrence—Clive.

THE first appearance of the English in India gave no promise of their future grandeur. In the year 1600, when Queen Elizabeth reigned in England, and Akber was on the throne of India, a number of merchants and others, under the title of the London East India Company, united themselves for trading purposes. This company first obtained ground in Masulipatám on the Coromandel Coast, and afterwards in Madras, where they obtained permission to erect a fortification which received the name of Fort St. George. Tegnapatám on the same coast, which was purchased from another native prince, was in like manner, fortified, and became a station of some importance under the name of Fort St. David. The island of Bombay, on the opposite coast, had been ceded to the British crown as part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Portugal, Queen of Charles the Second, and was by him granted to the Company. In Bengal their progress was slow and subject to frequent checks. They, however, succeeded in establishing various factories, of which that of Hooghly was the chief, but for the most part they were dependent on Fort St. George. In the year 1700, the villages of Chuttanuttee, Góvindpúr, and Calcutta, having been obtained by means of a large



present to Azim, grandson of Aurangzib, the new acquisitions were declared a presidency. They were forthwith fortified, and in compliment to the reigning sovereign of England, the settlement received the name of Fort William. Thus was the foundation laid of the future capital of British India.

Among the projects resorted to for supporting the government of William the Third, was that of establishing a new East India Company, the capital of which was to be lent to the crown. This, though a violation of the rights of the old Company, was carried into effect. The new corporation commenced trade under the title of the English East India Company, and a struggle between the two bodies was carried on for several years. A compromise at length took place. The old Company surrendered its charter to the crown, and its members were received into the new corporation, which thenceforth, until the year 1833, bore the title of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.

For nearly forty years after this union of the Companies, the history of British connection with India presents nothing but a detail of the operations of trade, varied only by the efforts of the United Company to obtain protection from native princes, to exclude those who sought to invade their privileges, and to regulate the conduct of their servants.

About the same time that the English directed their attention to India the French also sent several expeditions, and in 1644, succeeded in establishing a French East India Company. This Company, after various reverses and repeated collisions with the Dutch, at length gained a footing in Pondicherry, which they fortified. They also had smaller factories at Mahé and Carical, as well as at



Chandernagore in Bengal. In 1744 hostilities broke out between the two nations, which were carried on in Europe with great animosity. The French Company appear to have been rather desirous that the war should not extend to the Indian Seas ; but the naval officers, on the contrary, were fired by hopes of glory from an attack on the English settlements in that quarter, before they could be placed in a posture of defence.

Labourdonnais, a person of great talent and most indefatigable activity, who had raised himself through all the ranks of the navy, was now governor of Mauritius and Bourbon ; and these islands, by his exertions, almost without assistance from home, had become very flourishing. Happening to be in France when the war was in preparation, he made proposals, both to the Company and the ministry, for an attack upon the English establishments. The former were altogether averse to his scheme ; but the government unknown to them sanctioned it, and even engaged to furnish two ships, which however were afterwards withheld. The adventurer returned to his command with the most resolute determination to prosecute his design, though possessed of very slender resources. With this view he detained the vessels which happened to touch there, and employed them in the expedition ; he brought the sailors, many of whom had never fired a gun, into regular training ; and he supplied by various inventions the defective means of equipment. In June 1746, he arrived at Pondicherry, after a slight action with an English naval force on the coast. Here, too, he had to overcome certain obstacles raised by Dupleix, before he was permitted to sail with his squadron to attack Madras.

This city was not only the capital of the English possessions, but one of the chief settlements at that time



formed by the Europeans in India. It comprised within its district a population of not less than 250,000, of whom, however, only 300 were English, including 200 soldiers. These lived in Fort St. George, surrounded merely by a slender wall, with four ill-constructed bastions and batteries; and hence, it is obvious, they had very small means of defence, and did not, in the use of them, display any heroism. After sustaining a bombardment of five days, in which two or three houses were demolished, and four or five men killed, they capitulated on the 10th September, 1746. They obtained, indeed, the singular condition, that Labourdonnais, after having regularly occupied the place, and taken possession of the Company's magazines and warehouses, should, within a stipulated period, and on payment of a fixed ransom, restore Madras to the English. That officer, having made this important acquisition without the loss of a single man, returned to Pondicherry.

But there he did not meet with such a reception as he merited. Dupleix, an aspiring and ambitious man, who could not brook any rival in power, thwarted all his schemes, and exposed him to repeated mortifications, till at length he gave up the contest, and sailed for France. There, too, on the representations of his superior officer, he was treated in a manner altogether unworthy his long and faithful services, being thrown into the Bastille, whence he was not liberated till the end of three years, soon after which he died.

Dupleix, who was thus left in the supreme command of affairs in India, was a very extraordinary character. From his father, who had been a farmer-general and a director of the East India Company, he inherited an immense fortune, which he was taught to employ in the pursuits of commerce. Being sent out originally as first



member of the council at Pondicherry, and afterwards as superintendent at Chandernagore, he at once, by his public measures, rendered this last settlement extremely prosperous, and by an extensive trade largely augmented his private wealth. His talents and success recommended him to the important station of Governor of Pondicherry. Although, from feelings of jealousy, he had quarrelled with Labourdonnais, and succeeded in removing him, yet his mind was enthusiastically and intensely devoted to the same system of policy.

Neither Cæsar nor Alexander ever formed more magnificent schemes of conquest than this mercantile ruler of French India. His first object was to follow up the advantage gained over the English, and thoroughly to root out that rival nation from the coast of Coromandel. Labourdonnais had, as already mentioned, stipulated on certain conditions to restore Madras, after a temporary occupation of it; and as a man of honour he was resolved to make good his engagement,—a design wholly foreign to the grasping ambition of Dupleix. Unable otherwise to accomplish his object, he made such arrangements as to delay the period of surrender till the departure of that officer, and then contrived to draw forth from the citizens of Pondicherry, a remonstrance against giving up a place, the possession of which was so important to their security. In pretended compliance with the request, Madras was not only retained, but exposed to a species of plunder, while the governor and principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to the French settlement.

This step was forthwith followed by an expedition on his part for the reduction of Fort St. David, while his confidence was greatly heightened by an event which forms a memorable era in the annals of Indian warfare.



The Nabob of Arcot, having espoused the English cause, had sent his son with 10,000 men, to endeavour to retake Madras on their behalf. The French had only 1200 soldiers to defend the city, with which force they hesitated not to attack the numerous army of the nabob : when, by their superior discipline and expert management of their artillery, they gained a complete and decisive victory. The superiority of even a handful of Europeans over the tumultuary bands which compose an Asiatic host, had long ago been proved by the Portuguese ; but the example of their success was nearly forgotten ; and both French and British had been accustomed to view the Mogul as a powerful monarch, whom it was vain with their slender means to think of resisting. The spell was again broken ; and the settlers of both nations learned a lesson which they failed not soon to reduce to practice with great effect.

The present object of Dupleix was simply the reduction of Fort St. David, against which he led a force of 1700 men, mostly European ; while the English had only 200 of their own troops, with a body of undisciplined natives. As the French, however, were advancing in full confidence, the nabob's army surprised them by a sudden attack, and obliged them to retreat with some loss. A detachment was afterwards sent by sea to attempt the surprise of Cuddalore, a town immediately contiguous to Fort St. David, but a heavy gale springing up obliged them to return. Dupleix then employed all his address to gain over the nabob ; being particularly careful to impress on that prince a lofty idea of his own power, trusting to the maxim regularly acted upon by Indian grandees, of studying only immediate advantage, and espousing always the side which they believe to be the strongest. His highness being informed of the arrival of a great additional force,



was led to credit the pretensions of the French, and deserting the English of whom he had been the sworn ally, concluded a treaty with their enemies.

Dupleix next took up a strong position in front of Fort St. David, but three attempts against that place failed completely; and in march, 1747, the arrival of an English squadron, under Admiral Griffin, made Dupleix tremble for Pondicherry. In the month of January, 1748, Major Lawrence, an officer of great merit, arrived at Fort St. David, with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India; and in the month of August following, Admiral Boscawen reached the same port with nine ships of war, and joined Admiral Griffin. Counting some ships of the Company, the English had now the largest European naval force that any one power had as yet possessed in India. The land troops brought from England amounted to 1,400 men. Pondicherry was now besieged, but after thirty-one days of open trenches, the siege was given up.

The anarchy prevailing among the native rulers soon opened a way to easier conquests. Sáhují, a Hindú, who in the rapid revolution of the times had gained and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David, and bargained for the assistance of the English in a war against his brother, Pretápa Sing, who had dethroned him. The price, as fixed, was the fort and country of Dévi Cóttah. In April, 1749, an English and sepoy force marched from Fort St. David into Tanjore, and made an unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Dévi Cóttah. A new expedition was soon fitted out, and, after some hard fighting in the breach, a truce was concluded, the reigning king of Tanjore, Pretápa Sing, agreeing to yield to the English the town, fort, and harbour, together with the territory adjoin-



; and the English on their part agreeing not merely to renounce the alliance and support of Sâhuji, for whom, and with whom, they entered on this war, but also to secure his person, in order to prevent his giving any further molestation to his brother.

At the siege of Dévi Côtta, Robert Clive, the real founder of the British Indian empire, greatly distinguished himself. He had attracted some attention at the siege of Pondicherry in the preceding year. He had entered the Company's service in a civil capacity, but at the first sound of war, he had thrown down the writer's pen to take up an ensign's sword. By this time he was a lieutenant, and esteemed by the whole army as the most enterprising and daring of their officers. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, poor, and comparatively friendless, and illiterate; his chances of patronage, advancement, fame, and fortune, all lay in his sword.

However questionable the means by which it was obtained, the possession of Dévi Côtta was of vast importance to the Company: it was advantageously situated by the bank of the Coleroon, on the Coromandel coast; the channel of the Coleroon, under the town, was capable of receiving ships of the largest burthen, and this was more important, as all along that coast from Masulipatâm to Cape Comorin there was no port that could receive a vessel of 300 tons: moreover, the neighbouring country was pleasant, rich and fertile.

But M. Dupleix did not give up the race for territory or dominion. He was engaging in transactions of the highest moment in the Carnatic, while other rival princes were contending with each other. Taking part (for good consideration) with Chunda Sâhib, and sending 400 French and 2,000 sepoys to the field, he gained a great victory.



Chunda Sáhib's rival was killed by a Kafre soldier in the service of France. Mohammed Ali, son of the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, and the French conquerors marched to the capital city of Arcot, which surrendered on the first summons.

Mohammed Ali threw himself on the protection of the English, and offered high prices for their military aid. But peace between France and England had been concluded, and the English were occupied at the time in taking re-possession of Madras, which had been given up by France in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was signed in 1748.

Dupleix continued as active as ever in seeking to extend French influence. He sent some of his people with Chunda Sáhib to plunder the rájah of Tanjore, who had given up Dévi Cótta to the English, and that prince was compelled to give to the French two lacs of rupees, and eighty one villages.



CHAPTER XXI.

PROGRESS OF BRITISH POWER.

War in the Deckan—Násir Jang—French influence—Success of Bussy—Revolutions in the native states—Clive takes Arcot—Attacked by Chunda Sáhib with a large army—Clive's brave defence—Noble conduct of the sepoys—Clive's garrison victorious—The beseigers retreat.

IN the Deckan, the succession, on the death of the Nizám-ul-Mulk, was disputed between his son Násir Jang and his grandson Muzuffer Jang; but the senior prince prevailed over the junior, took Muzuffer Jang prisoner, and now kept him in irons, carrying him in his train wherever he went. Násir Jang and Anwar-u-dín, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnátic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service nearly all the troops the Great Mogul had on foot, advanced to the Carnátic frontier with an immense army, including 30,000 Marattas engaged to act as light cavalry. At the approach of this host, Chunda Sáhib and his French allies retreated hastily to Pondicherry. Dupleix, by extraordinary exertions, increased the French contingent to 2,000 men, and added a large body of well-disciplined sepoys, together with a well-served train of artillery.

In the mean time, the English had managed to send some very small detachments to Trichinopoly to sustain Mohammed Ali, and had thrown a few companies into the army of the rája of Tanjore. Major Lawrence advanced from Fort St. David, with reinforcements, and collecting the companies in Tanjore, he was enabled to join the army of Násir Jang with about 600 Englishmen. But Lawrence



and with difficulty obtained the consent of his civil superiors to this active co-operation, and he was for some time disturbed by a doubt whether he should be justified in fighting the French without orders from the British government. He, however, determined to imitate the French in representing the English as mere auxiliaries, and not principals in the war. As Lawrence advanced with Násir Jang's host, the French and their allies strongly intrenched themselves, and waited the attack with full confidence of success. Their position was so excellent, that Lawrence advised Násir Jang against an attack ; but the Indian said it did not become the son of the Nizám-ul-Mulk to retreat before such an enemy. A cannonade was therefore begun, and the troops were put in motion for a closer attack.

At this crisis, the French corps was completely disorganized by the sudden resignation of thirteen commissioned officers, who were enraged at not having shared in the booty and spoils made in Tanjore. As the defection seemed growing general, M. D'Auteuil, who commanded for Dupleix, deemed it expedient to quit the field and hasten back to Pondicherry. Chunda Sáhib, whose own troops began to desert, saw nothing better to do than to march after D'Auteuil. The whole excellent position was soon abandoned without a blow, or a shot fired from it; and for a moment the triumph of the allies of the English seemed to be fully secured.

Násir Jang, the real head of this confederacy, had little ability, and still less energy, and, by refusing to grant to his English allies a territory near Madras, which had been promised as the reward of their co-operation, he provoked Major Lawrence to return to Fort St. David with his 600 men. Nor had Dupleix lost heart by his most unexpected misfortunes : by various arts he pacified



the mutinous French officers, and put a new spirit into their little army; he also opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs, the leaders of the Patan troops, in the army of his enemy, Násir Jang. These Patans were unprincipled and ferocious mercenaries. Responding to the overtures of Dupleix, the Patan chiefs engaged to perform various important services, and, if necessary, to murder their present employer, Násir Jang.

D'Auteuil again took the field, and one of his officers, with only 300 men, was allowed to penetrate by night into the very heart of the enemies' camp, and to kill upwards of 1,000 without losing more than two or three of his own people. Moreover, another small body of French troops sailed for Masulipatám, attacked it by surprise in the night, and carried it with a trifling loss; and another detachment seized the pagoda of Travadi, only fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. Continuing this career, M. Bussy, the Clive of the French, captured by storm the hill fort of Gingí, which had been deemed impregnable and inaccessible. The event struck awe into the natives of India, and was viewed with astonishment even by Europeans.

Soon after the storming of Gingí, Násir Jang opened a secret correspondence with Dupleix. The Frenchman replied to his letters in a friendly manner, and drew up a treaty of pacification; but at the same time he fully arranged a revolt in Násir Jang's camp, and collected 4,000 men under the hill of Gingí, to wait for the summons of the Patan traitors. That summons was soon received; the French broke into the subahdar's camp, and when Násir Jang mounted his war-elephant, and was hastening to the lines, two carbine-balls were fired at his heart, and he fell dead at the feet of the traitors, who forthwith cut



off his head, stuck it upon a spear, and exhibited it to the army. This was quite enough to effect an instantaneous revolution; Muzúffer Jang was released from his chains and installed as subahdar of the Deckan, and to reward the French, he gave them a great portion of Násir Jang's treasures, and nominated Dupleix governor of all the Mogul dominions on the Coromandel coast from the river Crishna to Cape Comorin. At the same time he appointed Dupleix's ally Chunda Sáhib, his deputy in the government of Arcot.

Early in 1751, the brave and adroit Bussy was sent to escort the new subahdar Muzúffer Jang, to Hyderabad, his capital. Numerous insurrections had broken out, and in a mountain pass, Bussy found himself opposed by the fierce Patans, who considered that they had not been sufficiently rewarded for their treachery. The French fought their way through with artillery and grape-shot, but Muzúffer Jang was killed by a Patan Arab. Bussy instantly made a new subahdar in the person of one Salábat Jang, who happened to be in the camp, and continued his march upon Hyderabad.

Mohammed Ali, was now so alarmed, that he contemplated joining the French, and giving up Trichinopoly. To keep him in heart, the presidency of Fort St. David twice sent him considerable succours; but these contingents were miserably commanded, and one of them sustained a disgraceful defeat at Volcóna. Chunda Sáhib, assisted by some French, pressed the siege of Trichinopoly. At this time the English council wisely promoted Clive to the rank of captain, adopted a plan which his daring genius had formed, and intrusted him with the execution of his own project. This was nothing less than to relieve Trichinopoly by making a sudden attack upon Arcot, Chunda



Sahib's capital. All the force that could be spared amounted to 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoys ; his whole staff of officers counted no more than eight, six of whom had never been in action, and four of these six being very young men, who had just quitted the mercantile service of the Company. The artillery attached to this force consisted of three light field-pieces.

On the 26th of August, 1751, Clive started from Madras with a confidence of success. On the 31st, he halted within ten miles of Arcot. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, reported with consternation that they had seen the English marching without concern through a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This was considered as a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort, although they nearly trebled the number that Clive was bringing against them. A few hours after their flight, the English quietly entered, and took possession of the fort, where they found eight pieces of light artillery, a great heap of lead for shot, and abundance of gunpowder. The merchants of Arcot had for security deposited their goods in the fort : Clive scrupulously respected this property, and allowed some three or four thousand persons to remain in their houses or dwellings, which were situated within the precincts of the fortifications. This conduct procured him many friends among the natives, who cared little for Chunda Sahib, or for either of the parties contending for dominion over them ; and it enabled him to obtain provisions and such materials as might be wanted for the defence of the place.

On the 4th September, he marched out with the greater part of his men to scatter the ex-garrison of the fort who lingered in the neighbourhood. They fled for the



him in their rear as soon as the English got within musket shot, and Clive, who had no cavalry to pursue them, returned leisurely to the fort of Arcot. On the 6th, he made another promenade into the country, found the enemy in greater force and strongly posted, defeated them with great loss, and returned to Arcot, where he employed his people in repairing the crazy fortress. In about a month, 3,000 fighting men, collected from various parts of the Carnatic, encamped within three miles of the city. On the night of the 14th of September, when they were buried in sleep, Clive burst into their camps, committed a great slaughter, put the rest to flight, and then returned to Arcot without losing a single man.

At this time, two eighteen-pounders, which he had demanded, were on their way from Madras, escorted by a few sepoys. Anxious for these guns, Clive sent out, at first, thirty of the Englishmen, and fifty of his sepoys, with a field-piece; and then, on learning that the enemy were in great force, and strongly posted on the road to cut off the eighteen pounders, he sent out all his people except thirty English and fifty sepoys, with whom he remained in the fortress. The enemy hereupon changed their design, and quitting all their possessions on the road, they returned hastily to Arcot, not doubting that they should carry the fort by assault. Two fruitless attempts convinced them of their mistake; and when Clive's main force, with the two battering-cannons from Madras, appeared on the skirts of the town, they quickly retreated.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to Chunda Sáhib, who, with his French allies, was besieging Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were



speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellore; and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French soldiers, whom Dupleix despatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rájá Sáhib, son of Chunda Sáhib.

Rájá Sáhib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoy. Only four officers were left; the stock of provisions was scanty; and the commander, who had to conduct the defence under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five-and-twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness vigilance, and ability, which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed any thing that is related of the tenth legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoy came to Clive—not to complain of their scanty fare, but



to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the government of Madras to relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Marattas, half soldiers, half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morári Ráo, had been hired to assist Mohammed Ali : but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph of Chunda Sáhib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defence of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morári Ráo declared that he had never before believed that Englishmen could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he saw that they had spirit to help themselves.

Rája Sáhib learned that the Marattas were in motion. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that, if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him, in reply, with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was an usurper, that his army was a rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rája Sáhib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mahommedan festival which is sacred to the memory of Hosén the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than that mournful legend. After



lapse of nearly twelve centuries, the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslems of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation, that some, it is said, have died from the mere effect of mental excitement. It was at this time that Rájá Sáhib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced, driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of these living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls than they turned round, and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude that had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry, the assailants mounted with great boldness; but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well-directed, that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of



the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition. (November 14, 1751.)

The news was received at Fort St. George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal to any command. Two hundred English soldiers, and seven hundred sepoys, were sent to him, and with this force he instantly commenced offensive operations. He took the fort of Timery, effected a junction with a division of Morári Ráo's army, and hastened, by forced marches, to attack Rája Sáhib who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp; but Clive gained a complete victory. The military chest of Rája Sáhib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoys, who had served in the enemy's army, came over to Clive's quarters, and were taken into the British service. Conjeveram surrendered without a blow. The governor of Arnee deserted Chunda Sáhib, and recognised the title of Mohammed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been entrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incapacity which appear in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally present, protracted the struggle. The Marattas muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this languor was, that in no long time Rája Sáhib, at the head of a considerable army, in which were four hundred French troops, appeared almost under the guns of Fort



St. George, and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken—a loss more than that of thousands of natives.

The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St. David. On the road lay the City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East. Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be razed to the ground. He was induced to take this step, not by personal or national malevolence, but by a just and profound policy. The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions, were among the devices by which Dupleix had laid the public mind of India under a spell. This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy. No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trophies.

The government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment, under Clive, to reinforce the garrison of Trichinopoly. But just at this conjuncture, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and assumed the chief command. From the waywardness and impatience of control which had characterised Clive, both at school and in the counting-house, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humour in a subordinate capacity. But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness; and kindness was never thrown away upon Clive. He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend, and



exerted himself as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on interlopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules.

The English triumphed everywhere. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to capitulate. Chunda Sáhib fell into the hands of the Marattas, and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mahommed Ali. The spirit of Dupleix, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible. From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance. They condemned his policy. They allowed him no pecuniary assistance. They sent him for troops only the sweepings of the galleys. Yet still he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised; — lavished his private fortune, strained his credit, procured new diplomas from Delhi, raised up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side, and even among the allies of the English Company. But all was in vain. Slowly, but steadily, the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline.

The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India, and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England. Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable difficulty, and performed it with his usual vigour and dexterity. The forts of Covelong and Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons. It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available for this purpose was of such a description, that no officer but Clive



would risk his reputation by commanding it. It consisted of five hundred newly-levied sepoys, and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the flash-houses of London.

Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, undertook to make an army of this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong. A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary soldiers; on which all the rest faced about and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them. On another occasion, the noise of a gun terrified the sentinels so much, that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well. Clive gradually accustomed them to danger, and by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Covelong fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ambuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French commandant capitulated and retired with his men. (1752.)

Clive now returned to Madras, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Maskelyne, and proceeded to England shortly afterwards. His departure was deplored by the army, and his absence was soon felt in every part of the Coromandel coast.



The reader will have observed, how important a part the disciplined native troops performed in these campaigns. The French had raised corps of sepoy some time before the English began the practice. It appears that the latter first trained sepoy in 1746, during Labordonnais's siege of Madras. Some English officers were then attached to some irregular native infantry, which they began to drill and discipline. The system was first introduced into the Madras service by Mr. Haliburton, who, like Clive, had quitted the civil for the military service. In the ensuing year, this gentleman was employed in training another small corps of natives in the European manner. In 1748, Lieutenant Haliburton was shot by a sulky or frantic recruit, who was instantly cut to pieces by his comrades. The name of Haliburton was long cherished by the Madras sepoy. One of the first services on which these sepoy were employed was with Clive at the defence of Arcot. At first they appear to have been either Mahomedans, or Hindús of very high caste—chiefly Rajpúts. They soon became remarkable for attachment to their leaders, their entire devotion to the English flag, their good orderly conduct on marches, and their steadiness in action.

In 1748, a little before the death of Haliburton, sepoy were first disciplined at Fort St. George. At that period, they were chiefly under the command of native officers. One of these subahdars—Mahomed Esof—was a hero whose name constantly occurs in the animated pages of Orme. The Bengal Native Infantry was not properly formed until the year 1757.



CHAPTER XXII.

BRITISH CONQUEST OF BENGAL.

Destruction of Gheria—State of Bengal—Character of the People—Its Governor Suraja Dowlah—His attack on Calcutta—The Black Hole—Its Horrors—Determination of the Madras Government to Avenge it.

A TREATY favourable to England had been concluded in the Carnatic. Dupleix had been superseded, and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave. But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great Britain was at hand, and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India. The Directors appointed Clive Governor of Fort St. David. The King gave him the commission of a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

The first service in which he was employed after his return to the East, was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheria. This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a priate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson, who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.



After this exploit, Clive proceeded to his government of Fort St. David. Before he had been there two months, he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

Of the provinces which had been subject to the house of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India possessed such national advantages, both for agriculture and commerce. The Ganges, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plan of rich mould, which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with similar exuberance. The great stream which fertilizes the soil is, at the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters, are the wealthiest marts, the most splendid capitals, and the sacred shrines of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Maratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Other provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms.

The race by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervated by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful avocations, bore the same relation to other Asiatics, which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. Whatever the Bengalee does, he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion; and, though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane, he seldom engages in



a personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke.

The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are, at Chandernagore on the Hoogly. Lower down the stream, the English had built Fort William. A church and ample ware-houses rose in the vicinity. A row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company, lined the banks of the river; and in the neighbourhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindú merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee, contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw. For the ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landholders, paid rent to the government; and they were, like other great landholders, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Orissa and Bahár, had long been governed by a viceroy, whom the English called Aliverdy Khán, and who, like the other viceroys of Mogul, had become virtually independent. He died in 1756, and the sovereignty descended to his grandson, a youth under twenty, who bore the name of Suraja Dowlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings; and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble, and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect, and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him; and selfish, because he had never been made



to feel himself dependent on the good-will of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery and servility. It is said that he had arrived at that last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake—when the sight of pain as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offence punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds; and, when he grew up, he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow creatures.

From a child Suraja Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so; and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they been even greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without a special permission from the Nabób. A rich native whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Suraja Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Dupleix to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified



and bewildered by the approaching danger. The governor, who had heard much of Suraja Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits, jumped into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance; and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Nabób seated himself with regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. He abused the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found; but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left at the mercy of the guards; and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice—the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls, and the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the



sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was, that nothing could be done without the Nabób's orders, that the Nabób was asleep, and that he would be angry if any body awoke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies—raved, prayed, blasphemed—implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the mean time held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gasps and moanings. The day broke. The Nabób had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses, on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.

But these things, which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabób. He inflicted no punishment on the mur-



derers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart: but those from whom it was thought that any thing could be extorted, were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabób procured their release.

Suraja Dowlah, in the mean time, sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison in Fort William, forbade any Englishman to dwell in the neighbourhood, and directed that, in memory of his great actions, Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagore, that is to say, the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence, it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the Hoogly, and that Clive should be at the head of the land forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry—fine troops and full of spirit—and fifteen hundred sepoys, composed the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects and larger revenues than the King of Prussia, or the Empress Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed; but it had to make its way



against adverse winds, and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nabób was revelling in fancied security at Moorshedabád. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of foreign countries, that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe; and it had never occurred to him as possible, that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But, though undisturbed by any fear of their military power, he began to miss them greatly. His revenues fell off; and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains, than to put them to the torture for the purpose of discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country, when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hoogly. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorshedabád, and marched towards Calcutta.

Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigour. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogly. The Nabób, already disposed to make some concessions to the English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war; and he felt that there was something discreditable in an accommodation with Suraja Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs;



these persons were eager to be restored to their posts, and compensated for their losses. The government of Madras, apprised that war had commenced in Europe, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the Nabób were large, the chances of a contest doubtful; and Clive consented to treat—though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier, carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valour, the plans of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman; and his military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new capacity he displayed great talents, and obtained great success, is undeniable. But it is also undeniable that the transactions in which he now began to take part, have left a stain on his moral character.



CHAPTER XXIII.

CSL

CONQUEST OF BENGAL—*Continued.*

Negotiations—Omichund—Chandernagore taken—Indecision of the Nabób—Confederacy against him—Omichund's schemes—How defeated—BATTLE OF PLASSEY—Clive's victory—Mir Jaffier made Nabób—Division of the Spoil.

THE negotiations between the English and the Nabób were carried on chiefly by two agents—Mr. Watts, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichund. This Omichund had been one of the wealthiest native merchants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabób's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions, he had seen much of the English, and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and had in large measure the Hindú talents—quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance ;—and the Hindú vices—servility, greediness, and treachery.

The Nabób behaved with all the faithlessness of a native Indian statesman, and all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta ; but when he saw the resolute front which the English presented, he fell back in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities



at Chandernagore. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow, and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India or from Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Nearly five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

The Nabób had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished ; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear, and still greater hatred. His weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had committed. The next day he ordered his army to march against the English. He countermanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. In the mean time, his wretched maladministration, his folly, his dissolute manners, and his love of the lowest company, had disgusted all classes of his subject—soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious Mahommedans, the timid, supple, and parsimonious Hindús. A formidable confederacy was formed against him ; in which were included Roydullub, the minister of finance, Mír Jaffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the mal-contents at Moorshedabád, and the committee at Calcutta.



in the committee there was much hesitation ; but Clive's voice was given in favour of the conspirators, and his vigour and firmness bore down all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to depose Suraja Dowlah, and to place Mir Jaffier on the throne of Bengal. In return, Mir Jaffier promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donative to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Suraja Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at his hands, the dangers to which trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. But nothing can justify the dissimulation which was practiced.

It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed. Enough reached the ears of the Nabób to arouse his suspicions. But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with miraculous readiness. All was going well ; the plot was nearly ripe ; when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false. The artful Bengalee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta. But this would not satisfy him. His services had been great. He held the thread of the whole intrigue. By one word breathed in the ear of Suraja Dowlah, he could undo all that he had done. The lives of Watts, of Mir Jaffier, of all the conspirators, were at his mercy ; and he determined to take advantage of his situation, and to make his own terms. He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling, as the price of his secrecy and of his assistance. The committee, incensed by the treachery, and appalled by the danger, knew not what course



to take. But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omichund's own arts. The man, he said, was a villain. Any artifice which would defeat such knavery was justifiable. The best course would be to promise what was asked. Omichund would soon be at their mercy, and then they might punish him by withholding from him, not only the bribe which he now demanded, but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive.

His advice was taken; but how was the wary and sagacious Hindú to be deceived? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Mír Jaffier and the English, and he would not be satisfied unless he saw it with his own eyes. Clive had an expedient ready. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red—the former real, the latter fictitious. In the former, Omichund's name was not mentioned: the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favour.

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance and acuteness were such, that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions. But Clive was not a man to do any thing by halves. Admiral Watson's name was forged.

All was now ready for action. Mr. Watts fled secretly from Moorshedabád. Clive put his troops in motion, and wrote to the Nabób in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Mír Jaffier; and concluded by announcing that, as the rains were about to set in, he and his men would do themselves the honour of waiting on his highness for an answer.



Suraja Dowlah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that Mír Jaffier should separate himself from the Nabób, and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached, the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cossimbuzar; the Nabób lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey; and still Mír Jaffier delayed to fulfil his engagements, and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his confederate; and, whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents, and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this occasion, for the first and for the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting; and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war, and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone under the shade of some trees, and passed nearly an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put every thing to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.

The river was passed, and at the close of a toilsome



day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango trees near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep; he heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabób. It is not strange that even his stout heart should now and then have sunk, when he reflected against what odds and for what a prize he was in a few hours to contend.

The day broke—the day which was to decide the fate of India. (June 23, 1757.) At sunrise the army of the Nabób, pouring through many openings from the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces. The force which Clive had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But of these nearly a thousand were English, and all were led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the rank of the little army were the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours, amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the Nabób did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect.



Several of the most distinguished officers in Suraja Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered the army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Suraja Dowlah were dispersed, never to re-assemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed, and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of nearly sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.

Mír Jaffier had given no assistance to the English during the action. But, as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided, he drew off his division of the army, and when the battle was over, sent his congratulations to his ally. The next day he repaired to the English quarters, not a little uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honours due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabób of the three great provinces of



Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies, and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabád.

Suraja Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet dromedary could carry him, and arrived at Moorshedabád in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his councillors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English, from whom he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice, and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Mír Jaffier had arrived; and his terrors became insupportable. Disguised in a mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let himself down at night from a window of his palace, and accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river for Patna.

In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabád, escorted by two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys. For his residence had been assigned a palace, which was surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Mír Jaffier was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabób to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold, and then, turning to natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter; for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, intimately



acquainted as he was with Indian politics and the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language.

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Seit, the great banker, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who had, up to that day treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the Company, and said in English, 'It is now time to undeceive 'Omichund.' 'Omichund,' said Mr. Scrafton in Hindustani, 'the red treaty is a take-in. You are to have nothing.' Omichund fell back insensible into the arms of his attendants. He revived; but his mind was injured. It has been said that he sunk into idiocy; but Professor Wilson doubts it, from the fact that sometime after, Clive recommended him to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and, therefore, not wholly to be discarded."



CHAPTER XXIV.

CSL

CONQUEST OF BENGAL—*Continued.*

Honesty the best Policy—British Influence in India owing to this maxim having been acted on—Death of Suraja Dowlah—Clive appointed Governor—His vigorous administration—Sháh Alum's army—Melts away at the approach of Clive—Mir Jaffier's gratitude—War with the Dutch—Clive Victorious—Returns to England—Count Lally.

IN the transaction narrated in the last chapter Clive was altogether in the wrong. He committed not only a crime but a blunder. That honesty is the best policy, is a maxim generally correct, even with respect to the temporal interest of individuals; but, with respect to societies, the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions, and that for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private faith. But it is not possible to mention a state which has on the whole been a gainer by a breach of public faith.

The entire history of British India is an illustration of this great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy—that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth. During a long course of years, the English rulers of India, surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English valour and English intelligence have



do less to extend and to preserve their Oriental empire than English veracity. All that they could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against them, is as nothing, when compared with what they have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed. No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the 'yea yea,' and 'nay nay,' of a British envoy. No fastness, however strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a security like that enjoyed by the chief who, passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with the British guarantee.

The mightiest princes of the East can scarcely, by the offer of enormous usury, draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. The British Government offers only four per cent., and avarice hastens to bring forth tens of millions of rupees from its most secret repositories. A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to the sepoys, on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company. The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service. But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept; he knows that if he lives a hundred years his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor General; and he knows that there is not another state in India which would not, in spite of the most solemn vows, leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess, is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage the English



enjoy in Asia, and this forms the great security for the permanence of their empire.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution, Suraja Dowlah was taken a few days after his flight, and was brought before Mir Jaffier. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Mir Jaffier hesitated ; but his son Miran, a youth of seventeen, who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled their wretched captive, was implacable. Suraja Dowlah was led into a secret chamber, to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part ; and Mir Jaffier understood so much of their feelings, that he thought it necessary to apologise to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy.

The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moorshedabad to Fort-William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which but a few months ago had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived ; and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

Mir Jaffier could be upheld on the throne only by the hand which had placed him on it. He was not, indeed, a mere boy ; nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple. He was not therefore quite so imbecile or



as depraved as his predecessor had been. But he had none of the talents or virtues which his post required; and his son and heir, Míran, was another Suraja Dowlah. The recent revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many chiefs were in open insurrection against the new Nabób. The viceroy of the rich and powerful province of Oud, who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, was now in truth an independent sovereign, menaced Bengal with invasion. Nothing but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government.

While things were in this state a ship arrived with dispatches, which had been written at the India-House before the news of the battle of Plassey had reached London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government constituted in the most cumbrous and absurd manner; and, to make the matter worse, no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form this new government, greatly to their honour, took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous orders, and invited Clive to exercise the supreme authority. He consented; and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of the employers. The Directors, on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success, instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless, and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. The English regarded him as the only man who could force Mír Jaffier to keep his engagements with them. Mír Jaffier regarded him as the only man who could protect the dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbours.



It is but justice to say, that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He sent forth an expedition against the tract lying to the north of the Carnatic. In this tract the French still had the ascendancy; and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise was entrusted to an officer of the name of Forde, who was then little known, but in whom the keen eye of the governor had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid and splendid.

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance, a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at Delhi, in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, named Sháh Alum, destined to be the sport, during many years, of adverse fortune, and to be a tool in the hands, first of the Marattas, and then of the English, had fled from the palace of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes, the Nabób of Oud in particular, were inclined to favour him. He found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of forty thousand men, of various races and religions, Marattas, Rohillas, Játs, and Afgháns, was speedily assembled round him; and he formed the design of overthrowing the upstart whom the English had elevated to a throne, and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

Jaffier's terror was extreme; and the only expedient which occurred to him was to purchase, by the payment of a large sum of money, an accommodation with Sháh Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who, before him, had ruled the rich and unwarlike



provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Clive treated the suggestion with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage, 'If you do this,' he wrote, 'you will have the Nabób of Oud, the Marattas, and many more, come from all parts of the confines of your country, who will bully you out of money till you have none left in your treasury. I beg your excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English, and of those troops which are attached to you.' He wrote in a similar strain to the governor of Patna, a brave native soldier, whom he highly esteemed. 'Come to no terms; defend your city to the last. Rest assured that the English are staunch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part.'

He kept his word. Sháh Alum had invested Patna, and was on the point of proceeding to storm, when he learned that the Colonel was advancing, by forced marches. The whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty Europeans and two thousand five hundred sepoy. But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East. As soon as his advanced guard appeared, the besiegers fled before him. A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince, advised him to try the chance of battle; but in vain. In a few days this great army, which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the court of Moorshedabád, melted away before the mere terror of the British name.

The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort William. The joy of Mír Jaffier was as unbounded as his fears had been, and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely token of gratitude. The quit-rent which the East India Company was bound to pay to the Nabób for the extensive



lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, amounted to near thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate, sufficient to support with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage, was now conferred on Clive for life.

This present Clive was justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature could be no secret. In fact, the Company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Mír Jaffier's grant.

But the gratitude of Mír Jaffier did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up, might pull him down, and had been looking round for support against the formidable strength by which he had himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be impossible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had anciently been great in the Eastern seas; and it was not yet distinctly known in Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Moorshedabád, and the Dutch factory at Chinsura; and urgent letters were sent from Chinsura, exhorting the government of Batavia to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal.

The authorities of Batavia, eager to extend the influence of their country—still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence—equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Java arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogly. The military force on board amounted



fifteen hundred men, of whom about one-half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic, that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He knew that Mír Jaffier secretly favoured the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility, if he attacked the forces of a friendly power; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France; that they might disavow his acts; that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied, that if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river and to join the garrison at Chinsura, Mír Jaffier would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to most serious danger.

Clive took his resolution with characteristic boldness, and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Forde, to whom the most important part of the operations was entrusted. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships were taken. Their troops were put to a total rout. Almost all the European soldiers, who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors sat down before Chinsura; and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications and to raise no troops beyond



small force necessary for the police of their factories; and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal.

Three months after this great victory, Clive sailed for England. (1760.) At home, honours and rewards awaited him—not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition; but still such as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pronounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage, and encouraged to expect an English title. George the Third, who had just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid marked attention; and Pitt, whose influence in the House of Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the lustre of that memorable period.

While these events had been transpiring in Bengal, the English had not been inactive on the Coromandel Coast. Clive had left brave and experienced men, trained by himself, and the foremost among these was Colonel Coote. The French had appointed Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, governor-general of their settlements in India, and in 1758, he had arrived with a strong force under his command. Lally was impetuous and self-willed; he knew nothing of India or the complex structure of its society, and at the very outset of his career excited the prejudices of the people against him by the outrages he committed on their habits and feelings.

While Lally and Bussy were engaged in violent quarrels, Coote on the 21st of November, 1759, proceeded with some British reinforcements to Conjeveram, where the rest of the army of the Carnatic was stationed. He then sud-



only fell upon the fort of Wandewash, carried it by storm on the 29th, marched to Carongoly, and took that place also from the French by the 10th of December. Having obtained the services of some Maratta horse, Lally surprised and took Conjeveram, but he was disappointed in his expectation of finding there magazines and provisions for his half-famished peopled. He next attempted to recover the fortress of Wandewash, where the breaches they had made were still open, and where the English had hardly any artillery. But Coote reached the spot and compelled the French to retire. Lally's pride, however, forbade his retreating far, and he drew up in order of battle at a short distance from the walls of Wandewash.

He had with him 2,250 Europeans and 1,300 sepoy; but his Maratta allies kept aloof. Coote had only 1,900 Europeans, but he had 2,100 sepoy, 1,250 black cavalry, and twenty-six field-pieces. The black cavalry, however, did no more for him than Lally's Marattas did for the French, as they kept out of the reach of shot. Lally, however, had about 300 European cavalry, while Coote had none. But at the very commencement of the battle, the French horse, which Lally conducted in person, were thrown into disorder by a few cannon-balls. Lally hastened to the infantry, and led them on with great gallantry, for, however deficient in cool judgment, he had courage in abundance. His regiment of Lorraine, which charged in column, broke through the battalion opposed to it; but that battalion wrapped round the flanks of the bold Lorrainers, and almost destroyed their mass by a few discharges. In a short time the French were more thoroughly defeated than ever they had been up to this period. Bussy, who gallantly put himself at the head of a battalion to try a bayonet-charge, was abandoned by his



men and taken prisoner. Lally escaped, protected by some of his French cavalry.

He had lost much in this battle, and retreated to the strong hill fortress of Gingee. Instead of following him, Coote resolved to attempt the recovery of Arcot, which he succeeded in taking on the 9th of January, 1760. Lally then retreated to Pondicherry. The French flag was soon struck from nearly every place where it had yet floated. Timery surrendered, Dévi Côtah was evacuated, Trinomalee, surrendered, Permacoil and Alamparva were taken by storm. Carical, the place next in importance to Pondicherry, surrendered on the 6th of April. The fall of Vellore, Chillambarem and Cuddalore, followed in rapid succession: and on the 4th of January, 1761, Lally was compelled to make an unconditional surrender of Pondicherry to Colonel Coote.

Admiral Pococke, who since the death of Watson had commanded the English fleet in India, had cruised between Bombay and Pondicherry, and thus prevented any assistance reaching Lally. A few days after Colonel Coote entered the city, Lally returned to France, where he was charged with having been the cause of the loss of India, and unjustly executed.



CHAPTER XXV.

EVENTS DURING CLIVE'S ABSENCE.

The Council in Calcutta—Sháh Alum's threatend invasion — Col. Calliaud's Victory — Defence of Patna — Mir Jaffier deposed—Succeeded by Mir Cossim—His disputes with the Company—Open Rupture—Patna taken and retaken—Massacre of English Prisoners—Major Adams' victory—Mir Cossim's flight—Mutiny in the English Camp—Its supression by Carnac and Monro.

DURING Clive's five years' absence from India, the gentlemen of the council, and the governor, Mr. Vansittart, had proceeded without any fixed plan, without consistency, and without courage. They had mixed with some native revolutions without any political aim, and they had interfered with others without generosity, and without justice. They had thus almost destroyed the moral influence of England.

At the period when Clive took his departure from the country, in February, 1760, it was rumoured that the Sháh Alum had collected another army, and was again advancing upon Patna and Moorshedabád. With the assistance of the nabob of Oud, he collected a numerous army, advanced to Patna, and defeated the governor, Ramnarrain, who had been left by the Calcutta government with only seventy Europeans and one weak battalion of English sepoys. But Colonel Calliaud coming up with 300 English, 1,000 sepoys, and a native force, commanded by Míran, the son of Mír Jaffier, completely routed Sháh Alum, and compelled him once more to retire from before Patna.



As however, Míran would not pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong body of Maratta horse joined the other side, the young Mogul, instead of retiring towards Benares, took the route of Moorshedabád, being also joined, at this time, by the erratic M. Law, and his small body of French. But, being followed up by the British sepoy, Sháh Alum set fire to his camp and fled towards Oud. Yet, encouraged by the junction of the naib of Purneah, who, after many intrigues threw off the mask, and repaired to the imperial standard with a considerable force, Sháh Alum, doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to Patna, which had been left almost void of troops. Mr. Fullerton, a Scotch surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were gallantly repulsed by the English factory; but at length, the weak rampart was scaled by the French, and hope was nearly abandoned by the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox, who had rapidly marched from Moorshe-dabád, in the hottest season of the Bengal year, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works.

A few days after, Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces, and about 300 native horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna and completely defeated the naib of Purneah with his 12,000 men. The naib was hotly pursued by Colonel Calliaud and Míran. But on the 2nd of July, the fourth day of the chase, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and on that night, the tent of Míran was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendants. After this evil omen, Míran's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna. He quartered his troops in and round that important place. But Míran's people



went to Moorshedabád, where they threatened the life of their ruler Mír Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of arrears. Other bodies of discontented men took up arms against the old nabób, whose coffers were quite empty. The weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Marattas.

On the other hand, Mr. Vansittart, the governor at Calcutta, found his treasury empty, and the English troops and sepoys almost mutinous through want of pay. He was induced to acquiesce in a scheme for overthrowing Mír Jaffier and setting up a new nabób. On the 27th of September, 1760, a treaty was concluded with Mír Cossim Ali, son-in-law to Mír Jaffier, and general of his army, engaging that he should be invested as nabób of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon condition of his making over to the Company the fruitful provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.

Governor Vansittart went in person to Moorshedabád, with a strong armed force, to induce Mír Jaffier to resign his power into the hands of his son-in-law. The old nabób hesitated, but his palace was surrounded by troops, his own army declared against him, and thereupon he sent out the seals to Mír Cossim, and offered to resign if the English would only be security for his life. The old man with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, the only place where he could be safe; and his son-in-law, Mír Cossim Ali, was proclaimed nabób. Having procured some money, the new ruler paid the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, and sent six or seven lacs of rupees to the treasury at Calcutta.

In the month of January, 1761, Major Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Calliaud, advanced from Patna against the Mogul Sháh Alum, who was once more ma-



g head in the province of Bahar. Carnac gained an easy and complete victory over him. In this battle, M. Law, who had been so long flitting from place to place,—so often heard of, yet never seen,—seated himself cross-legged on one of his guns, and, in that curious attitude, surrendered to Major Carnac and Captain Knox. Sháh Alum now retired towards Delhi, whence he soon sent Mír Cossim Ali his investiture as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; Mír Cossim agreeing, in consideration of this recognition, to pay him an annual tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees.

Mír Cossim was incessantly called upon by Mr. Vansittart and the Calcutta council for more and more money; but he had given to the governor and council, for his elevation to the musnud, upwards of 200,000*l.*; in ceding to the Company Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, he had given away a third-part of his revenues; and from these and other reasons, he was poorer than his predecessor, Mír Jaffier. To the disgrace of Mr. Vansittart and the majority of the council, Mír Cossim was allowed to fall upon the Hindú governor of Patna, Ramnarrain, who was reputed to be wealthy. Ramnarrain was thrown into prison, his house was broken open and plundered, his friends and servants were tortured in order to make them confess where lay his hidden treasures—for the money really found was of small amount. The disappointed tyrant, fearing the indignation of the English, did not put his prisoner to death immediately; but two years later, when he had drawn the sword against those who had made him nabób, he murdered in cold blood Ramnarrain, together with several other chiefs, some Mussulmans and some Hindús.

The immediate consequence of this base abandonment



of Ramnarrain, was the cessation of all friendly correspondence between the English and the native nobility. Thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabób than trust to the Company, these chiefs made offers of their money and their services ; and Mír Cossim flattered himself that he might soon be strong enough to defy the English authority. Quarrels broke out about duties upon merchandise, and the nabób's right of searching English boats, and of examining English bales. The vacillation and infirmity of purpose displayed by Mr. Vansittart and his council, led the nabób to despise what he and all Bengal had so long feared. He seized two of the Company's boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and made preparations for getting Patna into his own hands, and destroying the English detachment there stationed.

Apprised of this latter intention, the majority of the council, against the advice of Warren Hastings and others, resolved to anticipate the nabób's design, and sent orders to Mr. Ellis, the resident at Patna, to seize upon the citadel. Ellis, a violent man, no sooner got the orders than he acted upon them, by suprising and taking the citadel of Patna by night, on the 24th of June, 1763. Mír Cossim's rage was like that of the tiger. Exclaiming against the treachery of the Company, he murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna ; he murdered two Hindú bankers, supposed to be attached to the English interests ; threw forward a great army to Patna, drove the English from the town to their factory outside of it, and from their factory to their boats. These English troops, who had behaved disgracefully, fled up the Ganges to Chuprah, where they were surrounded, deprived of provisions, and reduced to lay down their arms. They were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found for companions in



misery their countrymen from Cossimbuzar, that factory having been attacked and plundered by the nabób.

The astounded governor and council of Calcutta now saw nothing better to do than to let loose old Mír Jaffier upon his son-in-law, and set him again upon the musnud from which they had so recently pulled him down. Having issued his mandates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, as rightful and indisputable nabób, the old man joined the English, who were now taking the field and advancing in force upon Moorshedabád. Mír Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were routed; but they made head again near Geriah, whither Mír Cossim sent nearly all his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoy, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by a European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, through he is generally called a German.

On the 24th of July the English under the command of Major Adams, dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabád without opposition. On the 2nd of August Mír Cossim risked a battle in the open plain near Geriah. The English force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1,500 sepoy, and some squadrons of native horse. Mír Cossim's army was as ten to one; it was supported by an immense train of artillery; the sepoy under Sumroo were perfectly well trained, and most of the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered in Bengal. Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours, with warm and close firing. The



84th regiment, attacked both in front and rear, was at one moment in great danger, and some daring and almost successful movements were made under the eye of Sumroo. But at last the nabób's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon, and of 150 boats that lay close by in the Ganges, loaded with provisions. They fled to an intrenched camp, which had been formed on the banks of the Oodwah.

Mír Cossim, after executing some more of his chiefs, and sending his family and treasure to a strong fort, left Monghir, with the avowed intention of throwing himself into the camp on the Oodwah; but when he came near that scene of danger, his heart misgave him, and he turned back. Yet so strong was that position, that it detained the English for three whole weeks. At length, however, on the 5th of September, the intrenched camp was carried, after some severe fighting, and the nabób's army there was completely scattered.

Murdering one or two more chiefs, Mír Cossim fled from Monghir towards Patna. The English advanced, and laid siege to Monghir, which had been strongly fortified, and which was defended by 2,000 sepoys. Early in October, after nine days of open trenches, the garrison surrendered. Mír Cossim, who had entertained the hope of a different result, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the news of the surrender, and his fury vented itself in ordering the execution of all the English who had been taken prisoners, together with Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna. The European adventurer, Sumroo, undertook the execution, and personally directed the massacre of 150 Englishmen—every soldier, every officer, and every servant of the Company being brutally murdered, with the single exception of Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon.



After this bloody deed, Mír Cossim abandoned Patna to the care of one of his chiefs, and retreated towards the Caramnassa. The British army took Patna by storm on the 6th of November, and were on the banks of the Caramnassa, early in December. They were, however, too late to catch the flying nabób; he had crossed the river some days before, and had gone with Sumroo to seek the protection of the nabób of Oud, who had previously concluded a treaty with him.

Suja Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oud, and recently appointed vizír to the young emperor, was at Allahabád, and Sháh Alum was with him. Forthwith he marched his army to Benares, and then came and encamped not many miles from the English. He was still accompanied by the young Mogul, who had some troops under his orders, and as a portion of the troops trained by Sumroo had followed that adventurer, the entire force collected was imposing.

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp; many of the sepoy's deserted to the enemy, and whole companies of Europeans, chiefly French, Germans, and Swiss, who had been formerly in the French service, marched off for Benares with their arms and accoutrements. Major Carnac, who now arrived to take the command, deemed it prudent to retreat from the frontier of Oud to the city of Patna, for provisions had grown scarce, and the mutinous spirit seemed to continue. After a short interval, Carnac was followed by the united armies of Suja Dowlah, Mír Cossim, and Sháh Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on the 3rd of May, by what seemed an overwhelming force, foremost in which was Sumroo, with the best of his disciplined infantry. But Carnac stood like a rock;



attack after attack was repulsed, and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants, whose loss had been immense. The two nabóbs, and the poor Mogul fled, rather than retreated, from Bahar into Oud.

Shortly after the battle of Patna, Major Hector Monro came up with considerable reinforcements of British troops, and assumed the command of the whole army. To put a stop to the mutiny of the sepoys, whom he found clamouring for higher pay, Monro determined to blow twenty-four of their ringleaders from the mouths of his cannon. The victims were selected out of a whole battalion of sepoys, who, after threatening the lives of their English officers, had been caught marching off by night to join the enemy. They had been tried by a field court-martial, composed of their own native officers, who had found them guilty of mutiny and desertion. When four of them had suffered, and the fifth was being tied to the gun's mouth, the sepoys tumultuously declared that the executions should stop there. Monro ordered the artillery officers to load with grape, and turn their guns on the native regiments; he drew up his Europeans in the intervals between the guns, and called upon the sepoys to ground their arms. The men obeyed, and the executions went on. This extreme measure was attended with complete success: there was no more mutiny from that day forward.

At the close of the rainy season, on the 15th September, Major Monro led his reformed army against the enemy, carrying with him no more than provisions enough for eight days. On the 22nd of October, having crossed the Sona in the teeth of their cavalry, he reached the vicinity of their intrenched camp at Buxar, and on the following morn-



ing he gave them a defeat, which entirely broke the power of the nabób of Oud. Leaving 130 pieces of artillery on the field, Suja Dowlah fled for Lucknow, cursing his allies who had hurried him into this war. Instead of following him, Sháh Alum, the unsteady Mogul, came and pitched his tents close to the English army, sought an interview with the chief officers, and proposed entering into a treaty of amity and close alliance with the Company. Monro, with the Mogul in his train, marched on through Oud.

When he reached the city of Benares, Suja Dowlah sent to offer him twenty-five lacs of rupees for the Company, twenty-five lacs for his army, and eight lacs for himself, if he would consent to a peace and quit the country. Monro refused to treat unless the nabób previously delivered to the English Mír Cossim and Sumroo. Suja Dowlah, who had quarrelled with the ex-nabób and seized all the treasure he had with him, urged that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Mír Cossim to give up all thoughts of dominion and flee to a distant country. As for Sumroo, he was not so scrupulous, proposing to invite him to a feast, and there have him murdered in the presence of any English gentleman. These proposals were not relished in the English camp, and the negotiations was broken off. The treaty with the emperor was then hurried to a close, Sháh Alum, as Mogul and lord of the whole, granting to the English the country of Gazipore, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the zemindar of Benares, and the English agreeing to put Sháh Alum in possession of the city of Allahabád and the remainder of the dominions of Suja Dowlah.



CHAPTER XXVI.

SECOND RETURN OF LORD CLIVE.

Clive arrives in Calcutta—Final defeat of Suja Dowlah—Yields himself up to the English—New treaty made—Mogul pensioned—Clive reforms the civil service—abolishes double batta—opposition and resignation of officers—Clive's firmness and success—sails for England.

ON the 3rd of May, 1765, Lord Clive arrived in Calcutta, with full authority to rectify all that had been done wrong during his absence. He had not been well-treated by the Court of Directors in England; but when they heard of the mismanagement of Mr. Vansittart and his council in Calcutta, it was at once felt that Clive alone could restore order, and make the name of England again respected. About four months before his arrival Mír Jaffier died at Moorshedabád, and thus rendered new political arrangements necessary.

As a last desperate expedient, Suja Dowlah called in a great army of Maratta horse under the command of Mulhar Ráo Holkar. With these allies, Suja Dowlah once more tried his fortune against the English, who had possessed themselves of Lucknow, the capital of Oud, and of Allahabád, the strongest fortress of the country. On the 3rd of May, 1765, a battle was fought near Corah, the English being again under the command of Major (now General) Carnac. The Marattas were quickly dispersed by the artillery, and the whole of the confederate army was broken and driven across the river Jumna,



A few days after his defeat at Corah, Suja Dowlah having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy and magnanimity of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac. He assured the general that Mír Cossim had fled into Róhilecund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the Company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oud; that he (Suja Dowlah) was more capable of defending those territories than Sháh Alum, to whom they had been promised; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the Marattas and Afghans.

Lord Clive set off for Allahabád to take these negotiations into his own hands. Finding, however, important business to settle at Moorshedabád, where affairs had fallen into a chaos of confusion, it was not till the end of July that he reached the camp at Allahabád, which then contained the persons both of the Mogul of Delhi, and the nabób of Oud. The new treaty was taken up with earnestness, the old one with the Mogul (if we can call old that which had been made only three months before) being torn up as waste paper; and it was agreed that Sháh Alum must rest satisfied with the possession of Allahabád, Corah, and the Doab, and that all the rest of Oud should be restored to Suja Dowlah, who was to continue vizír to the emperor. Suja Dowlah engaged to oppose the Marattas and defend the frontiers of Bengal, and the English bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion.

Sháh Alum, in right of the imperial authority, which would have been nothing without the presence of the armies of the Company, granted to the English the dewanee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and



Orissa; in return for which, he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabád, Corah, and the Doab, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewanee, which, in fact, constituted the Company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant, the young emperor confirmed the rights of the Company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India. The grant was presented by the young Mogul, in great state, to Lord Clive, about the middle of August, 1765.

There were no more wars while Clive remained in India; the terror of his name was sufficient to keep the natives in awe. His lordship directed all his attention to the reformation of abuses in the civil and military departments of the Company's service.

On the death of Mír Jaffier, the council at Calcutta had conferred the nominal sovereignty of Bengal on that nabób's eldest surviving son, Nujim ul Dowlah, a spiritless, imbecile youth. The dictator in India, for such Lord Clive now was, strongly disapproved of the revolution effected by the Company in deposing Mír Jaffier, the nabób of his own making; but he did not admire Mír Jaffier's son, and soon compelled him to retire from all public business on a pension of thirty-two lacs of rupees.

During Clive's absence in England, the Company had been defrauded and robbed, and the natives of Bengal, in many instances, defrauded and oppressed by Englishmen in the Company's service, who wanted to be rich of a sudden, and who received no sufficient check from the weak government of Mr. Vansittart. Clive had come out, chiefly to put an end to this state of things. It has been well said that this was a battle harder than that of Plassey, the whole settlement rising against him and his proposed



reforms. Several civil servants of the Company, relying on their powerful patronage at home, refused to act with or under him. Clive coolly sent to Madras for some other civil servants, and turned the refractory out of their offices. Flattery, entreaty, arguments (including money ones), persuasions, and prayers, were then employed. All in vain; they could not turn Clive from his purpose. He put down innumerable abuses and vile money-getting practices; but, at the same time, he adopted measures which might give the civil servants of the Company, whose pay had hitherto been miserably low, a proper maintenance, and a fair chance of acquiring fortunes by ability, application, and perseverance.

After settling with the men of the pen, the civil servants, Clive had to struggle with the bolder men who held the sword, and to encounter, what is always hard for an old soldier to bear, the ill will and reproaches of old companions in arms. He proceeded to set limits to the practice of giving additional pay, or, as it was called, "double batta," a practice first introduced after the battle of Plassey, when the nabób, Mir Jaffier, paid expenses. On the 1st of January, 1766, Clive issued an order, that, "double batta" to the European officers, the only class that now claimed it, should cease, except at Allahabád, where the troops were considered as actually in the field; and, generally, that the army in Bengal should be put on the same footing as that on the Coramandel coast, by whom no "batta" was drawn, except when marching or serving in the field. After remonstrating, two hundred English officers resigned in one day, apparently in full confidence that Clive would be intimidated.

Stern and unmoved, his lordship wrote to the Calcutta council, "Such a spirit much, at all hazards, be



suppressed at the birth;" and he desired the council to write to Madras, in order that every officer, every cadet that could be spared from that presidency, should be held in readiness to embark for Bengal. He had still a few officers near his person on whom he could rely, and knowing from his own personal experience that a young writer or clerk might soon be turned into a good soldier, he gave commissions to several young gentlemen in the mercantile service. He was well backed by General Carnac, Colonel Smith, and other superior officers; he knew that the English soldiery were steady, and that the sepoys would stand by him—their idol—in any extremity. He therefore quitted Moorshedabád, where he had been arranging matters of trade and finance, and advanced with a small escort to Monghir, the head-quarters of the rebellious officers, declaring that he must see the soldier's bayonet levelled at his throat before he could give way an inch.

Immediately on his arrival at Monghir, Clive addressed the soldiers, explained the mutinous conduct of their officers; mentioned his own recent donation of £70,000 to the European portion of the army, and ordered double pay to the sepoys for two months. To the devoted sepoys he committed the care of escorting a number of the mutinous officers to Fort William. In a short time, and with the greatest ease, all the ringleaders were arrested, tried by a court-martial and cashiered. The younger offenders were treated with lenity, and, when his indignation was cooled, Clive scorned to take any vengeance for the many personal wrongs and insults he had received. In the course of a very few weeks he could announce that discipline and subordination were restored, and that everything was as quiet and as well regulated as could be wished.



Clive showed a disinterestedness which was rare and heretical. He aimed at a reform which, in the end, must prove beneficial to the oppressors and to the oppressed; to the natives of India, to the servants of the Company, to the Company itself, and to the British nation. The servants of the Company would have enabled him to double or treble his fortune, if he had consented to connivance; the neighbouring princes of India would have paid any price for his assistance in their several schemes of aggrandizement; but he cast all these temptations behind him, making no merit of his refusals, which did not come to light till after his death. He always affirmed that this last visit to India diminished the fortune he had previously made.

Having, as he considered, done all that he came to do, Clive was anxious to return home, for his health was again seriously affected. The nervous malady to which, from time to time, he had been a prey ever since his youth, was now accompanied by the bodily and mental horrors that arise from continuous bile and a diseased liver; and he was occasionally attacked by spasms, which endangered his life, or his reason. On the 16th of January, 1767, he attended a meeting of the select committee for the last time. In ending an address, he said, "I leave the country in peace; I leave the civil and military departments under discipline and subordination: it is your duty to keep them so." At the end of January he took his final farewell of India, and embarked for England.

Clive had done his duty, but in so doing he had created as many enemies in England as M. Lally had provoked in France.



CHAPTER XXVII.

FIRST GOVERNOR GENERAL—WARREN HASTINGS.

New Regulating Act—Disadvantages under which Warren Hastings began his administration—Various Reforms—Inroads of the Sanyāsis—Hastings visits Benares—Resolutions—State of the country improved—Victory over the Róhillas—Cruelties perpetrated—New members of council arrive—Their dissensions—False charges against Hastings.

IN 1773, a few years after Clive's return home, the parliament of England passed a "Regulating Act," by which the administration of government in India was modified in several particulars. The most important change made was the establishment of one central authority, to which the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to be subordinate. In proceeding to the choice of the first Governor General of India, there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the responsible and difficult post. Long experience, proved ability, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had been at the head of the government after Clive's departure from India, and he was accordingly selected for the office. Clive approved of this, and hastened to congratulate him on being the FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL. The four members of council appointed with Warren Hastings, and unfortunately each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell. and Mr. Philip Francis.

Warren Hastings began his administration at Calcutta under numerous disadvantages. Famine had recently



failed; and the revenues were exhausted. Hastings made a tour in the provinces, and resided some time in Moorshedabád. The dewanee, or public treasury, was removed to Calcutta and placed under English management, and thither also were carried the superior courts of justice.

At the same period Hastings was occupied in devising means for placing both the internal trade of the country, and the external trade of the Company, upon a better footing, and in making reforms or alterations among all classes of the Company's servants in India. As to those reforms, he complained that he had received a dangerous mark of distinction in being alone intrusted with their execution, saying that the effect was, his hand was against every man's and every man's against his. Like Lord Clive, he was sowing the seeds of hatred and vengeance—the bitter fruit of which he was to taste hereafter. And to all these laborious and trying occupations were superadded constant anxieties arising out of the Company's connections with the nabób of Oud, and Sháh Alum, and the encroachment of the Marattas, who occupied or overrun for uncertain seasons the whole of the interior of India, from Delhi to the frontiers of Oud, from the ghauts of the Carnátic to the ghauts behind Bombay. He appears to have had no respite from care and labour.

The healthy and fertile province of Cooch Bahar had been overrun by the Bootans, a resolute and daring people, who cruelly oppressed the peasantry, and proved turbulent and dangerous neighbours. Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive out these Bootans and annex the country to the English dominions. At the same time his attention was called to the inroads of the Sanyási fakírs, an assemblage of men who united in themselves



the several characters of saints, living martyrs, prophets, jugglers, robbers, and cut-throats. Hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost stark-naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, murdering, and committing every act of violence and obscenity. A host of the kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurangzib. They were one of the many scourges to which the country was periodically liable under the imbecile government of the native princes.

The present swarm fell suddenly upon Bengal like a flight of locusts. Dividing themselves into bodies, each two or three thousand strong, they rushed in search of their prey, and wherever they penetrated they burned the villages, destroyed the crops, and committed their unnameable abominations. Five battalions of sepoy were sent in pursuit of them; but they moved at a speed that defied the pursuit of any regular infantry; and Hastings, to save the Company's money, had been obliged to discharge nearly all the native cavalry. They were favoured by the superstition and infatuation of a large portion of the population, who considered them saints while committing the greatest sins, and who stood in awe of the supernatural powers to which they laid claim. A British officer, with an entire battalion, followed them closely, but could never come up with them. Hastings hurried on another detachment to assist in the pursuit, another to cross the track which the fakirs usually took on their return. Yet, after every exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and lofty mountains, got back with their plunder to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China. Their visit



proved a serious blow to the revenues of the country, as well from pretended as from real losses.

Soon after the departure of the fakírs, Hastings set out on a visit to Oud, the nabób having earnestly requested a personal conference with him at Benares. He arrived at that city on the 19th of August, 1773, and found the nabób waiting his arrival and eager for business. Their considerations, final resolutions, and agreements, were these :—

I. The chiefs of Róhílcond, when recently attacked by the Marattas, had made an offer of forty lacs of rupees to the nabób of Oud for his assistance, and the nabób of Oud had promised to give half of this money to the Company for the services of English troops and sepoys. The troops of Oud had been of little use, but the troops of the Company, under Sir Robert Barker, had cleared the country of the Marattas ; and yet the Róhilla chiefs refused to pay the forty lacs, or any part of them. The Róhillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oud. Hastings consented to employ an army against the Róhillas, and to unite the country to Oud, the vizír nabób engaging to pay the entire expenses of the war, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees.

II. The ruler of Oud was anxious to recover possession of Corah and Allahabád, and the Douab, which stood within his frontiers, and which the poor Mogul could not maintain. For fifty lacs of rupees—twenty paid on the spot, and thirty to be paid in two years—Hastings transferred Corah and Allahabád to Suja Dowlah.

III. As the unauthorised residence of British subjects unconnected with the Company was frequently embarrassing to the Calcutta government, and gave rise to intrigues,



it was agreed that no Europeans whatsoever should be permitted to reside in Oud, without the knowledge and consent of the governor general.

IV. Cheyte Sing, the young rája of Benares, was included in some of the arrangements between Hastings and the nabób of Oud; for Benares, the holy city, with its dependent district, was geographically in the province of Allahabád, and Suja Dowlah, the nabób, had long aimed at the destruction of the young rája, whom the English, by previous treaties, were bound to support. Hastings therefore insisted that all the territorial rights of Cheyte Sing should be confirmed to him, and that Suja Dowlah should respect his young and weak neighbour.

Owing to financial difficulties, the vizír nabób of Oud requested that the invasion of Róhílcond might be postponed; and this was agreed to.

Returning to Calcutta, Hastings applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal, to the establishment of something like an efficient police, to the posting of detachments so as to prevent the incursion of the fakírs and other robbers, to the formation of local forts in the districts, to the protection of native trade and industry, to the removing impolitic taxes, and fees upon native marriages. Even men in India, unfriendly to this able and indefatigable administrator, confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal, in 1771, the whole country had assumed, or was rapidly assuming, a new aspect. The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease began to be filled up; frequent immigrations of quiet, laborious people from other parts of India, sought and found that protection and encouragement under the Company's government, which they could find scarcely anywhere else on the vast surface of Hindos-



the in countries exposed to the ravages of the Marattas, Afghans, Játs, Dacoits, Thugs, Bheels, and other monsters. Rájás, nabóbs, kháns, and all grandees, might complain ; but the native merchant, manufacturer, tiller of the soil, artisan, all that we call *people*, were brought to regard Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name. "I could have gone," said he, "from Calcutta to Moorshedabád, and from Moorshedabád to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to be found in the good-will and affection of the natives."

Early in the year 1774, the vizír nabób, Suja Dowlah, applied for the instant marching of the English brigade stationed at Allahabád, as he was now determined to invade Róhílcond. Accordingly that brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to move and join the nabób's forces. From the middle of February to the middle of April, Colonel Champion was kept waiting ; but at last the vizír nabób came up with his worthless army, and the open southern frontier of Róhílcond was crossed by the invaders. The Róhillas were found in a good position on the side of the Babul Nulla ; nearly their entire force, which probably amounted to about 25,000 fighting men, was collected on that ground ; and they had cavalry, artillery, and rockets. But, on the 23rd of April, when they were attacked by the British brigade, superior discipline and tactics and better arms led to the usual result. They were thoroughly defeated and routed ; but their valour and stamina were proved by their fighting, at unusually close quarters, for two hours and twenty minutes, and leaving 2,000 of their number on the field. Several of their sirdars were slain, and among them Hafez Ramet, the head of the confederacy. The nabób behaved



as nabóbs always did in battle ; he kept at a great distance from the English, behind a river, surrounded by his cavalry and artillery ; he refused Champion the use of some of his guns and some of his cavalry, nor would he move from his lurking-place until he was well assured of the enemy's total defeat. Then he and his unwarlike rabble moved forward with alacrity, but it was only to plunder the Róhilla camp, which Champion considered as the fair booty of his brigade. "We have the honour of the day," said the colonel, "and these banditti the profit."

Many cruelties and horrors were committed in this Róhilla war—not by the English and their disciplined sepoys, who had all the fighting, but by the nabób's rabble, who never fought at all :—not with the connivance of Hastings, but in spite of his loud and repeated remonstrances. Nor did he fail to insist upon a mild and proper treatment for such of the Róhilla chiefs as had fallen into the hands of the vizír nabób. "Tell the vizír," continued he, "that the English manners are abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression, and enjoin the gentlest treatment of a vanquished enemy." Still, as Hastings knew this would be disregarded, he is to blame for having sanctioned and promoted the war.

The fugitive Róhillas, under Fyzoola Khán, took up a very strong post near the northern frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghán family, from the mountains in their rear. It was apprehended by Suja Dowlah, that the Marattas might come in also, and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khán. The English brigade was worn out by long marches and short commons, and Champion and his officers were thoroughly disgusted with their ally, and all his concerns. A treaty was therefore hurried to a



conclusion, Fyzoola Khán surrendering one-half of his treasure, and one-half of all his effects, to the nabób of Oud, and that nabób granting him the small district of Rampore, in jaghír. Some few chiefs remained with Fyzoola Khán, but the majority went into other countries, to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghán race might almost be said to be rooted out of Róhílcond. Their entire number had probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes,—men, women, and children. The Hindú population transferred to the nabób of Oud was estimated at 2,000,000.

Just as the first Róhilla war came to this conclusion, the new constitution, as framed by parliament, came into operation. Hitherto, Warren Hastings, as simple governor, had exercised an undivided authority; but now that he became GOVERNOR-GENERAL, his unity of power was to cease.

The members of council—General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis—arrived at Calcutta (Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before) on the 19th day of October, 1774. On the following day, the existing government was dissolved by proclamation, and the new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings, with the rank of governor-general of India, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues, only Mr. Barwell, who from long residence had a perfect knowledge of Indian affairs, was quite acceptable to Hastings. Three seemed to have come out with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three—Francis—hated him from the beginning, with an intensity of which English natures are seldom capable. But the "Regulating Act" had framed a Supreme Court of Justice as well as a council, and among



the judges who arrived with the members of this new council, Sir Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old friend of the governor-general.

The general letter of the Court of Directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended, above all things, unanimity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated ; and it required them to do their utmost in order to preserve peace in India. But unanimity and concord were incompatible with a body so constituted. The members of the new council began their open quarrel upon the transactions in Oud and the Róhilla war. They asserted, by implication, that Hastings had embarked in that war for private sordid motives.

As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were most unjust. Hastings was a poorer man now than when he quitted an inferior employment at Madras. He was above the sordid motives imputed to him : he was, as many other men have been and are, constitutionally indifferent to money for himself. He found empty coffers, and a large and costly military force to maintain. The famine and its awful consequences choked up the sources of the revenue, while the court of Directors at home were falling into debt, and exhorting him by every ship to remit them money. Long afterwards he said "When I took charge of the government of Bengal, in April, 1772, I found it loaded with debt ; in less than two years I saw that debt completely discharged, and a sum in ready cash to the same amount in the public treasuries." It thus becomes easy to conceive to what uses he had applied the lacs of rupees obtained from Suja Dowlah and other native princes.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

WARREN HASTINGS—*Continued.*

Political State of Bombay—Rágoba—Maratta Coalition—Attempt of the council to ruin Hastings—Their defeat—Death of Nuncomar—Maratta Intrigues—Hastings prepares to counteract them—Success of his arrangements—Extraordinary march across India—General Goddard's victory—Fall of Gwaliór.

THE supreme council of Calcutta, as provided by the "Regulating Act," asserted their authority over the other presidencies, and required from each of them a full report of its actual condition, political, financial, and commercial.

The political state of Bombay, which had long been quiet, and removed from the struggles of war, was at this moment sufficiently disturbed, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and puzzling sea of Maratta politics. The first temptation had been the rich island of Salsette, that lay in their immediate neighbourhood. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Ráo, and the election of a new péshwa of the Marattas. A considerable force, sent against Salsette, stormed the principal fort, and then took quiet possession of the island; to secure this conquest, and to obtain some territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the Bombay presidency concluded a treaty with Rágoba, one of the aspirants to the Musnud.



Rágoba made the desired grants, and received his price in English troops and sepoy, with whom he made sure of beating all his competitors. The presidency sent Colonel Keating, with 500 European infantry, 80 European artillery, 1,400 sepoy, and 160 lascars, with a field train, and some heavier pieces, to assist Rágoba, who had himself a large army of horse. On the 11th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Maratta confederacies; but he lost a considerable number of men and officers, and found his movements impeded by a mutiny in Rágoba's camp. That chief, however, got together some money, paid his troops, and bought over many of his enemies; and in the month of July, the road to Poona, the Maratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies.

At this point, the council at Calcutta struck in; and they did so, without temper, honour, or decency. They ordered the Bombay presidency instantly to recall their troops, and they sent Colonel Upton to Poona. They censured all the negotiations and operations of the presidency, determining, at the same time, that Salsette, and the other territories which had been acquired by them, were to be kept for the Company.

While these events were passing in Western India, other hosts of Marattas descended into the valley of the Ganges, and plundered part of the dominions of the young nabób of Oud. Rumours also arose that there was a new coalition between the Mogul, the Marattas, the Sikhs, the Róhillas, and other Afghan tribes, for the conquest of the whole of Oud, and the invasion of Bengal. It was no wisdom or policy on the part of the supreme council that broke up this project; the coalition was dissolved by quarrels among its members and by want of money. If their



United forces had advanced rapidly, the Indian empire might have tottered, for there was neither wisdom nor courage in the dominant majority in the council; the natives were bewildered, and fast losing their reliance, and the army was discontented and dispirited.

Francis, Clavering, and Monson, could think of little else than of the means of ruining Hastings. The natives soon found this out. They considered him as a fallen man; and they acted after their kind. Some readers may have seen, in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death—no bad type of what happens in that country, as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant, all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined; and, in twenty-four hours, it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial, that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding-place in his house.

Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of his opponents. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance false accusations; but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware



that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields, than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

It would have been strange indeed, if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. This man, who was a bramin of high rank, had played an important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Suraja Dowlah, had taken place in Bengal. His career had been bad throughout life, and he was now stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on Hastings, who had formerly frustrated him, and thus become the greatest native in Bengal. He therefore put into the hands of Francis a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. The majority of the council believed all this, and the situation of Hastings was a painful one.

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. But he was playing a desperate game. With all his acuteness he did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He knew not that in Bengal there was an authority perfectly independent of the council—an authority which could protect one whom the council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, saw how this might be turned to his advantage.

On a sudden Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, com-



mitted, and thrown into the common jail. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But no doubt Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The majority in the council were now enraged beyond measure. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and demanded that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The judges returned haughty and resolute answers. The assizes commenced: a true bill was found; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey, and a jury composed of Englishmen. A verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

The excitement among all classes was great. The Hindus were not the people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was at the head of their race and religion—a bramin of the highest caste. The appointed day, however, arrived, and notwithstanding the shock it gave to all classes of native society, the execution duly took place. Nuncomar was hanged.

On the 25th of September, 1776, the majority in council was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side, but the casting vote of the governor-general gave him the superiority. Dissension and manœuvres in Calcutta, and misunderstandings in the Court of Directors in England, far too numerous to relate in an epitome of Indian history, then ensued. The disputes rose so high, that the sword of civil war was half unsheathed in the streets of Calcutta. But General Clavering, a man of the sword, and of an impetuous temper, was made to quail before the firm



unflinching civilian Warren Hastings. At length Colonel Monson's place was filled by Mr. Wheler, who, though he came out expecting to be governor-general himself, consented to hold an inferior post. Wheler commonly voted with Francis ; but before that party could recover confidence, it was again reduced to a minority by the death of General Clavering.

Hastings had now the preponderancy. This was fortunate, as the circumstances of the times required all his energy and skill. Most of the Maratta chiefs who had been parties to the treaty with Colonel Upton were weary of their bargain ; fresh intrigues and combinations were forming, a French ship had put into one of the Maratta ports, and a French agent was living at Poona, and exercising great influence in that capital. The presidency of Bombay wrote alarming letters to Calcutta, and recommended a new alliance with Rágoba, in order to anticipate the designs of the French and the Maratta chiefs. Hastings had long been convinced that the greatest danger in India would proceed from a union of the French with the Marattas, and that any attempt of that kind ought to be met on the instant.

Without hesitation, Hastings proposed in council, that every possible assistance in men and money should be given to Rágoba and his ally Báboo, and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. Francis and Wheler protested ; but in vain. Ten lacs of rupees were immediately forwarded to Bombay, by bills ; and on the 23rd of February, orders were issued for assembling the forces at Culpee. If the army went by sea, they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the troops, or ships of war



to give them convoy. "Let the army march by land," said Hastings. This was a bold idea, that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian soldier or statesman. Taking all responsibility on himself, the governor-general, however, gave the order to advance.

The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry furnished by the nabób of Oud, and a Company of artillery ; altogether, amounting to 103 European officers, 6,234 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazaar, carriers of baggage, servants of officers, and families of sepoys ; and this host had to march upwards of 1,000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was intrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so bold and brilliant a conception. Except the officers, there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army commenced its march on the 12th of June, 1778. It had not proceeded far, when intelligence was received, that war had been declared between France and England.

Francis and Wheler insisted that the army should be recalled ; but Hastings insisted that it should go on, and that the river Hoogly, Calcutta, and all Bengal, could be very well defended without it. Clive himself could not have shown more resoluteness or rapidity than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chandernagore, and all the restored French factories in Bengal ; he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Póndicherry—but, in fraction of the last treaty of peace, Póndicherry had been re-fortified, and could not be taken without a siege : he threw up strong works near Calcutta ; he collected ships and improvised a regular marine establishment ; he raised nine battalions of sepoys, and a numerous corps



of native artillery ; and, being thus at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the other parts of India.

Colonel Leslie had been instructed to conciliate where he could, and to fight his way through where he could not. Hastings had previously sent letters and presents to the rája of Berah and other princes, through whose territories the troops must march. The army met with a feeble resistance, in crossing the river Jumna, from a Maratta chief called Bállajee. This chief also engaged the rája of Bundilcund to oppose it as it advanced up the country. But the rája and the Marattas were beaten and routed, and by the middle of July, Leslie was at Chatterpoor, having been joined by a brother of the rája, who claimed the musnud, and by several other Bundilcund chiefs.

When he had loitered away four months, busied in what Hastings called "paltering work," the governor-general recalled him, and gave the command of the army to Colonel Goddard, who was released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, and instructed to judge and act for himself. He forthwith quitted Bundilcund, and, taking the road through Malwa, he continued his march a long while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing any of the impediments which Leslie had anticipated. He soon crossed the Nerbudda, and reached the city of Nagpore. By the 1st of December, Goddard had established friendly relations with the Marattas of Berar. Now he received despatches from the Bombay presidency, acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poona, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city.

This Bombay force, 4,500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, advanced boldly through the ghauts, arrived at



and by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poona. Loose bodies of Maratta horse kept skirmishing and retreating, but Colonel Egerton could nowhere see the friendly Maratta army which Rágoba had assured him would repair to his standard. Rágoba, who was accompanying Egerton with a very small force, was taken to task; but he represented that the wavering Maratta chiefs were not likely to join until the English should have obtained some decisive advantage. Egerton, therefore, kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poona, in which neighbourhood he was sure to meet Goddard in a very few days. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Maratta horse was seen in front.

Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners into the field with Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days!—they ordered a retreat. The Maratta army followed them, cut to pieces nearly 400 men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and provisions.

A deputation was then sent to the enemy, though all experience in India had shown the folly of such a course, to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit the quiet march of the English back to the coast. The Maratta chiefs demanded that Rágoba should be delivered up to them. With this demand, Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing the breach of honour and hospitality, by alleging that Rágoba had opened a correspondence with the enemy. When the Marattas



had got Rágoa into their hands, they asked another price for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty, by which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this effect. The Maratta chiefs then demanded hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance.

The irritated army recommended that the two commissioners should be delivered over to the barbarians; but it was finally arranged, that two other civilians should be sent to the Maratta camp. The dishonoured army was then told it might pursue its march to Bombay, without fear of molestation.

In the meanwhile, Goddard was advancing upon Poona, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his forces near that city. But when he reached Berham-poor, 980 miles from Calcutta, Goddard was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field-commissioners he was told that he must retrace his steps; by another from the same commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but neither the commissioners nor Egerton gave him an account or any intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt, Goddard remained at Berhampoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the state of affairs. Happily he was no Egerton, and had no commissioners with him. He resolved not to be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no right to include him in their disgrace. He would bravely continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poona, and making direct for Surat, where he



would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay.

Surat, however, was nearly 250 miles off, the disposition of the intervening country very doubtful, and a great and increasing army of Maratta horse was hanging on his rear. His decision and rapidity, the discipline and orderly conduct of his native Bengal infantry, could alone save him from destruction or dishonour. But he and his army were preceded by the sweet odour of a good name. In the course of their long and toilsome marches from Bundilcund, no plundering, no excesses, no insults or wrongs of any kind had been permitted. Hence, the country people flocked to supply them with provisions, and to render such information and services as they could. From Berhampoor to the coast his route lay in the most fertile and best-cultivated fields of Western India, thickly dotted with open villages and defenceless towns; but the same morality was kept up, the army touched nothing without paying for it, and was consequently befriended and always well provided by the natives.

Goddard and his sepoys performed the 250 miles' march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory; they had left a moral impression which could not soon be effaced, and which it was scarcely possible to overrate.

Colonel Goddard was promoted to the rank of general, was ordered to take upon himself all future wars or negotiations with the Marattas. Rágoba escaped from his confinement at Poona, and took refuge with the English in Surat. Goddard proposed an amicable treaty with the Poona confederacy, upon the basis that they should annul the dishonourable treaty extorted from Egerton and the



missioners, and renounce all connection with the French. The Maratta chiefs required as a preliminary that Rágoba should be given up, and Salsette restored. Goddard of course refused to consent to such conditions. He took the field at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dobhoy and carried by storm the important city of Ahmedabád, the ancient capital of Guzerat.

He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a Maratta army, 40,000 strong, under the two great chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 4th of March he was close up with this army, and would have attacked it that very night if the Marattas had not liberated the two English hostages, and sent them to his camp, with a vakeel or agent to open new negotiations. Finding that the Marattas were only seeking to gain time until the setting in of the rains, Goddard tore up their papers and put his troops in motion. As their army was all cavalry, Scindia and Holkar were enabled for many days to avoid an attack; but, on the 3rd of April, between night and morning, he, with a select part of his army, surprised them in their camp and put them to the rout. Their flight left him undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea.

In the mean time Warren Hastings had formed an alliance with a Hindú prince, commonly called the ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country between the territories of the great Maratta chief Scindia and the kingdom of Oud; and Captain Popham, with a small force, had been detached from Bengal to assist the ranna in expelling a Maratta invasion. Popham, a brave, active officer, worthy of co-operating with Goddard, had taken the field at the beginning of the year, had driven



out the Marattas from the dominions of the ranna, had crossed Sindh, had followed the Marattas into their own territory, and had taken by storm their fortress of Lahore. Popham, with extraordinary daring, took by escalade the fortress of Gwaliór, one of the very strongest in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and at that time defended by a numerous garrison. The brave young Bruce, who led the escalading and storming party, was one of a family insensible to danger; he was brother of Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller. Upon the fall of Gwaliór, the Marattas abandoned all that part of the country.

The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Captain Popham was about the last public act in India of Mr. Philip Francis. A truce or conciliation had been effected between the governor-general and this discordant member of council. But no sooner had Mr. Barwell, the supporter of the governor-general in the council, taken his departure for England, than Francis renewed his opposition, and again endeavoured to thwart the campaign of Popham, and every project that lay nearest the heart of the governor-general.

Irritated in the extreme, Hastings, in answering a minute of council, wrote:—"I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Although Francis well merited the reproach, he thought himself obliged to challenge the governor-general, who shot him through the body. The wound, thought to be dangerous, did not prove mortal. But Francis resigned his place and returned home, a few months after the duel, to the incalculable advantage of English interests and honour in India.



CHAPTER XXIX.

WAR WITH MYSORE.

Condition of Mysore—Rise of Hyder Ali—He obtains the supreme power—The other powers of Southern India combine against him—Faithlessness of the Marattas and the nizám—Tippú surprises Madras—French alliance with Hyder—Treaty of Madras—The Marattas invade Mysore—Hyder gains possession of Gooty and Chittledroog.

MYSORE had not been entirely subjected to the Mohammedan sway, but was ruled by native princes, who paid homage, and sometimes tribute, first to the kings of the Deccan, and after their fall, to the Mogul. But this comparative independence was of little value, as the native princes had as usual sunk into voluptuous indolence, and allowed the government to pass into the hands of their ministers. When the war in the Carnátic first led the English into hostility with Mysore, Chick Kishen Ráj was rája, but the real power was possessed by two brothers, Devráj and Nunjeráj who had risen to the head of affairs. At this time however there was coming into notice a young adventurer, destined to effect a complete revolution in the country.

This was Hyder Ali, who rose from a very humble origin, and never even learned to read or write. He reached the age of twenty-seven before he would submit to the restraints of military service. But having once embarked in an active career, he soon displayed daring valour, presence of mind, and all the qualities which con-



stitute an eminent warrior. He received the charge of a small corps, with a commission to increase its numbers by all the means in his power.

He soon assembled around him a numerous body of freebooters, who asked no pay, but trusted solely to the plunder they might collect. The practices of a common thief may be considered just and honourable compared with those by which Hyder rose to the rank of an Indian monarch. By every species of pillage and extortion, he had collected 5,000 infantry, 1,500 horse, with elephants, camels, and all the other appendages of a chief of high rank. He was then appointed to the important post of Fouzdar of Dindigul. Here by the most scandalous impositions he enlarged his forces, and increased his wealth greatly.

The state of the Mysore Court at this time, favoured the designs which Hyder began to cherish of seizing the throne. The young rája, whom Nunjeráj kept as a convenient toy, determined to make an effort to extricate himself from thralldom, but was not successful. The attempt, however, had given Hyder an opportunity of serving Nunjeráj, and increasing his own influence over the army. He now soon attained the supreme power, though not without some serious reverses that had almost been fatal to his hopes.

Hyder now pensioned the rája, and formally assumed the direction of affairs. He soon extended his sway in every direction; and at length, by the capture of the rich territory of Bednore, enriched his treasury with several millions sterling. An invasion of the Marattas, under Madu Ráo, checked his successful career for a time; but after a short interval, he was in the field again, and rapidly conquered the Malabar provinces. The extension of ter-



ritory alarmed the great powers of Southern India, who united in a confederacy against Hyder. The English joined the nizám and the Marattas for this purpose.

The three allied armies began to move early in 1767. The Marattas were first in the Mysore, and Hyder, finding himself unable to encounter them alone, determined at any price to detach them from the confederacy. Madu Ráo consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees, to quit the country, and withdraw entirely from the alliance. Hyder next succeeded in bribing off the equally faithless nizám, and even negotiated a treaty with him for the expulsion of the Company from the Carnátic, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast.

Colonel Smith, who commanded the English troops, seeing himself now threatened by the united attack of these two great powers, with an army of 43,000 horse and 28,000 foot, while he himself had only 6000 foot and 1000 horse, limited his efforts to fortifying the passes of the Ghauts, by which they might be expected to descend in the Carnátic ; but, from ignorance of the local positions, he left undefended those very openings which were the most favourable for their purpose. Through these they very easily penetrated, and, threatening the rear of his column, obliged him instantly to fall back. The confederates attacked him near Changama, but were completely repulsed ; though, in consequence of their horsemen having plundered the slender store of rice belonging to his army, this victory was converted almost into a defeat, and he was obliged to retreat day and night till he reached Trinomalee. The war now assumed a most alarming aspect. The British officer indeed had his force raised to ten thousand, for the most part regular infantry, which gave him a superiority in the field ; but his cavalry were



few and inefficient, while the enemy covered all the country with excellent light horse, which cut off all his supplies, and left him no command over any spot beyond that on which he was actually encamped.

At the same time Tippú, son to Hyder, afterwards so deadly an enemy to the English name, then only a boy of seventeen, made a rapid excursion with 5000 horse to the vicinity of Madras, and had nearly surprised several of the European residents in their country-houses. The Indian princes expected to see their adversary reduced to extremity by the want of provisions; but this was averted by the discovery of some hidden stores, which, according to national custom, had been buried in the earth. The nizám, imprudent and impatient, insisted that they should no longer wait the slow operation of famine, but bring on a general action. They made the attack at Trinomalee, confident in their superior numbers and vast masses of cavalry; but Smith, by an able movement round a mountain, and by the skill with which his artillery was served, completely baffled the efforts of this great though irregular host.

The nizám, on witnessing these disasters and the disappointment of all his hopes of aggrandizement at the expense of the English, began to waver in the alliance. Another check sustained near Ambúr, and the invasion of his territory by a detachment from Bengal, confirmed him in the resolution to withdraw himself from Hyder, and agree to a separate treaty, which was concluded on the 23d February 1768. Under the pressure of such circumstances he obtained tolerable terms; but was obliged to confirm the grant of the Circars made by the Mogul. There were to be paid to him, however, five lacs annually; not in the name of tribute for this district, but as a



friendly subsidy. Even from this there was to be deducted, for the expenses of the war, a large sum at the rate of three lacs every year. Nor was any opposition to be made to the appropriation by the British of a considerable extent of Hyder's dominions.

As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded by the French as their best friend. Several able Frenchmen left Pôndicherry to join and advise the Mysorean chief. By these men Hyder was confirmed in the opinion he had previously formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in light cavalry, in cutting off their detachments, and plundering the country from which they derived their supplies. Several English posts were surprised, and a considerable number of prisoners were sent off to Seringapatam. The open country was again devastated. The presidency of Madras now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled the two Civilians, who had been sent to controul operations, and whose interference had been most injurious. They could not, however, improvise regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm, Smith's operations were for the most part impeded and frustrated.

After paying two visits to Pôndicherry, and conferring with the French there, Hyder Ali made a rush upon Madras with 6,000 horse. The fortress had lost none of its strength; but the town, and the Black Town, the warehouses, the country-houses, and the villages, were as defenceless as at the time of Tippú's foray. The presidency eagerly proposed terms of peace, or eagerly listened to terms proposed by the Mysorean, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward, before Colonel Smith should double upon him and draw near to Madras. It



was very soon agreed that Hyder Ali should restore whatever territory he had taken from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him; that he should assist the English in their future *defensive* wars, and that they should do the same by him.

The treaty of Madras, concluded on the 4th of April, 1760, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the péshwa and his Marattas, who swept everything before them, burning towns and villages, and cutting off noses and ears. Hyder called upon the presidency of Madras for their promised assistance; but the presidency—and apparently with perfect truth—affirmed that this was not a *defensive* war, that Hyder had brought the war upon himself, by making preparations to invade the territory of the péshwa, and by conniving with certain disaffected Maratta chiefs. Hyder then offered money, and endeavoured to work upon the fears of the English, by representing what turbulent neighbours the Marattas would be to them, if allowed to conquer and occupy Mysore. Still the council of Madras declined sending a single gun or a single sepoy to his assistance.

The péshwa of the Marattas now courted a new alliance with the English, but met with a refusal. Thus the Marattas and the Mysoreans were left to fight out their own battles.

Hyder and his son Tippú were defeated in several encounters, and reduced to sad straits. By the month of November, 1771, the Marattas were in possession of all Mysore, except Seringapatam, and some of the strongest forts, and were pressing upon and plundering the borders of the Carnatic. Then the presidency sent an army towards that frontier, before which the Marattas retreated. In July, 1772, a treaty of peace was concluded between



Hyder and the peshwa; the Marattas obtaining a considerable portion of Mysore, together with fifteen lacs of rupees in hand, and fifteen lacs more in promises.

Hyder as soon as he had extricated himself from this invasion, employed the most active exertions to regain his lost territory; turning his attention first to the Malabar coast, the communication with which could only be maintained through the intervening district of Coorg. He suddenly invaded that country, which he found almost wholly unprepared, and made a singular display of barbarian cruelty. He proclaimed a reward of five rupees for every head presented to him, and sat in state to receive and pay for these bloody trophies; seven hundred were brought in before he ordered the carnage to cease. Coorg was subdued; and the once powerful state of Calicut, distracted by internal commotions, scarcely made any resistance.

His next aim was to recover the extensive territories wrested from him by the Marattas; and in this he was much favoured by the distractions in which that powerful confederacy was soon involved. Madu Ráo, their warlike chief, died in 1772, and after a short interval was succeeded by Rágonat Ráo, better known under the name of Rágoba, whose authority, however, was by no means fully acknowledged. The Mysorean prince, therefore, fearlessly entered and overran a large portion of the ceded country. Rágoba, indeed, hastened to its defence, but being recalled by a violent insurrection, which ended in the overthrow of his power, he concluded a treaty allowing Hyder to occupy all the provinces south of the Kistna. Another army sent afterwards under Hury Punt, the leader of the party which expelled Rágoba, penetrated into Mysore; but the rája, having gained over a detachment of the Maratta troops, baffled all his attempts, and obliged him to desist.

Immediately after the treaty with Rágoba, Hyder began operations against a number of independent chiefs, within the limits of his territory. Among the most remarkable of these was Gooty, the castle of Morári Ráo, a fierce Maratta freebooter. This stronghold consisted of numerous works, occupying the summit of several rocky hills. After the lower stations had been reduced, the upper made so obstinate a defence that a treaty was agreed on. A young man sent as a hostage, being well entertained in Hyder's camp, was induced to betray the secret cause of submission, namely, that there was only a supply of water for three days in the fort. He took no notice at the moment; but soon afterwards renewed the siege, and Morári Ráo was compelled to surrender at discretion.

The most obstinate resistance was experienced from the Polygar of Chittledroog, who ruled over a warlike and fanatic tribe, called Bedar. They had reared in the most elevated part of their citadel a shrine to Káli or Dúrga. Every Monday morning solemn devotions were performed to the goddess; then a loud blast with the bugle was blown, upon which the garrison rushed forth in a desperate sally, with the object chiefly of procuring human heads, to be ranged in pyramidal rows before the dread temple of the destroying deity. When the place fell, two thousand heads were found piled in front of her portal. Hyder was obliged by Maratta invasion to abandon the siege, which, however, he afterwards renewed; but it was only through treason that the governor was obliged to own that the mighty spell of Káli was broken, and to admit an enemy within the impregnable bulwarks of Chittledroog.



CHAPTER XXX.

WAR WITH MYSORE.—*Continued.*

Hyder prepares to attack the English—War between France and England—Hyder marches on the Carnatic—Defeat of Colonel Baillie—The Governor General's admirable exertions to strengthen the English forces—Sir Eyre Coote appointed to the command—Hyder retreats—Hyder defeated at Cuddalore and at Arcot—The English take Negapatam from the Dutch—Colonel Brathwaite's loss—Madras Cavalry—Death of Hyder.

DEEP discontent against the English was now rankling in the mind of Hyder. He gave up every hope of profiting by their alliance, and even centred all his prospects of aggrandizement in their destruction. The Marattas again, whose councils had undergone a complete change, instead of threatening further invasion, sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and a treaty preparatory to that object was accordingly concluded. By a singular fatality, the views of the government at Madras had been altered in the opposite direction, having become sensible of the advantages which might be derived from a union with the chief of Mysore. They even made overtures for a close alliance, with promises of co-operation in case of attack from any foreign enemy. At this crisis the war, consequent upon the American contest, broke out between France and England, and was extended to India. The French, with their usual diplomatic activity, immediately opened a communication with Hyder; and he engaged accordingly in that confederacy to which his



house so long adhered, and with results so fatal to their own interests.

As soon as hostilities commenced, the English government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India, without any exception. Pondicherry soon fell; to which conquest no opposition was made by Hyder, who even pretended to congratulate them on their success. When, however, they announced their intention of reducing Mahé, on the Malabar coast, he decidedly objected; urging, that the territory around it having been conquered by him, was now included in his dominions. The British, not considering this argument of sufficient weight to deter them from attacking a French fort, sent a body of troops who speedily reduced the place, although the ambitious warrior gave all the aid he could at the moment supply, in order to defend it. It has been supposed, that his resentment at this step was one cause of the rooted enmity which he ever after displayed against England.

The government at Madras, while they adopted a more judicious policy in regard to the chief of Mysore, unfortunately shut their eyes to the possibility of its failure, and could not be convinced that they were in any danger from his hostility. They sent to him Swartz, the Danish missionary, a highly respectable and amiable man, whom he received with kindness; and on his return intrusted him with a letter, recounting a long list of wrongs sustained from the English, adding the ominous words—"I have not yet taken revenge: it is no matter." As it was evident that an expedition on a great scale was preparing in Mysore, Mohammed Ali represented to the government in the strongest manner the impending danger, and the necessity of taking the most vigorous steps to prevent it.



But his system of policy was no longer in favour with the council; every thing hostile to Hyder was disregarded, as coming from one who had long misled them on this subject. The government were therefore completely unprepared for the tremendous blow with which they were about to be struck.

Early in June 1780, after prayers had been offered in the mosque, and the solemn ceremony called *jebbum* performed by the Hindus, for the success of the proposed expedition, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, with a large force. It consisted of 28,000 cavalry, 15,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 troops of the class called peons, many of whom, however, were veterans,—in all 83,000, besides 2000 rocketmen, 5000 pioneers, and about 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changama, and began a career of devastation in the Carnátic, which he covered with the most dreadful suffering. A few days after, while the ruling party in the council would scarcely admit the existence of danger, black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen approaching within a few miles of Madras.

As soon as the first alarm of the government had subsided, they began to consider the means of resistance, which, with an empty treasury, disunited councils, and the impossibility of placing any confidence in Mohammed Ali, appeared extremely deficient. The first object was to secure different strong places now held by the troops of the nabób, who, it was not doubted, would surrender them to the enemy on the first attack. Several fell; but two were saved by the exertions of very young British officers. Lieutenant Flint, with a corps of 100 men, having proceeded to Wandewash, was refused admittance by the killedar or governor, who had already



arranged the terms on which the fortress was to be given up. Flint, however, having with four of his men procured access, seized the commandant, and, aided by the well-disposed part of the garrison, made himself master of the stronghold.

The next object was to unite into one army the different detachments spread over the country; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced far into the interior with a view to offensive operation. This corps amounted to 2800, the main body not exceeding 5,200.

The presidency of Madras gave contradictory orders to the officers commanding their scattered army, and there appears to have been no concert or good understanding among the commanders themselves. Colonel Baillie allowed himself to be surrounded near Conjeveram by Hyder's main body. His weak battalions defended themselves most gallantly, for many hours; and they would have fought on still, if Baillie had not gone forward, waving his white handkerchief, to ask for quarter, and then ordered his men to lay down their arms. The termination of the affair was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English who had survived the carnage of the battle, and a horrible captivity to the rest.

Just before this unequal battle began, Sir Hector Monro, with another division of the Madras army, was within a short march of Hyder's rear. Had Monro come up, the Marattas must have been defeated; but it was pleaded in excuse of his reticence, that his rice-bags were empty, and his troops half starved. Upon learning the dreadful catastrophe of Baillie, Sir Hector abandoned his tents and baggage, threw his heavier guns into a tank, and fled to Madras. A great part of the country was again laid waste,



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and within a few weeks, Wandewash, Chingleput, Vellore, and Arcot, were either captured or closely besieged.

The incredible exertions of Hastings saved the Carnatic. He soon sent fifteen lacs of rupees to Madras as a present supply for the army, with a promise that more money should be forthcoming. His missives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where the governor-general had a claim, or could invent one—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the east. The inert governor of Madras was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote was invited to take the command and the entire management of the war. Peace was concluded with the Maratta Scindia, and the brave and alert Popham was called down from the Jumna.

The veteran Coote took with him from Calcutta 500 choice British troops, 600 lascars, and between 40 and 50 gentlemen volunteers; for, seeing that further reinforcements would be required in the Carnatic, and well knowing, since Goddard's progress to Surat, that the native troops might be trusted on the longest marches, Hastings, early in the ensuing year, 1781, started Colonel Pearse from Calcutta with five small regiments of native infantry, some native cavalry, and a miniature train of artillery, to find or force his way through Cuttack, the Northern Circars, and half of the Carnatic, a distance of more than 1,100 miles, and through a country cut up by many rivers, which were all to be crossed where broadest and deepest, or nearest their mouths. Pearse and his gallant Bengal detachment behaved quite as well as Goddard and that little native army; they overcame all obstacles, made friends on the route, reached Madras at a most critical juncture,



and were eminently useful in that quarter, particularly in the attack on the French lines at Cuddalore, in 1783. "There are no difficulties," said Hastings, "which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting."

In the mean time, Sir Eyre Coote had taken the field against the Mysoreans, with 1,700 Europeans, and about 5,000 native troops. He marched to recover Wandewash, which had been the scene of his greatest exploit. Terrified at his name, Hyder Ali abandoned Wandewash, raised several of his sieges, and seemed on the point of flying back through the ghauts. But at this moment, a French fleet came to anchor off Pôndicherry, and Coote was obliged to encamp on the hills behind that city. On taking Pôndicherry (after a siege) at the breaking out of this war with France, Sir Hector Monro had partly destroyed the fortifications, and had put a very small garrison in the town. Even this garrison had been withdrawn at the beginning of Hyder's present invasion. The French officers had given their parole, the inhabitants had been protected and allowed to continue their trade; but the temptation was too great, and when it was seen that the English were losing ground, and known that a great armament was coming from France, they had clapped the English resident in prison, flown to arms, enlisted sepoys, and collected provisions for an army in Karangotty, at a convenient distance from Porto Novo.

Coote now disarmed the inhabitants of Pôndicherry, and marched away to destroy their depot. Hyder, emboldened by the presence of the French fleet—seven ships of the line and three frigates—had descended to the coast, and he now moved on the right flank of the English, with the evident intention of protecting the depot, and keeping



open his communications with the fleet. At one time, the two armies were close to each other, and Coote told his men that the day of victory had arrived. But Hyder would not accept the challenge to battle; and very soon he moved rapidly back into the interior, despondent and terror-stricken at the sudden departure of the fleet from Pondicherry. With the old apprehension of the approach of a superior English force, the French set sail for the Mauritius, on the 15th of February, 1781. Coote could not follow the Mysorean army, for a sickness broke out in his camp, and the country had been so wasted that he could find no forage for his cattle.

Penetrating into Tanjore, Hyder ravaged that beautiful district. His son Tippú made a rush at Wandewash, and even laid siege to that place. Sir Edward Hughes, with an English squadron, destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and about the middle of June arrived at Madras with some reinforcements.

On the 18th of June, Coote attacked the fortified pagoda of Chillambrum, near Trichinopoly, about thirty miles S.W. from Cuddalore, and was repulsed with very considerable loss. This affair gave Hyder such confidence, that he came again down to the coast, and encamped at Cuddalore. He took up good ground, and made lines and formidable redoubts, after the plans drawn for him by French officers. He had three whole days for these operations; but, during that time, Sir Edward Hughes landed men and guns, provisions and ammunition, and early in the morning of the fourth day—the first of July—Coote, advancing from Porto Novo, fell upon his host of 80,000 with 7,000 men, forced his lines, carried his batteries, and gave him a thorough defeat. Leaving more than 3,000



dead upon the field, and raving and tearing his clothes, Hyder fled on a fleet horse, and was soon out of sight with all his cavalry. Coote had no cavalry to pursue him.

Hyder was next heard of at Arcot, whither he had recalled Tippú from Wandewash. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirits and resources of his enemy. "The defeat of many Baillies," said he, "will not destroy these English. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea." He sorely regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French councils; and he bitterly complained of having been deluded by expectations of a great French force. He determined, however, to risk another battle, for the defence of Arcot. The ground he chose was the very spot where Baillie's detachment had been annihilated, and which he therefore considered a lucky place. He was again defeated; but this time Coote's army sustained a severe loss. This was on the 27th of August. On the 27th of September, another battle was fought in the pass of Sholinghur, near Vellore. Here Hyder was routed with terrible loss; and the fortress of Vellore, one of the keys of the Carnatic, almost reduced to extremities by famine, was relieved and saved. The rains, the monsoon floods, and the rising of the rivers, put an end to any further extensive operations; but before Coote retired into cantonments, Chittore, Palipett, and other places, were recovered.

During the campaign, on the 22nd of June, Lord Macartney, an able and excellent man, had arrived at Madras as governor of that presidency. His lordship brought intelligence of the declaration of war between England and Holland; and his first care was to gain possession of all the Dutch factories or settlements on that coast. This was done with admirable rapidity. Sadras and Pulicat



surrendered without fighting, and Negapatam yielded to a bombardment. The prize at the last-named place, in arms, warlike stores, and merchandise, was of great value, and afforded opportune aid to the fleet and army. In these operations Lord Macartney had only some gentlemen volunteers, some of the Madras militia, and sailors, and a few marines taken out of the men-of-war.

Nothing more remained in that quarter to take from the Dutch ; but on the other side of Polk's Strait was the island of Ceylon, all access to which the Dutch had most jealously guarded for more than a hundred years, and there they held the town and famed port of Trincomalee. Lord Macartney resolved to add these to the list of conquests. Admiral Hughes, taking on board only 500 land-troops, sailed from Negapatam on the 2nd of January, 1782, and by the 11th of the same month the English were masters of the town and port—one of the most important harbours in all India, the most secure place of refuge for ships surprised by storms, and so conveniently situated with reference to the settlements on the Coromandel coast, that a ship may reach it from Madras in two days.

Colonel Brathwaite, after assisting Lord Macartney in the reduction of Negapatam, had returned into Tanjore with the view of recovering some of the fortresses of that country which had been taken by Hyder and his son Tippú, rather by bribery than by force of arms. By the same arts, Brathwaite was now deceived and misled by his Tanjorean allies ; and while encamped on the left bank of the Câvery, on the 18th of February, he was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed, by Tippú and a French corps, after maintaining a most unequal struggle from sunrise to sunset. The circumstances of Brathwaite's defeat re-



sembled those of Colonel Baillie's: he had only 100 English, 1,500 sepoy, and 300 native horse; while Tippú had 10,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, 20 pieces of artillery, and 400 Europeans, commanded by French officers. The French decided the long and obstinate contest by charging the exhausted sepoy with the bayonet. The massacre of the prisoners was prevented by the humanity and courage of the French officers, who were seen risking their own lives, and cutting down Tippú's savages to save the wounded and defenceless English. The few survivors of this bloody field—among whom was Colonel Brathwaite himself—were soon immured in the horrible dungeons of Seringapatam. This disaster was scarcely counterbalanced by successes obtained on the very same day over Hyder Ali on the Malabar coast.

The regular cavalry of Madras was originally raised by Mohammed Ali, the nabób of the Carnátic. The first corps embodied into a regiment under the command of European officers had served in the campaign against the Mysoreans in 1768. From 1771 to 1776, this cavalry force was greatly augmented; but then—most unfortunately—it had been allowed to decline both in numbers and in efficiency. It was through English weakness in this arm that Hyder and Tippú had gained their advantages, and had so often escaped pursuit. Towards the close of this present war, these cavalry corps were strengthened and improved; and in 1784, when the war was finished, they were formally transferred, with the English officers attached to them, from the nabób's to the Company's service. From that moment all the mutinies among them, caused by the intrigues of a venal court and irregular payments, ceased altogether, and for a period of more than sixty years their career has been one of faithful



service and brilliant achievements. Among their brave subahdars, who live in the traditions of the native armies, and whose name and fame are preserved in the history of British India, Secundur Beg, Cawder Beg, and Sheik Ibrahim, were the most remarkable.

On the 7th December, 1782, Hyder died. He was one of the most remarkable of the race of Indian adventurers. Though destitute of the first elements of education he made his way to the throne of a great kingdom, which he governed with considerable talent but without principle or humanity.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WARREN HASTINGS — *Concluded.*

An empty treasury—Hastings visits Benares to compel the rája to pay—His arrest—Rising of the people in his defence—Danger of Hastings—His presence of mind—Revolt subdued—New rája appointed—Nabób of Oud and the begums—Treasure obtained—Character of Hastings' administration—Resigns the Government and returns home—Impeached, tried, and acquitted—His character.

THE governor-general had exhausted his resources by providing for the wars with Hyder. The English dominion had been extended but the treasury was now empty. Hastings had therefore to raise money by all legitimate means in his power.

Some of the neighbouring princes who owed their



political existence to English arms, and who were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of great amount. As they would not pay voluntarily, and as no time was to be lost, the governor-general and his council determined to compel them to pay. The first to whom they applied the compulsion was Cheyte Sing, the rája of Benares, who owed his existence as a prince directly and entirely to Hastings. Francis, Clavering, and Monson had transferred his dominions to the nabób of Oud, but Hastings had secured him in possession, upon condition of his paying a fixed sum to the Company. At the breaking out of the war, the governor-general demanded more money as an "extraordinary contribution," for which, in due time, allowance was to be made to the rája. At the same critical moment, Cheyte Sing was detected in an insidious correspondence with the enemies of the English, and was observed to assume an air of insolence and independence. "I was resolved," says Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses."

The governor-general set out for Benares, the capital and residence of Cheyte Sing, and so little did he anticipate danger, that he took with him little more than his usual body-guard. Cheyte Sing came eastward as far as Buxar to meet the governor-general, and lay his turban upon his lap, a token of entire submission. With the rája in his train, the governor-general entered Benares on the 14th of August, 1781. Cheyte Sing was then taken seriously to account, and, as he replied evasively and somewhat impertinently, Hastings gave Mr. Markham, his resident at Benares, orders to arrest the rája at an early hour on the morrow. Markham performed this service with only two companies of sepoys, and without any opposition or outcry.



But the arrest kindled a flame, which endangered Hastings, and, in his person, the fortunes of the English in India.

Cheyte Sing had a strong party among his own subjects. Benares was the most holy city of Hindostan, being to the Hindús what Mecca is to the Mahometans, or what Jerusalem was to the Jews : it contained a population, who pretended to a superior sanctity merely from the place of their residence ; it was thronged by fakírs, pilgrims, and devotees from all parts of India. It was this continual concourse of devotees that tended to fill the rája's treasury.

Scarcely had Markham seized the rája, when there arose from the narrow crowded streets of Benares the roar of tens of thousands of angry voices, and the noise produced by a rushing multitude. The devotees were all armed. The rája had not been removed from his palace, but left there with only two companies of sepoy's placed over him as a guard. Thither the living streams flowed and concentrated from all parts of the city. Such was the security of the English managers, that the sepoy's had been left in the palace with their muskets and bayonets, but without any cartridges.

When Hastings saw the danger, two other companies were sent to carry ammunition and support them ; but this small force got lost and buried in the crowd, and, in attempting to open their way to the palace, they were massacred almost to a man. This over, the furious multitude fell upon the two sepoy companies at the palace, and massacred them likewise. The English officers died, with their swords in their hands ; a heap of their assailants were slain, and only a very few of those sepoy's escaped. During the confusion Cheyte Sing ran out of the palace by a wicket-gate, which opened on the steep bank



of the Ganges, and, letting himself down by a string formed of turbans tied together, he threw himself into a boat and escaped to the opposite side of the river.

If instead of running away, Rájá Cheyte Sing and his people had fallen upon Hastings, the consequences could scarcely have been doubtful, for at the moment the governor-general had only fifty sepoy^s at hand for the defence of his house.

But even when the first fury of the populace was spent, and the rája had proved by his flight that he was afraid of extreme measures against Hastings, the situation of that small party of English in Benares remained very critical. They were blockaded on all sides, they had scarcely any money with them, and they had not provisions even for a single day. But Hastings' courage, decision, and promptitude never forsook him. The rája, though still collecting forces on the other side of the Ganges, sent to offer apologies for the slaughter which had occurred. The governor-general did not deign to answer him. In the morning he was joined by a few faithful sepoy^s, and he called up another small body that were cantoned at Mirzapore, on the other side of the Ganges, sending them orders to march against the palace of Ramnaghur (just opposite to Benares), in which Cheyte Sing had taken up his temporary abode.

In order that his fleet messengers might get through the blockading rabble without losing their despatches, he wrote in the smallest hand on small slips of paper, which were rolled up and put into quills. When the Hindús travelled, they were accustomed to lay aside their enormous gold ear-rings, and put quills into the orifices of the ears to prevent their closing up; thus no notice would be taken of the pieces of quills containing the governor-



general's earnest calls for immediate succour: for, so little had this storm been apprehended, that Mrs. Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice, and Lady Impey, were travelling up the country to join the governor-general at Benares. It was most fortunate for Hastings that Sir Elijah was on this day only at a short distance from the city; for his lifelong friend, besides being an eminent lawyer, was a man of decision and courage, and in possession of great influence with all classes of the natives. Upon receiving *his* quill, Impey made every possible exertion to send sepoys and friends to the rescue. Hastings always acknowledged that he owed his escape chiefly to the prompt measures taken by Sir Elijah.

In the course of the day about 400 sepoys were collected round the governor-general's quarters; but in the afternoon, the officer in command of the sepoys who had rapidly advanced from Mirzapore, upon receiving *their* quill, imprudently attempting to carry the palace of Ramnaghur, which was fortified, without having any artillery with him, got engaged in the narrow streets leading to it, was repulsed with considerable loss, and was himself killed. This incident gave fresh courage to the fanatical multitude, and induced Hasting to have recourse to a hurried retreat from Benares.

But Warren Hastings did not run far. It was under cover of night that he fled from Benares, and, with that usual good fortune which is attendant on courage and presence of mind,—before day, he reached in safety the strong fortress of Chunar, built on a rock, which rises several hundred feet above the Ganges, and is situated about seventeen miles below Benares. His flight, of course, gave still further encouragement to the insurgents; the whole of the district rose in arms, people began to



flock in from the adjoining territories of Oud and Bahar, vowing that they would protect the rája and the holy city.

The numbers and the temporary spirit of the Hindus, who thus surrounded him, animated for a moment the weak and timid soul of Cheyte Sing ; he put himself at the head of the insurgents, appealed by a sort of manifesto to the neighbouring princes, and, it is said, even spoke of driving the English out of all that part of India. An immense native force was by this time collected between Benares and the rock of Chunar.

Notwithstanding his ingenious precaution, several of Hastings's letters miscarried ; but most of them reached their destinations, and were obeyed with that rapidity which the exigencies of the case required. Money was sent to him from Lucknow, the capital of Oud, and troops, quitting their various cantonments, concentrated under the rock of Chunar. At this crisis everything depended on the fidelity of the sepoys, for there were hardly any troops in the country but these ; and the sepoys were, for the most part, men of the same race and country as those against whom they were to act ; were, many of them, natives of Benares or the surrounding district, and, as such, had been wont to consider Cheyte Sing as their legitimate prince. But the event proved that Hastings was right in relying on their unalterable fidelity to their standard or their salt, and on their attachment to the military point of honour, as greater than any they bore for their country or kindred, their native prince, or even their religion. Not a corps showed any reluctance to engage the rája and the people of Benares ; not a single case of desertion occurred.

On the 29th of August, a considerable body of Cheyte



Seeg's people, who had advanced to a small fort not far from Chunar, were routed and compelled to leave all their rice and baggage behind them ; and, on the 3rd of September, a still larger body were defeated with the loss of their artillery ; on the 15th other corps were put to flight ; and on the 20th the pass of Sukroot and the large and fortified town of Pateeta were forced, cleared, and taken by the sepoys commanded by Major Popham. In a very short time nothing could be seen of the force, which had been estimated at 30,000 men ; "and in a few hours," adds the governor-general, speaking as the servant of kings, "the allegiance of the country was restored as completely, from a state of universal revolt to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it."

The rája with his family and a few attendants fled precipitately to Bidjighur, the principal stronghold of the Benares princes, and about fifty miles from the capital. To that capital the governor-general returned triumphantly, issuing a proclamation and an amnesty for all except Cheyte Sing and his brother. No time was lost in sending troops to Bidjighur. The poor rája had not courage to await their arrival : he fled in the night to find refuge, and an exile from which he never returned, among the rájas of Bundelcund. According to Hastings, the rája had carried off with him an immense sum of money, besides jewels of great price ; but current rupees to the amount of about £250,000 were found in the old castle. This money was appropriated by the troops, who for five months had received little or no pay.

In the meanwhile the governor-general, considering a puppet rája necessary at Benares, had selected a young nephew of Cheyte Sing to fill that part. The tribute to the Company was raised to forty lacs of rupees, the



governor-general took the entire jurisdiction and management of the city and country into his own hands; even the mint, the last vestige of sovereignty, was taken from this boy-râja and put under the control of the Company's resident at Benares.

By this revolution an addition of about £200,000 per annum was made to the revenues of the Company; but of ready money there was none, and money must be procured somewhere, or the French would triumph in the Carnâtic, and all India would be lost.

Asóph-ul-Dowla, nabób of Oud, stood indebted, on the Company's books, in nearly one million and a half sterling. Like Cheyte Sing, the râja of Benares, he was entirely dependent on the Company, and on the protection of their troops, against the plundering Marattas and Róhillas. Instead of paying his debts, he spent his money in luxury and extravagance, and in the erection of gorgeous edifices. The nabób had been repeatedly warned that money must be forthcoming, that without money to sustain the war there would be no safety either for him or for the English. Asóph-ul-Dowla protested that he had no treasure to bestow, but that two great ladies in his dominions had far more money than they ought in justice to be possessed of.

These two begums, were, one the mother of the late Nabób Suja Dowla, the other his wife, and the parent of the reigning nabób. It was said that great doubts might be entertained as to the validity of Suja Dowla's testamentary bequest. It was proved that the two begums had promoted insurrection in Oud, and had encouraged the partisans of Cheyte Sing, immediately after the massacre of the sepoys and officers in Benares. Weak detachments of the Company's troops had been attacked by the retainers of



the begums. These last facts were sworn to, as well by the British officers and other Englishmen as by natives. The facts were indeed, at the time, notorious, although years after they were denied in the British parliament by men who were seeking to ruin Hastings, for the means he had employed to save the British Indian empire.

It was agreed between Asóph-ul-Dowla and Hastings, that the two begums should be dispossessed of a portion of their immense estates, and that the nabób should have and hold the jaghírs taken from them; that the begums' hidden treasures should be seized, and the money paid over to the Company in partial or entire discharge of the debt the nabób owed it. The treaty of Chunar was signed on the 19th of September. The nabób charged himself with the execution of the processes for getting the lands for himself, and the rupees for the Company. He returned to Lucknow, his capital, and from that city he presently went to Fyzabád, the residence of the begums. Those two ladies were very tenacious of their money; their servants were uncommunicative—the hidden treasure was not to be found! neither promises nor threats had any effect upon the two eunuchs who were in all the begums' secrets, and who were making money by employing their great capital.

Severe and unjustifiable measures were resorted to, not by Hastings, but by Asóph-ul-Dowla, to extract a confession; and, by slow degrees, money was extorted from the two eunuchs of the household to the amount of about £500,000. As this fell far short of the estimated amount of the treasure, other acts of severity were practised. Although the two begums and their two agents had few virtues, and very little claim on the sympathies of the people of the country, these acts are not to be justified;



It was proved that the reports of them drawn up by the prosecutors of Hastings were greatly exaggerated. Nearly a quarter of a century after the imprisonments and alleged tortures, in the year 1803, Lord Valentia found, at Lucknow, well, fat, and enormously rich, Alimas Ali Khán, on whose sufferings Mr. Burke had been so indignant and so pathetic. After all the cruel plunderings he was said to have undergone, this eunuch was supposed to be worth half a million sterling. He was upwards of eighty years of age, six feet high, and stout in proportion. The younger of the two begums, over whom so many tears had been shed in England, was also alive and hearty and very rich.

Whatever sums were procured at Fyzabád were remitted by the nabób to Hastings, and were by him immediately applied to the support of the ruinous wars in the Carnátic; to the operations on the side of Bombay, and to subsidies for keeping the Marattas quiet. But for the money thus obtained and thus applied, India must have been lost to England.

The last two years of his administration in India, formed by far the happiest period of the public life of Warren Hastings. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity, which had not been known for ages. It also enabled him to extend British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Notwithstanding some great exploits, like Rodney's victory and Elliot's defence of Gibraltar, the war with America and France had been more dishonourable to England than any in which she had been engaged in modern times; America was lost,—disasters had attended her flag almost everywhere, except in India, where her



power and reputation were far greater at the end than they had been at the beginning of hostilities.

Nor was it a vain boast in Hastings to say—"This is my work! Whatever else I have done, I have done this—I have rescued the Carnatic when at the last gasp; I have preserved and extended the British empire in the East!" No one in India, either native or British, doubted the fact. In the supreme council all opposition ceased, or became of the mildest kind; and the records and protests of Clavering, Monson, and Francis, were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that, if their schemes had been followed, India would have been lost like America. Yet, at this very time, the vindictive Francis was preparing, in England, the means of impeaching and ruining the governor-general.

In the month of March, 1784, Hastings went through Benares to Lucknow, and there spent five months in great tranquillity, but engaged all the time with the ministers of the nabob, and the agents of other native princes. He recommended measures of government which would increase revenue without oppressing the people, and which would promote agriculture, trade, and general tranquillity. This, he knew, would be his last journey up the country. He did not return to Calcutta until November, having spent a considerable time at Benares, where the restoration of tranquillity and order was perfect. He now prepared to quit India.

So soon as it was publicly known that he was about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up, and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the Company, by factors and traders, and by natives of all



rank, as well as by Europeans. He had been a benefactor to the people of Bengal, who always regarded him with warm good-will, and who had conceived a romantic or superstitious admiration of his prestige, or fortune, of his commanding yet conciliating manners, and of the splendour and pomp with which, for state purposes, he always surrounded himself. The natives, indeed, regarded him in no other light than that of their sovereign; and not a few shed tears at the thought of losing him.

As to the civil servants of the Company, many of them owed to him their appointments or promotions, and all having been brought frequently into close contact with him, had been impressed by his commanding ability and marvellous rapidity in the despatch of business; but the enthusiastic admiration and affection of the army for a mere civilian was more extraordinary. They had been won by Hastings's original and bold military conceptions at the commencement of the war, by the flattering confidence he always reposed in the troops, and by the honours and distinctions with which he treated them on all proper occasions. One of his last public acts was the issuing of a general order to the Bengal army, expressing in forcible language his sense of its past services, and affirming that there are no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting.

It was this conduct that endeared Hastings as much to the army as to the other branches of the service. The dark faces of the sepoy soldiers looked darker at his departure. When, on the 8th of February, 1785, he delivered up the keys of office, and walked down, a private man, to the place of embarkation, his friends and admirers formed a complete avenue from the palace to the water side, standing on either side of his path; many barges escorted him far



down the Hooghly, and some reluctant friends did not leave him until the pilot left the ship, far out at sea. He landed at Plymouth in the month of June, and posted up to London and to court, confident of a good reception.

He was not disappointed ; the king and queen received him and Mrs. Hastings most graciously ; the Court of Directors received him in a solemn sitting, and the chairman read a vote of thanks for his great achievements, which had been passed without one dissenting voice.

Yet in the course of the next session of parliament the Commons resolved to impeach both Mr. Warren Hastings and his friend Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice. Francis had complete possession of Burke's ear ; and Francis, ever since his return from the East, in 1781, had devoted the whole of his extraordinary abilities, to the blackening of the Indian administration.

The parliamentary votes for the impeachment of Hastings, the impeachment itself, the examination of witnesses, and the documentary evidence, and the grand trial in Westminster Hall, were dragged out to the wearisome length of nine years ; and then, on the 17th of April, 1795, the distinguished governor-general was declared NOT GUILTY upon every charge.

Hastings survived this trial for many years, and died on the 22nd of August, 1818, in the 86th year of his age.

In the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. Among the numerous merits and the great deeds that will preserve his name in the history of British India, and in the history of his own country, must be mentioned the noble encouragement he afforded to liberal studies and scientific researches. As well by



his example as by his munificence, he gave an impulse to learning in the indolent atmosphere of Bengal.

Every young officer or writer of the Company, who successfully applied himself to the study of the native languages and literature, or the geography, or to the natural history of India, found in him a friend and generous patron. He acquired a deep knowledge of Persian and Arabic literature; and though he did not himself learn the Sanscrit, he was the first that succeeded in gaining the confidence of the pundits, or hereditary priests of India, whereby he obtained, for other English scholars and students, the key to that mysterious and jealously guarded language, and to the secrets of the ancient Brahminical theology and jurisprudence. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society of Bengal commenced its career; and it was during his administration that Englishmen really began to acquire that knowledge of India, and the character, habits, and institutions of the people, without which their anomalous empire could not have been maintained for any length of time.



CHAPTER XXXII.

LORD CORNWALLIS.—SIR JOHN SHORE.

New governor-general—Directed to maintain peace—Impossibility of this course—War with Tippu Sultan—Tippu's bigotry and intolerance—His cruelties in Coorg and Malabar—He attacks Travancore—English declare war against him—Lord Cornwallis takes Bangalore—Advances to Seringapatam—His victory—Obliged to return for want of artillery, &c.—Nundy-droog and Saven-droog taken—March on Seringapatam the following year—Tippu capitulates—Forms of the treaty—Character of Lord Cornwallis's administration—Succeeded by Sir John Shore—Evils of his non-interference policy—He resigns the government.

ON the departure of Mr. Hastings, 1785, his place was ably supplied by Mr. Macpherson, senior member of council, until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. In the interval, the Marattas, under their great chieftain, Madají Scindiah, captured the city of Agra.

Lord Cornwallis, the second governor-general of India, and the first who united to his office that of commander-in-chief of the forces, landed at Calcutta on the 12th of September, 1786, and, after taking the usual oaths, assumed charge of the government. Notwithstanding the unfortunate way in which he had ended the American war, his lordship was still considered as an able general; and there seemed to be great advantages to be derived from intrusting the government of India to a tried soldier, and from uniting the highest civil with the highest military



power. Lord Cornwallis was high-minded, disinterested in money matters, mild and equable in temper, anxious to do good and prevent evil, steady and persevering in his application to business, and particularly distinguished by his sincere desire to maintain peace and promote the welfare of his Indian subjects.

Both the parliament and the Company had recommended that no more wars should be undertaken for extension of territory, and that leagues and alliances with the restless native powers should be avoided. His lordship himself certainly went to the Ganges with the intention and the hope of avoiding wars of conquest, and of keeping the whole of British India, and the states dependent upon it, in a happy condition of undisturbed peace. It was a pleasant vision ; but it soon vanished. His lordship found himself constrained to act, in politics and war, and with reference to the native princes, in much the same manner as Mr. Hastings had acted.

Lord Cornwallis was strengthened in almost every way during three years of tranquillity, and his government in India had acquired consistency and regularity before any serious conflict commenced. The principal event which occurred during his administration, was the war with Tippú Sultan, who, on the death of Hyder, had succeeded to the throne of Mysore. Tippú had at his disposal troops estimated at 88,000, and a treasure amounting to three hundred lacs of rupees. It was on the 2nd January, 1783, that he entered the camp and received its allegiance. Bussy, the brave French commander, had under him a numerous army devoted to Tippú's interests.

Bednore surrendered to General Mathews, but was afterwards retaken by Tippú, who made Mathews and his force prisoners, and treated them with his usual cruelty.



The sultan after this invested Mangalore, which was gallantly defended by Colonel Campbell. During this siege tidings arrived of the peace concluded between France and England, on which the French officers withdrew their troops from the army of Tippú, and this obliged him to agree to an armistice which was to extend over the whole coast of Malabar. A more formal treaty was shortly after concluded, by which the sultan agreed to release such of his prisoners as had survived his cruel treatment of them.

Tippú was a very different character from his father. Hyder was indifferent on the subject of religion ; but Tippú was furiously zealous in the cause of Islamism, and adopted the most odious and tyrannical measures for its promotion. His first persecution was directed against the Christians on the coast of Canara, who had been converted by the Portuguese. He forcibly inflicted the rite of circumcision on about 30,000 and then distributed them amongst various garrisons.

The people of Coorg had taken advantage of Tippú's war with the English to re-assert their independence of Mysore. They were now again overcome, and 70,000 victims carried off by Tippú to undergo the abhorred penalties of circumcision and captivity.

The Marattas now formed an alliance with the nizám to check the increasing influence of the Mysore sovereign. Tippú however carried on a successful contest against this powerful confederacy, and acquired the greatest military name in Hindostan. And having thus increased his military power, he placed no restraint upon the violence of his zeal, destroyed the religious edifices in Malabar Proper, and either circumcised the people, or drove them from their homes.

Tippú next attacked the kingdom of Travancore,



and as this was in violation of the treaty with the English, it afforded a regular ground on which Lord Cornwallis could declare war against him. Tippú seems not to have been prepared for this prompt movement of the English. In June 1790, they commenced the campaign on the boldest system of offensive warfare; their aim being nothing less than by the most direct route to ascend the Ghauts from the south, and advance upon Seringapatam. In the month of December Lord Cornwallis and some Bengal sepoys, reached Madras from Calcutta.

Tippú would now have consented to negotiate, and affected to believe that there was no war between him and the English. In reply to his letter, General Medows said—"The English, equally incapable of offering an insult as of submitting to one, have always looked upon war as declared from the moment you attacked their ally, the king of Travancore. God does not always give the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift, but, generally, success to those whose cause is just—upon that we depend."

The sultan no sooner received this letter than he set out for Seringapatam with the utmost expedition. He directed that all his regular troops should assemble in that neighbourhood.

General Medows soon captured Caroor, Coimbatour, Dindigul, Darapúram, and other places. In some of these there was no resistance at all, and in others the resistance was but a sham. These captured forts were nearly all put in possession of some friendly polygars of the country. Tippú surprised and attacked an expedition under Colonel Floyd, but was repulsed at Shooroor, after an obstinate engagement, in which the sultan's brother-in-law was slain. At the first moment of the surprise, the English,



Outnumbered by ten to one, suffered rather severely. Avoiding a general action, Tippú now returned from the ghauts, drawing off the English forces from his own possessions. Though closely followed up by some English corps, which made extraordinary marches, the Mysorean got into the Carnátic, which he and his father had so often ravaged before, and darting through a part of that country like a meteor, he left it in flames and smoke, committing a great amount of mischief and of cruelty.

A signal victory was obtained on the Malabar coast, near Calicut, by Colonel Hartley. Cannanore and other places were captured, and the whole of that coast was cleared of the Mysoreans. And now the Polygars and Nairs, and all the Hindús of that coast, began to make bloody reprisals for the horrible wrongs they had suffered at the hands of Tippú's Mussulmans. The profanation of their temples, and the destruction of their idols, had driven these naturally quiet people into the most savage fury.

Not only the cruelly oppressed people of Travancore and the Malabar coast, but also the people dwelling on the frontiers of Tippú's Mysorean dominions, rejoiced at the prospect of the overthrow of the tyrant, and welcomed the British troops and the docile sepoys. On the advance of a force under Colonel Maxwell into the Barahmahal valley, the fields, covered with plentiful crops, were nowhere abandoned by the peaceful cultivators: the herdsman attended his numerous flocks: the weaver continued at his web; and the avaricious bazár-man exposed his whole stores to the soldiery without apprehension of injustice or violence. The discipline maintained in these campaigns reflects the highest credit on the commanding and regimental officers, without whose strenuous and



constant exertions it never could have existed in such perfection.

By the end of 1790, or early in 1791, the rajah of Travancore, was re-established in all his dominions, and Tippú was dispossessed of nearly all that he and his father before him had acquired on the Malabar coast. In the month of February, 1791, Lord Cornwallis, who had taken the field himself, laid seige to Bangalore, and took that important place by storm. His lordship then resolved to penetrate into the heart of Mysore, and to dictate his own terms of peace at Seringapatam, the capital of the country and the strongest place which Tippú held. His lordship commenced his movements in the first days of May.

The native troops, as well as the English soldiers, burned with impatience to take their revenge for the atrocious and brutal degradation to which Tippú had subjected their brothers in arms during the last war, and even after the conclusion of it. The news of the fall of Bangalore filled the mind of the tyrant with alarm, and induced him to make arrangements for removing from his capital his women and his treasure, and for doing away with sundry evidences in the city of Seringapatam of the brutality which he had exercised against, and of the insupportable insults he had put upon, the English.

Tippú, however, took up a strong position, some miles in advance of his capital, behind the deep river Cavery. The march of Cornwallis and of General Abercromby, the second in command, who moved on a different line, was excessively laborious. They had to make the roads by which they were to advance ; and for fifty miles and more Abercromby's route was across steep mountains, where the battering train, provisions, and stores, were moved with



the greatest difficulty. They also suffered severely through a want of forage, Tippú having destroyed all. Moreover, in the latter part of their march, the periodical rains, and bad food, and long fatigue, brought on sickness and disease. The Maratta allies, who had solemnly engaged to co-operate with a great army of horse, did not keep their appointment.

Lord Cornwallis, however, reached Arikera on the Cavery, and about nine miles from Seringapatam, on the 13th of May; and, crossing the river, he attacked Tippú, on the 15th, before General Abercromby could join him. In spite of their advantageous position and formidable artillery, the Mysoreans could not stand the charge of the British bayonets; they were driven from place to place, and were at last obliged to seek shelter under the guns of their capital. The road thither was open, the prize seemed within reach; but in the very hour of victory the English found it necessary to retreat. The force with Cornwallis, though strong enough to beat Tippú's army in the field, was not strong enough to invest a well fortified place like Seringapatam; and they had with them neither provisions nor military stores enough for a long siege. Add to this, the draught-bullocks were dying fast, the camp was half-filled with sick, and the pitiless rains continued. There was nothing for it but a retreat. Abercromby, who was within three marches of Seringapatam, was ordered to retire to the coast; Cornwallis burst the greater part of his battering-guns, having no cattle to drag them off, and began his mortifying retreat on the 26th of May. Towards the end of his first day's march, some of the Maratta allies came up to his lordship's aid; but it was now too late.

In the mean time the troops were employed in the



duction of some of the tremendous *droogs*, or precipitous rocks, which rise like so many fortresses, in this as well as in other of the elevated plains of India. Among these, Nundidroog, almost inaccessible by nature, had been fortified with every care to render it impregnable, and was placed under the command of one of Tippu's ablest officers. The only one of its faces at all capable of approach, had been strengthened near the top by a double wall; while the labour of establishing works on its steep and craggy sides, and conveying cannon to the batteries, was excessive. In twenty-one days two breaches were effected, and one morning, by clear moonlight, the assault was made by General Medows in person. The defence was vigorous; huge masses of granite were rolled down, with tremendous crash, from steep to steep; the assailants nevertheless overcame every obstacle, and, forcing the interior gate, effected an entrance. During the whole siege they had only 120 killed and wounded, of whom thirty fell in the assault, chiefly by the stones precipitated from the summit.

The *droogs* being now viewed as no longer impregnable, Colonel Stuart undertook Savendroog, which bore a still more formidable character, and had been considered by the commander as a place not to be attempted. Yet after seven days' approaches and five of open batteries, it was carried by storm without the loss of a single life. Ootradroog, struck with dismay by these successes, fell with little effort; and a *coup-de main* had meantime been attempted against Kistnagherry, the capital and bulwark of the Baramahal. This attempt failed; Colonel Maxwell being only able to burn the town, that it might not serve as a cover to predatory inroads. The sultan, in the interval, had sent an expedition to the south, which succeeded



by a series of manœuvres, in carrying Coimbatore with its English garrison ; and, violating the capitulation by which they were to be allowed to join in safety their countrymen at Palghat, he caused them to be marched prisoners to Seringapatam.

During this time proper preparations were made for renewing the war in the centre of Mysore. Had this not been done, Tippú would again have recovered the Malabar coast, and have poured his rapid cavalry into the heart of the Carnatic. A fresh battering-train, 100 elephants from Bengal, an immense number of bullocks, a copious supply of stores and provisions of every kind, were collected on the Malabar coast. The Company had sent out £500,000 in specie ; and the English government had sent out reinforcements to the king's regiments in India, together with some fresh detachments of the royal artillery. The Marattas, getting some of the money, were tolerably steady and active in their co-operation, and rendered important services with their light rapid cavalry.

The passes which lead from Mysore into the Carnatic were now cleared, and several strong forts which Tippú had erected in them were taken by storm. Thus the direct road from Madras was opened to an immense convoy, headed by elephants, loaded with treasure, marching two abreast with the British standard displayed. Tippú's advanced forces threw themselves into a thick forest, faced and flanked by the river Toom and some deep ravines. Soon, however, they were attacked, defeated, and driven out of the forest, by Captain Little, with only 750 men and two guns.

General Abercromby, who, since the retreat from the upper country, in the month of May, had occupied cantonments at and round about Tellicherry, began to move



again towards Seringapatam early in December; but he was kept waiting by some of the Marattas, who had gone plundering instead of joining him. Early in January, 1792, Lord Cornwallis united his main army under Ootradroog, where he was kept waiting more than a fortnight by his tardy ally, the nizám of the Deckan, who was to join him with his army from Hyderabad. At last the nizám arrived; and, at the end of January, all the combined forces pressed forward for Seringapatam.

On the 5th of February, Cornwallis once more got sight of Tippu's capital, and saw that the Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. In the night of the 6th of February, Cornwallis made a successful attack, and took several of his redoubts. When morning dawned, Tippu, advised and assisted by some Frenchmen, made some skilful manœuvres, but failed, and lost many of his people. He then fled across the Caverry river, and threw himself into the great fortress of Seringapatam; on this more than 10,000 of his troops deserted him. The attempts made to recover the redoubts which had been taken were all repulsed with terrible loss to the enemy. The English loss during the whole day of this hard fighting amounted to 535, in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of Tippú was estimated at more than 4,000.

By the morning of the 8th, Lord Cornwallis had shut up, within the walls of the fortress, the whole of Tippú's army, with the exception of the cavalry which had crossed the river. Immediate preparations were made for the siege; and three European regiments, seven battalions of sepoy, and some artillery, at once girded the place, preventing ingress or egress. By the 21st, the close investment of the fortress was well advanced. In a few days more the walls must have been breached by the fire of



fifty heavy guns, and the place would have been made untenable by the red-hot shot, plentifully poured in by the besieging army. General Medows had undertaken to head the assault, and the men were eager for that close conflict. But, on the 24th, Tippu yielded to his fate.

The treaty of peace which the "Tiger" of Mysore was thus forced to accept, contained the following articles :—
1. That he should cede one-half of his territories to the English and their allies. 2. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees to cover the expenses of the war, &c. 3. That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners who had been taken by the Mysoreans from the time of Hyder. 4. That he should deliver up, as hostages for the due performance of the treaty, two of his eldest sons.

In conformity with these terms, Tippú began to send the treasure out of the fort to the camp of the besiegers ; and, on the 26th, the young princes, one of whom was about ten and the other eight years old, were conducted to the camp with great pomp and ceremony. Lord Cornwallis received the children with the greatest kindness, and continued to treat them with all tenderness.

Sir John Kennaway, who was appointed to conclude the definitive treaty, encountered much slowness and many difficulties on the part of Tippú's vakíls. The sultan particularly objected to restoring to the rája of Coorg the dominions which he had taken from him. But as the rája had risen in arms by invitation, and had very materially assisted the English and their allies, Lord Cornwallis was determined not to abandon him. There had been but too much of this bad, base work in 1784, at the time of the peace of Mangalore ; and frightful had been the sufferings of those then abandoned !



Tippú now repaired his damaged walls, and intimated that he would break the treaty. Lord Cornwallis issued orders—most welcome orders to the troops—to recommence the cannonade, and sent off the two children for Bangalore. This brought Tippú to his senses; his vakils assured Sir John Kennaway that he would agree to all that had been demanded. Cornwallis agreed to suspend operations for *one* day, and recalled Tippú's sons, who, on the 19th of March, presented to his lordship the definitive treaty signed by their father, and brought into camp by his vakils. By this treaty the English obtained all the dominions of Tippú on the coast of Malabar, a district surrounding Dindigul, and some territory on the western frontier of the Carnátic, including the Baramahál and the lower ghauts; the Marattas recovered possession of the country as far as the river Toombudra, which had been their frontier line; and the nizam got all the country from the river Kistna to the Pennar, including the forts of Gungecottah and Cuddappa. Thus all three allies shared, and about equally, in the dismemberment of the sultan's dominions.

The territory thus acquired by the English did not yield much more than half a million sterling of annual revenue; but it was highly valuable as strengthening the Carnátic against invasion, as affording excellent land communications, and as containing ports on the Malabar coast highly favourable to commerce, and to the extension of that influence at which they aimed. The Nairs, and other Hindú people that occupied the coast of Malabar, were made happy by the change of masters, and by the full freedom now allowed them in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their old customs.

To soothe the troops for the disappointment of their



expectations of booty in the storming of Seringapatam, and to reward them for their excellent conduct and rare exertions during the whole of the war, the commander-in-chief, upon his own responsibility, made them a gift, equal to six months' batta, out of the money paid by Tippú; and both he himself, and General Medows, his second in command, resigned their large shares, that the soldiers might have the more. The army returned to the Company's territories, good care being taken to place respectable garrisons in the districts ceded, and particularly in the towns on the Malabar coast, hitherto occupied by the enemy.

Several years elapsed without any violation of the treaty; and all its conditions being fulfilled, the two young hostages were sent back to their father in 1794. The course of events, and absolute necessity, had forced the pacifically-disposed Lord Cornwallis into the war with Tippú Sultan, and into a series of measures very contrary to the wishes, the policy, and the system of non-interference and non-aggrandizement of the British legislature and government. The Company's political relations were much extended during Lord Cornwallis's administration. His *great* efforts had all been attended with extraordinary success. To him belongs the honour of introducing the first code of written regulations for the internal management of the country.

Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), a most respectable civil servant of the Company, who had resided long in India, and had rendered important services there, was appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis as governor-general. Sir John had abundant local knowledge and industry. He was particularly skilled in the revenue system of India, and was of very pacific habits; and it appears



to have been expected that all those great advantages which Lord Cornwallis had obtained, would be confirmed and improved, without any risk of war, or extension of political connections, by a governor possessed of these qualities. It was laid down by him as a rule, that the dictates of justice, no less than the dictates of *economy*, prescribed to the Company a system of non-interference with the internal affairs or mutual differences of the native states ; *unless* when interference should be required by the paramount duty of preserving the tranquillity and integrity of the Company's own dominions.

Sir John Shore entered upon the duties of government on the 28th of October, 1793, on which day Major-General Sir Robert Abercromby assumed the office of commander-in-chief.

The pacific policy of this administration produced an effect the very reverse of that which was expected to result from it. The nizam, and other allies of the English, who had a claim on their protection and assistance, were left to their own resources ; while the Marattas and Tippú Sultan were permitted to acquire a strength and importance that subsequently rendered them formidable, and led to years of severe and protracted warfare. In 1798, Sir John Shore resigned the government of India and sailed for England.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

Arrival of Lord Mornington—Tippu's schemes for an alliance with France—Discovered by the governor-general—War determined on against Tippu—Seringapatam taken by General Harris—Death and burial of Tippu—His cruel character—Colonel Wellesley made civil and military administrator at Seringapatam—Restoration of the ancient Hindú dynasty to the nominal sovereignty of Mysore.

THE nobleman who next filled the high and arduous post of governor-general, was the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley. This nobleman, whose splendid career almost eclipsed that of Clive and Hastings, reached Madras on the 22nd of May, 1798. He was sent with the strictest injunctions to follow a course directly opposite to that which he actually pursued.

The non-interference policy of his predecessor, Sir John Shore, had left the nizám in his exigencies, to allure into his employ a great number of French officers, who had organised a large and superior body of troops.

The attention of Lord Mornington, as soon as he assumed his office, was attracted to the proceedings of Tippu. That sovereign, like his father Hyder, had been long connected in close alliance with France, as the power by whose aid he hoped to subvert the dominion of England.

Early in June, 1798, the governor-general received the copy of a proclamation which had been issued by the French governor of the Mauritius, or Isle of France, toge-



ther with information of enlistments making in that island for the service of the Mysorean sultan. This proclamation stated that Tippú Sultan, the great monarch of Mysore, had, through two ambassadors despatched for the purpose, addressed letters to the colonial assembly of the Isle of France, to all the generals employed there, and to the French Directory at Paris ; and that the said letters contained the following clauses :—

I. That he, Tippú Sultan, desired to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France ; and offered to maintain at his own expense, during the continuance of the war in India, whatever troops should be furnished by the French ; and to supply (with the exception of certain stores) every necessary for carrying on the war. II. That he had given assurances that all his preparations were already completed ; and that the generals and officers would find everything necessary for carrying on a species of warfare to which Europeans had not been accustomed in their contests with the native powers in India. III. That he only waited for the succour of France to declare war against the English ; and that it was his ardent desire to expel the English from India. Upon the ground of these facts, the French proclamation recommended a levy of men for the service of Tippú Sultan.

On the 18th of June, nearly at the very moment in which Lord Mornington received the copy of the proclamation and other intelligence from the Isle of France, the secret committee of the Court of Directors, wrote from London, to inform him that a large French armament had sailed from Toulon, on the 13th of May ; and that it was conceived to be not impossible that India might be the object of attack by way of the Red Sea, after the conquest of Egypt. But long before this despatch of the secret



Committee could reach the governor-general, he received through the overland channel, positive information of the landing of Bonaparte and the French army in Egypt. Moreover, as soon as Bonaparte arrived in the valley of the Nile, he despatched a letter to Tippú, requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him and concert measures for the *liberation* of India; and this letter was intercepted by the English, and sent to Lord Mornington.

In the meanwhile—as early as the 20th of June—some people from the Isle of France had joined Tippú in his camp, where one of their first operations was to set up a tree of liberty, surmounted by the red nightcap of liberty and equality. They next organized a Jacobin club in Seringapatam. The club was distinguished by this peculiarity,—the members were required to swear hatred to tyranny, love of liberty, and destruction to all kings and sovereigns, *except* the good and faithful ally of the French Republic, *Citizen Sultan Tippú*.

At the end of October, Lord Mornington received intelligence of the destruction of Bonaparte's fleet by Nelson, at the mouth of the Nile. But it was not upon that fleet in the Mediterranean that the French could have depended for their passage down the Red Sea, and across the Indian Ocean; and notwithstanding the great naval event, his lordship did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under his orders. He was still uncertain as to the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by embarking in another fleet, and taking the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope.

The things which were perfectly well known at the



moment were these:—the Marattas were faithless, and eager for conquest or plunder: M. Perron, with his numerous disciplined troops, was every day gaining strength in the Maratta country, and was looking forward for chances and combinations which might enable him to re-establish the French supremacy in India. Every one felt that with or without the arrival of a French armament on the coast, the implacable Mysorean had ample means of making himself dangerous, and would never cease cabaling and agitating the country against the English. He had on foot an army of 76,600 men, of whom nearly 40,000 were disciplined.

The English forces in the Carnátic were not all concentrated until the beginning of November; and until that army was ready for the field, it would have been an imbecile act to threaten or remonstrate with Tippú. When that army was quite ready, explanations were demanded, which Tippú would not give. In order to be near the scene of negotiation or military operations, and to give to the public service his own quick spirit, and the advantages of a prompt decision upon every question, the governor-general quitted the ease and splendour of Calcutta, and sailed to Madras.

Tippú now declared that he was anxious for peace, and had never entertained intentions hostile to the English; but he evasively refused to receive Major Doveton as an envoy from his lordship. The governor-general hereupon wrote another letter, recapitulating all the proceedings of the embassy to the Isle of France, and the other causes of offence and jealousy, which the sultan had given to the English. His lordship again entreated the sultan to receive Major Doveton. This letter was despatched on the 9th of January, 1799, and it reached Tippú about the



24th of that month. No reply was, however, received until about a month after it had been handed to Tippú ; and then—on the 13th of February—the answer came in the shape of a short and insolent note, in which the sultan said that he was going upon a hunting excursion, and that Major Doveton might be sent after him slightly attended.

But ten days before this tardy note reached him, Lord Mornington had put his armies in motion. The delay of Tippú had been considered as part of his design to procrastinate till the favourable season for the attack of his capital should be passed ; and, in the interval, it had been ascertained, that he had despatched another embassy to the French, repeating that he was quite ready for the war, and calling upon them to hasten the equipment and sailing of an armament.

On the 3rd of February 1799, the governor-general had directed the British army under General Harris, and the nizám's army under Mír Alum, to advance against Mysore. His lordship addressed a letter to the Sultan offering moderate terms of accommodation and peace ; but he instructed General Harris to raise the terms in proportion to the sultan's obstinacy and the progress of the armies. The presence at Madras of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, a younger brother of the governor-general, the late illustrious DUKE OF WELLINGTON, had contributed very materially to change the feelings and opinions of the leading men in that presidency, where the majority had, at first, deprecated the war, not because they thought it unjust or unnecessary, but because they dreaded the expense and doubted its success.

Colonel Wellesley, who had arrived in India more than a year before his brother the governor-general, had

studied the country and the means of carrying on war in it, and had paid great attention to the native troops, and to the means of improving the discipline of the whole army. He was at the head of his own regiment, the brave 33rd. That regiment was now attached to the nizám's force, and the general command of that force was given to Colonel Wellesley.

As early as the end of February, General Harris joined his army, which was then nearly all assembled in the vicinity of Vellore. A finer army, and one more perfect in all points, had never taken the field in India. It consisted of 649 men, with sixty field-pieces, and forty heavy guns for battering. The nizám's contingent, under Colonel Wellesley, who was to advance with General Harris, amounted to 20,000 men including the 33rd regiment, 6,500 thoroughly disciplined sepoys, and a large body of well-mounted cavalry from the Deccan. In addition to these forces, General Stuart was advancing from the Malabar coast, with a Bombay army of 6,000 fighting men, whereof 1,600 were Europeans; and another and smaller force under Colonels Read and T. Brown, was gathering in the productive country of the Barámahal, in order to co-operate on the enemy's flank, and to secure the bringing up of supplies to General Harris's grand army through the Cavérypúram pass.

General Harris began his march from Vellore on the 11th of February; and on the 18th he was joined by Colonel Wellesley with the nizám's army. The movements were impeded by want of good bullocks; but on the 5th of March, General Harris crossed Tippú's frontiers, and commenced hostilities by reducing several hill forts.

Instead of advancing towards the Coromandel coast to meet the grand army under Harris and Wellesley, Tippú



marched towards the Malabar coast to encounter the small army of Bombay, before they should get clear of the jungles of Coorg; and on the 6th of March, a battle took place in that wooded country, between the van of the Bombay army and Tippú's forces. Three of the battalions of Bombay sepoy, under Colonel Montresor, though taken by surprise and at a distance from their main body, sufficed to keep the Mysoreans at bay from an early hour in the morning until half-past two in the afternoon. Then General Stuart came up with the main body of the Bombay army, and completely defeated Tippú, who fled to Periapatam, whence he marched, not without confusion, to Seringapatam.

It was not until the 26th of March, that Tippú descended towards the Coromandel coast, and showed his whole army in general Harris's front. Tippú endeavoured to stop the high-road; and on the 27th of March, a battle was fought on ground of his own choosing between Sultanpet and Mallavelly. The British army under General Harris formed the right wing; the nizám's army, with the 33rd regiment, under Colonel Wellesley, formed the left. The affair began with a hot fire of artillery from the Mysorean's numerous and well-served parks, and ended with a bayonet charge by the 33rd. The loss of Tippú, in killed and wounded, was estimated at nearly 2,000; but this battle of Mallavelly cost the English only sixty-six men, in killed, wounded and missing. The efficient state of the Mysore gun cattle, and the miserable condition of the Carnatic bullocks, precluded all idea of a successful pursuit.

Though sadly daunted, Tippú prepared to obstruct the advance of the invading army, which was now little more than thirty miles from Seringapatam; but he com-



mitted the serious mistake of believing that General Harris would take the same road which Lord Cornwallis had taken in 1792. Harris, however, chose a very different and a much better route, and moving with great secrecy, he got across the Cavéry river and on another road, while Tippú, completely at fault, was looking for him on the direct road to Seringapatam. After committing some other mistakes, the Mysorean threw himself into his capital, and manned the lines in front of it. By the 5th of April, General Harris was encamped on the ground which had been occupied by Abercromby, in 1792, and the fine fortress, the white walls, the domes and minarets of Seringapatam, were once more in full view of the troops. Many alterations and additions had been made to the works since the English last lay under them; for 6,000 men had been constantly at work on the fortifications during six years.

There was some hard fighting in the lines and at the outward defences; in a night attack, Colonel Wellesley had a very narrow escape from death; but the Mysoreans were driven in, the approaches were pushed with vigour, and by the 20th of April, the last parallel was completed by General Harris, who, by this time, had been joined by the Bombay army, under General Stuart. A close breaching-battery was opened upon the fortress on the morning of the 30th. On the 2nd of May, a second breaching-battery began its work of demolition. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of May, Colonel Wellesley, who was commanding in the trenches, reported that the breach was practicable. The storming-party was composed of upwards of 4000 men, divided into two columns, who were instructed, after entering the breach, to file to the right and left along the top of the rampart. The com-



mand was intrusted to Sir David Baird, who had been nearly four years immured as a captive in the gloomy dungeons of that fortress which he was now about to enter as a conqueror. On the following morning the troops destined for the assault were got into the trenches ; and at the hour of noon they rushed into the breach, and took Seringapatam by storm, in an incredibly short space of time. Tippú Sultan, pierced with four wounds, was found dead under a dark gateway of the fortress, where his flight had been stopped by a part of the 12th regiment.

During the whole of the siege and assault, from the 4th of April to the 4th of May inclusive, twenty-two officers were killed, and forty-five wounded ; 181 British soldiers were killed, and 622 wounded ; while the loss in native troops was 119 killed, and 420 wounded. On the 4th of May, when the storm was made, Tippú's forces consisted of 48,000 men, of whom about 22,000 were either in the fort or in the dependent intrenchments of Seringapatam. Counting natives and all classes of troops, General Harris had never more than 20,000 men actually occupied in the siege ; and the two divisions which carried the place did not count many more than 4,000 men.

General Baird, who had led the storming party, sent Major Beatson to request that he and his people might be relieved that night, as they were much fatigued with the exertions of the day. It is usual to relieve storming parties as soon as possible after a place has been taken ; and among several important reasons for this usage is the consideration that fresh troops, who have not been exposed to the horrors of assault, and whose blood has not been inflamed by seeing their comrades fall by their sides, are less likely to commit excesses in the town than the men who have been so exposed.



The body of Tippú Sultan was buried, with military honours, on the 5th of May, the day after his death, in the superb mausoleum of Lall Baug, which he had erected to his father, Hyder Ali. A violent storm of thunder and lightning, which killed several Europeans and natives, gave an awful interest to these last and solemn rites. The British grenadiers formed a street, and presented arms. The burial service having been performed, a kírant, or charitable gift of 5,000 rupees, was distributed by the kází to the fakírs and the poor who attended the funeral. This was all strictly conformable to the Mahometan religion; and, monster though he had been, Tippú had ever professed himself a devout Mussulman, and had ever been most scrupulous in outward observances. No doubt was left as to his having inhumanly murdered some English prisoners taken on the night of the unfortunate affair in which Colonel Wellesley was so near perishing. Black as was the deed, it was merciful in comparison with some which he had committed on the English fifteen years before.

Everywhere within and about the palace, evidence met the eye or ear of his depraved and sanguinary tastes. His name meant tiger; he called his soldiers his tigers of war; and the tigers of the Indian jungles were his pets, and often his executioners—for the attendant that offended him, or the prisoner that was brought into his presence, was not unfrequently turned into a barred room, or large cage, where the savage animals were let loose upon him. Near the door of his treasury an enormous tiger had been found chained. There were other tigers in the edifice, and so numerous as to give some trouble to Colonel Wellesley. The history and character of the son of Hyder were, in a manner, told by the barbarous big toy which



was invented for his amusement, which was found in his palace, and which may now be seen in the library of the East India House, Leadenhall-street. This rude automaton is a tiger killing and about to devour a European, who lies prostrate under the savage beast.

The treasure discovered amounted, in specie and jewels, to about one million sterling, the whole of which was, by order of the governor-general and council, distributed to the army. All the members of the sultan's family were very soon in the hands of the conquerors, although several of them were not within the walls of Seringapatam at the time of the storm. Most of the sultan's principal officers came in voluntarily in the course of a few days, and submitted to the English, without any other condition than that they should be preserved in their lives, titles, and estates. Most of Tippu's Frenchmen were made prisoners.

In the meanwhile, Colonel Wellesley had exerted himself to the utmost to put an end to those excesses which almost invariably and unavoidably attend the capture of a place by storm. Four marauders were brought to a drum-head trial, and handed over to the provost-marshal. These examples, and the personal activity and incessant care of Wellesley, who went to the houses of the principal inhabitants and himself placed guards at their doors, soon inspired a general confidence. People returned to their habitations and ordinary occupations; the bazars, stored with all sorts of provisions and merchandize, were reopened; and the native traders found a ready and profitable sale, as the conquering army was in want of almost everything, and paid for all they took. Three days after the capture of the fortress,—thanks to the exertions and personal influence of the noble commandant,—the main



streets of Seringapatam were so crowded, as to be almost impassable, and exhibited rather the appearance of a fair, than that of a town just taken by assault. General Wellesley was permanent commandant of a regular permanent garrison for the place.

The empire which Hyder Ali had erected was now thrown to the ground; but, restricted by parliamentary declarations and orders from home, which forbade wars of conquest, the governor-general could not, as he ought to have done, take immediate sovereignty over the whole of this empire. He therefore determined to dismember the dominions; to retain in his own hands those districts which lay along the sea shore, or which interrupted in any way the communication between different provinces already subject to the Company; to make over a second portion to the nizám of the Deckan; to offer upon certain conditions, a third portion to the peshwa; and to raise to the government of the fourth and smallest portion, a descendant of that ancient line of Hindú rajas which Hyder Ali had set aside by right of force or conquest. In pursuance of this plan, Maharája Krishna Oudawer, a child of six years old, the lineal representative of the ancient Hindú dynasty or family of Mysore, was raised to the throne of a principality neither less extensive nor less powerful, in spite of recent events, than that over which his forefathers had reigned. Finally, the sons of Tippú, on whom a liberal pension was settled, set out under a military escort to Vellore, where, though kept under surveillance, they lived in luxury and splendour, and were treated with great kindness.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.—*Continued.*

The robber Dhúndiah Waugh—Pursued by Colonel Wellesley and defeated—Insurrection in Benares—War with the Marattas—French intrigues—The peshwa seeks the aid of the English against Scindiah—Battle of Assaye—Great Victory.

WHILE Colonel Wellesley, who had been left at Seringapatam as governor of Mysore, was displaying administrative talents of the most valuable kind, and getting that country into perfect order, he was called into the field by the return of the robber Dhúndiah Waugh, who had collected an enormous force. This freebooter, a Maratta or Patan by lineage, though born within the territory of Mysore, had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippú. He had deserted the Mysoreans during their war with Lord Cornwallis, and had placed himself at the head of a fierce and numerous body of banditti in the wild country near the Toombudra river. By stratagem Tippú had caught him, and he was immured in one of the dungeons of Seringapatam, and strongly chained to the wall like a wild beast, when the citadel was taken by the English. Pitying all the tyrant's prisoners, and knowing nothing of the man's history, some of the soldiers instantly set him free.

He was soon at the head of such a force, and was so rapid in his movements, that it had given Colonel Stevenson no small trouble to drive him out of the country in the preceding month of August. Early in this year Dhún-



and threatened the frontier of Mysore with 5,000 horse, and took to himself the title of the "King of the Two Worlds." With a weak enemy to contend with, Dhúndiah, like Hyder, might have founded a royal dynasty. His destruction was absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of the country. Dhúndiah had an asylum in the Maratta country. Colonel Wellesley recommended that the most vigorous measures should be taken, even though it should be found necessary to cross the Maratta frontier in the pursuit. His brother, the governor-general, authorized him to enter the Maratta territory, it being evident that the péshwa was either unable or unwilling to put down the great depredator.

Though a campaign, in regard to the forces employed and the object to be obtained, the operations of Wellesley were like a hunting-match, or a long-continued chase, and as such they are described in his own despatches, and not without humour and hilarity. He followed up the robbers in every direction. He surprised some of their encampments, and took some fortified towns in which they had deposited their plunder; but weeks and months elapsed before he could come up with the main body of these nimble thieves. At last, on the 9th of September, Dhúndiah Waugh came too near to Colonel Wellesley, who had left his infantry far behind, and was pursuing only with cavalry. The next morning the rebellious army was completely routed and all their camp destroyed. Many of the marauders, and Dhúndiah himself, were killed.

In the North other disturbances were quelled. Sir John Shore had deposed Vizír Ali the nabób of Oud, who gradually increased the number of his armed retainers, and engaged some of the principal people of Benares to join him in an insurrection. Under pretence of visiting the



English Resident, Mr. Cherry, Vizír Ali gained entrance into his house, and treacherously murdered him, his private secretary, and Capt. Conway. The assassins, now swelled into a numerous gang, went next to the house of Mr. Davis, the district judge, who however defended himself bravely, and on a narrow winding staircase, succeeded in keeping the rebels at bay for an hour and a half, by which time General Erskine came up with a force of cavalry, and soon put the rabble to flight.

The government then took measures to break up the feudal bands of retainers, and to scatter those desperate bravos, the bankas, who had so long disturbed the peace of Benares and other districts.

In the Carnátic it was found necessary to assume the civil and military government, and pension the nabób and his principal officers, in order to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and save the cultivators of the soil from oppression and ruin.

The imminency of a Maratta war had been apparent ever since the arrival of the Marquis Wellesley in India. With the aid of the French, they had attained to a height of military power which was altogether incompatible with the existence of security and tranquillity in the neighbouring states; and which would have been eminently perilous to the English rule, if Bonaparte could at any time have sent a strong armament to India. The fleets of France and Spain had not yet been destroyed at Trafalgar; and Bonaparte could as yet dispose of great naval means and resources.

It has been seen that the great Maratta chief Scindiah rejected all overtures of friendship with the English, and kept his own sovereign, the peshwa, in a state of miserable subjection, through the great military force he possessed



in M. Perron's disciplined troops. Not satisfied with the submissiveness of his sovereign, and with the vast power he himself possessed, Scindiah made war upon the peshwa, and with the help of M. Perron and his battalions and formidable artillery, he drove him out of Poonah, his capital. The dispossessed peshwa applied for assistance to the English, and, escaping to the coast, he put himself under their protection. The moment had now come for breaking up the vast power of the Maratta confederacy.

The governor-general had three great objects in view—to restore the comparatively pacific and friendly peshwa—to destroy or dissipate the disciplined forces which Perron had raised as a match for the Company's sepoy—and to defeat Scindiah's vast plans of encroachment and aggrandizement, which were threatening to convulse the whole of India. Hordes of banditti had been for some time daily pouring in from Malwa and Hindostan, to enrol themselves at Poonah, under the banners of Scindiah, who promised them plunder as well as pay. It was impossible that these devouring armies should limit their operations to the Maratta states, or to the contest for the sovereignty of those countries: they must be early forced by want, if not invited by policy, to invade the richer territories defended by the British government, or the territories defended by British arms.

Moreover, the powerful rája of Bérar united his forces to those of Scindiah, and other Hindú chiefs engaged to make common cause with him. The scene, too, was now becoming open to French intrigue, and the artful influences of Bonaparte. The governor-general had received intelligence of the peace of Amiens, which would allow the French to revisit India as friends, and then to renew their correspondence and connections with all the enemies of



the English. As a statesman, Lord Wellesley knew that that hollow peace could not be lasting; but he also knew that it might give time to the French to mature plans for the renewal of the war on the soil of India.

The peshwa, in imploring English assistance, had engaged to receive a subsidiary English force, and to cede, for its subsistence and pay, territories rendering an annual revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The peshwa at the same time engaged to identify his interests with those of the Company, and to conclude a defensive alliance on the basis of the treaty of Hyderabad, which Lord Wellesley had concluded with the nizám of the Deckan.

In the treaty of Bassein, finally concluded on the 31st of December, 1802, these conditions were inserted. Moreover, the peshwa renounced all claims to Surat and to the other districts in Guzerat which had recently been assumed by the Company; he agreed to abide by the arbitration of the Company in all its unsettled disputes with the nizám; and he also engaged to discharge from his service any Europeans that belonged to nations hostile to the English, or that were discovered meditating injury or carrying on intrigues injurious to the interests of the English. In return, the English government bound itself to furnish to the peshwa a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry, with a complement of field-pieces and European artillerymen. The treaty of Bassein was confirmed by the governor-general on the 11th of February, 1803.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of Bassein, the Madras army, under General Stuart, was ordered to advance into the Maratta territory for the purpose of reinstating the peshwa; and the governor-general's brother, who had been advanced to the rank of major-general,



appointed to command a select corps in advance, with which he was to make a dash upon Poonah. Having received, on the road, information that it was intended to burn Poonah on the approach of the English, General Wellesley, leaving his infantry behind, pushed on with his cavalry, and, performing a march of sixty miles in thirty hours, reached that town on the 20th of April, and saved it from destruction. In the month of May, the peshwa re-entered his capital.

It was in this beginning of the Maratta campaigns, and through means which will afterwards be explained, that General Wellesley, by his astonishingly rapid movements, made a new era in Indian warfare.

After some very fruitless negotiations with Scindiah, General Wellesley marched from Poonah to the north, and took by escalade the strong town of Ahmednuggur. Nearly at the same time General Lake, in command of a part of the Bengal army, marched towards Delhi, and other forces were advancing from different points against the Marattas. As in the days of Warren Hastings, immense tracts of country were traversed by the different columns, and combined movements were executed with far more precision and rapidity. With great wisdom the governor-general had given to Lake in the North, and to General Wellesley in the Deckan, most ample political, as well as military power. They could fight or negotiate as they chose.

On the 21st of August, General Wellesley crossed the Gódavery river, and entered Arungabad on the 29th. The enemy manifested an intention to cross the river to the eastward, and steal a march upon Hyderabad, the capital of the Company's ally, the nizám, which had been left rather bare of troops ; but they were prevented by Welles-



rapidly marching along the left bank of the river, and placing himself between them and that city.

Scindiah, who had an immense mass of irregular cavalry, and whose infantry were very lightly equipped—while both horse and foot lived only on plunder, and carried no magazines with them—was enabled, for more than a month, to avoid a general engagement. He dreaded the name of Wellesley and the discipline of his troops; and he only thought of carrying on a predatory warfare, supporting his men at the expense of the subjects of the nizám and other allies of the English, and wearing out the troops by continual marches and partial affrays.

About the middle of September, General Wellesley learned that the Maratta leader had been reinforced by sixteen battalions of regular infantry, commanded by French officers, and a large force of artillery, and that the whole of his force was assembled near the banks of the Kaitna river. On the 21st of September, Wellesley had a conference with Colonel Stevenson, who had come up with the nizám's auxiliary force, now (through the governor-general's arrangements) almost entirely composed of disciplined, faithful, and brave sepoys. A combined attack on the enemy was at once concerted.

On the 22nd, Colonel Stevenson took the western route, and Wellesley the eastern, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna. They expected to join forces and attack the enemy early on the morning of the 24th. But on the 23rd the general received a report that Scindiah and the rája of Berar had moved off that morning with their myriads of horse, and that their infantry were about to follow, but were as yet in camp, at the distance of about six miles from him. General Wellesley therefore determined to march upon the infantry and engage it at once.



He sent a messenger to Colonel Stevenson, who was at the moment about eight miles off on his left, to acquaint him with his intention, and to direct his advance with all possible rapidity; he then moved forward with the 19th light dragoons and three regiments of native cavalry to reconnoitre. His infantry, consisting of only two British and five sepoy battalions, followed with all their speed.

After he had ridden about four miles, Wellesley, from an elevated plain, saw not only the infantry, but the whole Maratta force, consisting of about 50,000 men, encamped on the north side of the Kaitna, where the banks of that river were very steep and rocky. Their right, consisting of cavalry, extended to Bokerdon; their left, consisting of infantry, with ninety pieces of artillery, lay near the fortified village of Assaye, which has given its name to the memorable battle. No thought of retreat was entertained. Wellesley resolved to attack the infantry on its left and rear, and for that purpose he moved his little army to a ford a little beyond the enemy's left, leaving the Mysore and other irregular cavalry to watch the Maratta cavalry, and crossing the river only with his regular horse and infantry.

He passed the ford, ascended the steep bank, and formed his men in three lines, two of infantry and the third of horse. This was effected under a brisk cannonade from the enemy's artillery. Scindiah, or the European officer who directed his movements, promptly made a corresponding change in his line, giving a new front to his infantry, which was now made to rest its right on the river, and its left upon the village of Assaye. Scindiah's numerous and well-served cannon did terrible execution among Wellesley's advancing lines, killing men and bullocks, and drowning the weak sound of his scanty



artillery. At one moment such a gap was made by a cannon-ball in the English right, that some of the Maratta cavalry attempted to charge through it; but the British cavalry in the third line came up and drove the Marattas back with great slaughter.

Finding his artillery of little or no use (the guns could not be brought up for lack of bullocks), General Wellesley gave orders to leave it in the rear, and bade the infantry charge with the bayonet. His steady, resolute advance in the teeth of their guns had already awed the Marattas, who would not stand to meet the collision of the bright English steel: their infantry gave way and abandoned their terrible guns. One body of them formed again, and presented a bold front; but Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell charged them with the British cavalry, broke and dispersed them, and was killed in the moment of victory. Scindiah's disciplined infantry now fled, and left ninety pieces of cannon in the hands of the conqueror. General Wellesley led the 78th British infantry in person against the village of Assaye, which was not cleared without a desperate combat. It was night when the firing ceased.

This splendid victory cost General Wellesley nearly one-third of his force, in killed and wounded. He himself had two horses killed under him, one shot and the other piked; every one of his staff-officers had one or two horses killed, and his orderly's head was knocked off by a cannon-ball as he rode close by his side. The enemy left 1,200 dead, and a great number badly wounded, on the field of battle. (Sept. 23, 1803.)

Colonel Stevenson, who had encountered unexpected obstacles on his route, arrived at Assaye early on the 24th, and was despatched after the flying enemy.



CHAPTER XXXV.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY—*Concluded.*

General Lake advances on Delhi—Great battle—Delhi entered—Agra surrenders to Lake—Battle of Laswaree—Lake's brilliant victory—Wellesley re-opens his campaign—Battle of Argaum—Siege of Gawil Ghur—Scindiah negotiates—Gangs of banditti—Suppressed by Wellesley—His government of Mysore—address from the natives—Marattas violate the treaty—Holkar defeated by Lord Lake—Marquis Wellesley quits India—character of his administration.

WHILE these things were doing in the south, General Lake continued both his advance upon Delhi, and a correspondence, which had been commenced with M. Perron, who was now finding that his troops were dispirited and disaffected. Yet the garrison of Alighur, the ordinary residence of Perron, and his principal military depôt, made a desperate resistance, and did not yield the fort to Lake (on the 4th of September) until 2,000 of them had perished. On the fall of Alighur, M. Perron made good terms with General Lake, quitted the service of Scindiah, and retired with his family and effects to Lucknow, declaring that the treachery of the Marattas, and the ingratitude of his European officers, had convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless. The governor-general attached great importance to the withdrawing of this very able French adventurer.

On the 11th of September General Lake, who had resumed his march upon Delhi, was informed that the army, which had belonged to Perron, and which was now



commanded by another Frenchman, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi, under cover of night, with the intention of fighting a battle for the defence of the ancient capital of the Great Moguls, but which was now the prison of Sháh Alum, the feeble representative of those Mussulman monarchs and conquerors. Lake's troops were fatigued with a long march, and oppressed by the excessive heat of the weather, when they reached their ground of encampment, about six miles from Delhi ; and they had scarcely pitched their tents before they were attacked by some of the Frenchman's powerful squadron.

This officer, named Louis Bourquieu, had 19,000 men under his command ; and he had posted his main body on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank, so that it was only his front which could be attacked, and that front was defended by a line of intrenchments, and almost as many guns as were turned against Wellesley at Assaye. Lake had only 4,500 men. By some ingenious movements he tempted the enemy from the heights and intrenchments down to the plain ; and, when they thought he was about to fly from the field, he turned short upon them with one volley, and then with the bayonet. They could not stand the charge : they ran towards their guns, which they had brought down to the plain, and which opened a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. But another volley and another bayonet-charge drove them from their now exposed pieces ; a charge of Lake's cavalry, and some rounds from his flying artillery, completed the overthrow ; and the enemy fled beyond the Jumna, leaving behind them 3,000 or 4,000 killed, wounded, or prisoners, sixty-eight cannon, a great quantity of ammunition, and their military chest. While it lasted, the affair was very hot : General Lake had his horse shot under him, and nearly



100 of his people were laid low by the grape and chain shot.

On the next morning Lake encamped opposite the city of Delhi, which, together with the fortress, was evacuated by those who held the Mogul in thralldom. On the 14th of September, Louis Bourquieu and four other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war in the British camp. On the 16th General Lake paid a visit to Sháh Alum, who had first come upon the stage in the time of the great Lord Clive. The Mogul, who was now old, and blind, and miserably poor, received Lake as a deliverer, and gave him, which was about all he could give, a series of sounding oriental titles. The descendant of Tamerlane had some reason to rejoice at being received into British protection; Scindiah had tyrannized over him in the most barbarous manner, and before Scindiah had possession of his person and dominions, a chief named Gholaum Khadur had struck out one of his eyes with his own dagger.

Another of the French adventurers surrendered, and now no man of any military note or ability, of that nation, remained in this part of India.

From Delhi General Lake marched on to Agra, where he arrived on the 4th of October. On the 17th the fortress of Agra was surrendered to him.

On the 27th, when he had garrisoned and secured that fortress, Lake started in pursuit of the enemy. The rains were falling heavily, the roads were in a wretched state, and at some points they were inundated by the Marattas, who had cut the embankments of great reservoirs; but speed was necessary, and both British and native troops exerted themselves to the utmost, and, leaving the rest of his forces behind him, Lake, on getting near the Marattas, pushed forward with his cavalry alone, and



marched from midnight on the 31st of October, till seven o'clock the next morning. Then he found the enemy well posted, with their right upon a stream, their left on the village of Laswaree, and with their front garnished with seventy-two pieces of artillery. Lake's foremost brigade came in contact with the enemy's left, and drove it in and penetrated into the village of Laswaree, which has given its name to the battle. But in the village they were exposed to a terrible fire of artillery and musketry; Colonel Vandeleur fell, and Lake thought it prudent to draw off the brigade.

The infantry and artillery, which Lake had left behind had started on his track three hours after midnight, and had continued to march with such spirit, that they made twenty-five miles in less than eight hours, and joined him and his cavalry a little before eleven o'clock in the day. At their appearance the enemy offered, upon certain conditions, to surrender their guns and retire. Lake, anxious to stop the effusion of blood, granted the conditions, but, seeing that the Marattas hesitated, he gave them one hour to decide whether they would accept the terms or fight. The hour expired, and then the real battle began.

On the side of the British the brunt was borne by the king's 76th regiment, and a battalion and five companies of sepoy, who had to sustain a tremendous fire of canister shot, and a massive charge of cavalry. "This handful of heroes," though thinned by the enemy's artillery, stood firm, and repulsed the Maratta horse. Then Major Griffiths was sent at the head of the 29th dragoons to sweep away that numerous cavalry, a duty which he performed thoroughly, but not without losing his own life, being struck by a cannon-ball. Then followed the terrible bayonet-charge of the British infantry, the right wing



of which was led by Major-General Ware, until his head was carried off by another cannon-shot. For a time the enemy disputed every point foot by foot, only giving way when the bayonets were at their breast, and their own captured guns were turned against them.

The Maratta infantry fought like well disciplined soldiers. Even when borne down, they attempted to make a retreat in good order; but this attempt was frustrated by a brilliant charge made by the 27th dragoons and one of the regiments of native cavalry. This charge finished the affair. The mass of the enemy either fled from the field or cried for quarter and surrendered; and all the artillery, all the baggage, and nearly everything belonging to them, fell into the hands of the victors. With the exception of 2,000, who surrendered, their seventeen disciplined battalions were destroyed. It was calculated that the dead alone on the field did not fall short of 7,000. Except a portion of their cavalry and some broken infantry, who concealed themselves among the bazar people, none of Scindiah's Marattas escaped. The English loss amounted to 172 killed, 652 wounded. General Lake, who had personally led the charge of cavalry in the morning before the infantry came up, who had afterwards led on the 79th, and who had conducted nearly every operation of the day, had two horses shot under him, and saw his son, badly wounded by his side.

But Lake had now defeated, routed, and annihilated that army of Perron which had caused the governor-general such great and reasonable alarm: he had placed in the hands of the English nearly all the extensive territories watered by the Jumna; and between his exertions and those of General Wellesley, the power of Scindiah was utterly shattered before the end of the year.



Shortly after his splendid victory at Assaye, Wellesley re-opened his campaign with vigour, and Scindiah's towns, castles, and fortified posts fell, one by one, into his hands, in the course of October and November. Towards the end of November Scindiah prayed for and obtained a truce; but his ally, the rája of Berar, still kept the field in great force, and it was suspected, or rather it was known, that Scindiah was negotiating only to gain time for bringing up more troops. Under these circumstances, General Wellesley determined to bring on, if possible, a second decisive battle. Effecting a junction with Colonel Stevenson, who was close to the heels of the Berar army, on the 28th of November, he advanced in full force against the enemy, who retreated before him, covering their rear with their innumerable irregular cavalry.

These movements were continued on the 29th, Wellesley's Mysore cavalry driving the Marattas before them; but having arrived within a short distance of Argaum (a small village in the province of Berar), the troops were ordered to halt, and they were beginning to encamp, when a report came in that the enemy's cavalry was vastly increased, and that the Mysoreans in front were giving ground. A support was at once ordered out, and, proceeding at its head, General Wellesley soon beheld, not the army of Berar alone, but the united armies of Scindiah and the Berar rája. Although the day was far spent, the general determined to attack on the instant. The British line advanced in the best order. Scindiah's cavalry charged one of the sepoy regiments, and was repulsed; and then the whole Maratta line retired in disorder, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition on the field. The British cavalry pursued the enemy for several miles, taking many elephants, camels, and much



engage. On this day General Wellesley was on horse-back from six in the morning till nearly twelve at night.

That indefatigable commander now determined to lose no time in commencing the siege of Gawil-Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India, situated on a lofty rock, in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Tapee. The chief management of the siege was intrusted to Colonel Stevenson, the General covering the operations with his own division and all the cavalry. It took Stevenson from the 7th of December to the 12th to reach the ground; and during those five days the troops went through a series of laborious services, such as nobody with the army had ever witnessed before.

After all these toils, there was that of breaking ground before the formidable fortress. But by the 12th December, at night, ground was broken, and two batteries were erected in front of the north face of the fort of Gawil-Ghur. The enemy's garrison was numerous: it consisted of Rajpúts, and of a great body of regular infantry, who had escaped from the battle of Argaum, and who were all well armed with English muskets and bayonets; but on the 15th, some breaches being made, and the outer walls carried by storm, the light infantry of the 94th regiment, headed by Captain Campbell, fixed their ladders against the inner fort, in which no breach whatever had been made, gallantly escalated the high wall, and opened the gate for the storming party, who, in a trice, were entire masters of every part of the fortress.

On the 17th of December, or two days after the fall of Gawil-Ghur, the rája of Berar signed the conditions of peace which Wellesley dictated, ceding to the Company the important province of Cuttack, with the district of Balasore, and dismissing all the French or other European



officers in his service. Before the rája ratified the treaty, General Wellesley had made three marches towards Nagpore, "in order to keep alive the impression under which it was evident that the treaty had been concluded." As soon as Scindiah found that the rája had made peace, he began to be alarmed, and implored to be allowed to negotiate; and on the 30th of December, he signed a treaty of peace, by which he yielded to the Company all the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, besides numerous forts, territories, rights, and interests; engaging to conform to the treaties which the Company had made with the peshwa, and, in case of any difference afterwards between him and the peshwa, to admit the mediation, arbitration, and final decision of the Company.

After the war with Scindiah was over, fragments of his armies, and gangs of banditti from nearly all parts of India, gathered behind the Godávery, and began plundering and devastating the whole of the western Deckan. Early in the spring of the year 1804, General Wellesley crossed the Godávery to put them down. As they refused the lenient terms he offered, he endeavoured to cut them off by making forced marches over eighty miles of the roughest country. The marauders, for the most part mounted, were greatly superior to their pursuers, and were well furnished with field-pieces. At one spot they made a stand, but were soon defeated by the British and Mysore cavalry. Wellesley then followed them with astonishing rapidity from hill to hill, nor did he cease his pursuit until he had entirely destroyed or dispersed them, and captured all their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and bazars. The fatigue was excessive; not a few of his men and horses died of it: he himself described the marches made as being "terrible," and after the lapse of



many years, and many other arduous services, he still spoke of this as the most laborious service in which he had ever been engaged.

This flying campaign beyond the Godavery concluded General Wellesley's important military service in India. But his civil services had been equally important and equally honourable to himself. Under his master mind and vigilant superintendence, the whole of the Mysore had been well administered; numerous abuses, on the part of the civil as well as the military servants of the Company, had been checked, and agriculture and trade had flourished, while the storm of war was raging in other parts of India.

His minute attention to everything that tended to promote the well-being of the population may be seen in the measures he took for introducing vaccination, then only recently discovered in England. This fact has not before been made public; but the records of the Mysore Government furnish evidence of its truth.

During the five years of General Wellesley's government, the whole country had, in fact, attained to a higher degree of prosperity than could possibly have been anticipated in so short a time; and through this prosperity it had been enabled in some degree to repay to the Company, during the late Maratta war, the benefits which it had derived from British influence, protection, government, and power. And yet, during all this time, large sums had been annually appropriated to the construction or repair of tanks, aqueducts, watercourses, roads, bridges, and other public works, which tended to the further improvement of agriculture, trade, and all the resources of Mysore. Great numbers of industrious people from other parts of Hindostan came and settled in the country, one



of the best of all proofs that the government and administration were good. An excellent police was organized, and the wildest, the most mountainous and woody districts became, for the first time, amenable to law, tranquil and orderly.

The natives, of all religions and of all castes, well knew to whom they were indebted for these great boons, and were eloquent in the expression of their gratitude. On General Wellesley's return from the Maratta war, the following address was presented to him :—

“We, the inhabitants of Seringapatam, have reposed for five auspicious years under the shadow of your protection.

“We have felt, even during your absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that your care for our prosperity had been extended to us in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied your mind.

“We are preparing to perform, in our several castes, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God, who has brought you back in safety ; and we present ourselves in person to express our joy.

“As your labours have been crowned with victory, so may your repose be graced with honours. May you long continue personally to dispense to us that full stream of security and happiness, which we first received with wonder, and continue to enjoy with gratitude ; and, when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all castes and all nations deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayers for your health, your glory, and your happiness.”

In March, 1805, when the General was preparing to leave the East for ever, the grateful natives again expressed, in the form of an address, their exceeding thankful-



ness for the tranquillity, security, and happiness they had enjoyed under his auspicious protection, concluding with a prayer to God to grant him health and a safe and pleasant voyage to Europe, but with the expression of an earnest hope for his speedy return to India, once more to extend and uphold that protection over them, which his ample local knowledge of their customs and manners was so capable of affording.

Notwithstanding the decisive victories of Wellesley and Lake in 1802—3, a fresh war broke out in 1804. The Maratta chiefs violated every engagement into which they had entered. Holkar's army, like a horde of freebooters, levied tribute and wasted the country on the very borders of the Company's territories. Instead of replying to any remonstrance he allowed time to pass, during which more flying and marauding troops of horse joined his standard. General (now Lord) Lake, and General Fraser were sent against him, with a large force. Holkar kept retreating for a long time before his army, which suffered much from the great length of the marches they were obliged to make, and the excessive heat of the weather. After capturing several fortified towns Lord Lake returned, in June, to Cawnpore, where the troops rested during the rains. There was hard fighting in other directions, and during the first campaign of 1804 the English captured 450 pieces of the finest cannon, and a vast quantity of military stores.

In October Lord Lake again took the field and reached Delhi just in time to save it from the Marattas who were vigorously besieging it. After a long and fatiguing pursuit after Holkar's troops, Lord Lake, by a forced night march of thirty-six miles, surprised them near Furruckbad. The whole camp was soon covered with the bodies of the



Killed and wounded. Holkar himself escaped, but his cavalry was dispersed or ruined. Lake continued the pursuit for upwards of ten miles; and as his march during the preceding day and night was fifty-eight miles, the distance to which the enemy was followed, and the space passed over before he took up a new encampment ground, exceeded seventy miles in twenty-four hours—an effort scarcely paralleled in military history. About the same time General Fraser took the strong fort of Deeg, but died of his wounds soon after the battle. In this desperate engagement Holkar lost most of his disciplined infantry; and the war might have been terminated but for an alliance then made with the rāja of Bhurtpoor.

In January 1805, Lord Lake moved to Bhurtpoor, which he besieged for above three months, and lost 3000 men in the attempts made to carry the place by storm. On the 10th of April the rāja went in person to the English camp and implored peace. This was granted on certain stringent conditions.

At this junction the Marquis Cornwallis returned to India to succeed the Marquis Wellesley as governor-general. This nobleman on his arrival in Calcutta proceeded to the upper provinces to consult with Lake, but at his advanced age could ill bear the fatigues of the journey. He died on the road and was buried near Benares.

Lord Lake followed Holkar into the Punjab, and in January 1806, a treaty of peace was made with the Marattas, which was followed by a transitory calm. The Marquis Wellesley quitted India on the 26th of August, 1805, shortly after the arrival of the Marquis Cornwallis at Calcutta. He was not left to accomplish his own great plans, and some portions of his great scheme were impeded or spoiled by his immediate successors, or by the policy dictated to



them by the home government. During the latter years of his administration, when his difficulties were greatest, he was not cordially supported in England by any party whatever; and his schemes were severely criticised by men who did not comprehend them, and who could not see that present expenditure would be attended by immense future savings. The British legislature had but slowly followed the progress of the power of the Company in India. It had legislated for factories, when the Company was in possession of provinces; and by the time the laws were completed to govern provinces, the Company had acquired kingdoms.

During the whole of his Indian administration, the Marquis Wellesley laudably exerted himself to promote the welfare of the natives. Like Warren Hastings, he was the patron of every project which seemed likely to improve the condition and civilization of the people, or to be useful in giving the European servants of the Company the means of becoming better acquainted with their languages, their manners and modes of thinking, their ancient laws and institutions. As soon as he reached Calcutta, he contemplated the foundation of a college in that city for the proper education of civil servants. Like all his conceptions, this plan was on a large and liberal scale.

He proposed that the institution should contain professors of ethics, jurisprudence, the law of nations, English law, classical literature, the modern languages of Europe, history, geography, and the physical sciences. He made a good beginning, and appointed some able teachers of the Oriental languages, laws, and the like; but his plan was considered as too expensive, and was objected to upon other grounds. The college of Fort William was reduced to little more than a seminary for the instruction of the



Bengal civil servants, in the languages used in that presidency. But, at home, the East-India college of Haileybury arose soon after.

Lord Wellesley's strenuous efforts were also directed to the extension of the commerce and commercial intercourse of India, and to the commencement and formation of those important financial reforms which in the course of a few years doubled the revenues of the Company, with advantage to British commerce and without injustice or oppression to the natives. He saw that the employment of cheap India-built ships in the trade with Europe would be of equal advantage to England and to India; and therefore he prepared so to employ them, and gave encouragement to those who extended the building of country ships.

Warren Hastings himself was not more indifferent to money for his own use and profit: though, for his rank and station, Lord Wellesley was a poor man when he embarked for the East, he returned to England, after seven years's residence in India, little, or not at all richer. On the fall of Seringapatam, the sum of £100,000 was set apart for his share of the spoil; but he wished to encourage the army, and to reward it well for the labours of the campaign, and he gave up every farthing of that money to the troops. On reaching England the Marquis was well received by the government of the day; and the Court of Directors have since repeatedly acknowledged the benefits conferred by his lordship's government, and the excellence of "the principles upon which the supremacy of Britain in India was successfully manifested and enlarged, under a combination of circumstances in the highest degree critical and difficult."



CHAPTER XXXVI.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW—LORD MINTO.

Appointment of Sir G. Barlow—His pacific policy—Its evils—Taken advantage of by the Marattas—Mutiny and massacre at Vellore—Revenged by Col. Gillespie—Sir G. Barlow's economical financial arrangements—Succeeded by Lord Minto—Extension of diplomatic relations—Capture of the Isle of France—Negotiation with Nepál and Ava—Lord Minto's return to England.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW had filled various subordinate offices in an able and honourable manner, and had deservedly acquired great reputation as a civil administrator. He had been a member of the supreme council during the last four years of the Wellesley administration, and was senior member when Lord Cornwallis died. By act and charter, the powers of government fell provisionally into Sir George's hands by this death. But the Court of Directors deemed Barlow a fit person to be confirmed in the office of governor-general, and the Board of Control approved of the measure, though only as a temporary arrangement.

Sir George expressed his resolution to follow the peace policy which Lord Cornwallis, on his second appointment, had come out to promote. He urged that the British interests would be best promoted by throwing off a number of allies, and narrowing the Company's connections. Indeed, he appears to have been animated by the wish which Lord Cornwallis had at one time expressed, that the English would never think of extending their frontier



line beyond Benares. It was in this spirit that the recent treaties with the Marattas had been concluded.

But Sir George, like others who had followed what was called the pacific system, thought it would be very advantageous to revive the contests and commotions which formerly prevailed among the states of Hindostan, and which kept all those states poor and weak, except the Marattas. The war policy of Lord Wellesley was not a tenth part so destructive of human happiness as this base peace policy : then a few great battles decided the contest ; but now an interminable series of hostilities was to be kept up among the natives : then war had been deprived of half its horrors by the discipline of the British troops and the Company's sepoy ; but now all the atrocities of the Maratta mode of warfare were to be let loose, in order to save the Company the sin and the expense of waging war or maintaining troops in Upper Hindostan.

Upon finding themselves abandoned to the mercy of the Marattas, the rája of Jeipoor, the rája of Búndí, and other allies, exclaimed against the bad faith of the English, and materially injured the reputation of the Company. Other small states, threatened by Scindiah or by Holkar, called for a protection which Sir George Barlow would not afford, lest he should involve himself in hostilities with the Marattas. Scindiah, far from resting satisfied with the very advantageous treaty which he had obtained when his fortunes were desperate, lost no time in advancing claims to more and more territory. The province of Berar suffered severely from inroads made by the Pindarree robbers, who were encouraged by Scindiah ; and it was in vain that the people applied for the protection of the British. Yet General Wellesley had made a treaty with the rája of Berar, in which the Company was bound to



afford protection. Other commotions began to rage in various and distant parts of the country; and, if this peace policy had been pursued much longer, every part of India not occupied by the troops, would have been in a blaze.

An event which rendered memorable the brief administration of Sir George Barlow was the mutiny and massacre at Vellore. At the death of Tippú, his family, consisting of several sons and daughters, were removed to this fortress, where they were indulged with a liberty of intercourse and correspondence which might easily be abused. The splendour which they were enabled, by the liberality of the Company, to keep up, attracted many visitors from the countries which had once belonged to their father. An extensive conspiracy was gradually formed; and a good opportunity was afforded for giving effect to it, when the commander-in-chief of Madras issued some new regulations respecting the dress of the sepoy, which excited general dissatisfaction among the native infantry.

Early in the morning of the 10th of July 1806, the European troops in Vellore, consisting of only four companies of the 64th Regiment, were awakened by volleys of musketry being fired into their rooms. The assailants were the sepoy of the garrison, who remained outside, pouring in a murderous fire, but not daring to encounter the bayonets of the Englishmen by attempting an entrance. Fifteen officers and eighty-two men fell; ninety-one others were wounded. Some found shelter in nooks where the shot could not reach them. A few gained the ramparts and maintained themselves by desperate valour—among these Sergeant Brodie greatly distinguished himself.

A fugitive carried the news to Arcot. The 19th dragoons under Colonel Gillespie were in instant motion; the galloper guns followed. By eight o'clock the dragoons



were at the gate. Colonel Gillespie was pulled up by a chain formed of the soldiers belts, let down by Sergeant Brodie. The few survivors of the 69th then charged with the bayonet and drove the mutineers from that part of the works. On the arrival of the guns the gate was blown open; the dragoons dashed upon the crowd within, cut them down by hundreds, and avenged the treachery with an unsparing hand.

After this the objectionable regulations were abandoned. The governor and commander-in-chief of Madras were re-called by the Court of Directors.

The administration of Sir George Barlow was distinguished by the ability and firmness with which the instructions of the Court of Directors, enforcing the most rigid economy and retrenchment, were carried into operation. In this the governor-general had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, a civil servant of the Company, whose financial abilities were of the highest order. Government became extremely unpopular among Anglo Indians: but it is now generally admitted that the reforms then effected were absolutely necessary.

Barlow and Tucker had not a thought beyond the interests of the state. The duty which had devolved upon them was as painful as it was onerous; and they went through it with the sturdy resolution and self-negation of honest men.* The difficulties through which they had to struggle have only recently become fully known: their energetic and disinterested conduct was not appreciated at the time; but they had the reward which proceeds from the consciousness of good work well and faithfully done, of duty resolutely discharged, and blessings conferred through their instrumentality upon multitudes who might

* Kaye.



never know the evils from which they were saved, or the exertions that were necessary to effect their deliverance.*

In 1807 Sir George Barlow was made governor of Madras, and was succeeded at Calcutta by Lord Minto, a prudent and intelligent nobleman, who endeavoured in his general system to maintain the pacific policy recommended by the Company, without shrinking from vigorous and even hostile demonstrations, when the conduct of the native powers appeared to render these necessary. The great states during his administration retained their position nearly unaltered; but animosities continued to ferment which were destined to burst into a violent tempest, and to involve India afresh in a sanguinary war.

Lord Minto soon saw the necessity of departing from the non-interference system. The Patan chief Mír Khán, who had joined Holkar, was threatening, with a mixed army of Pindarrees and Marattas, to overrun the whole of Berar, and to press upon the Company's territories. A strong detachment under Colonel Barry Close soon compelled him to retreat from Nagpoor into Malwa, and Close would have followed and destroyed the marauding force, had he not been impeded by orders from the governor-general.

Active warfare was also waged in Baroda and Guzerat, in reducing some turbulent chieftains, and in preventing the crime of infanticide, which was very prevalent in that part of India.

The renewed alarm about the designs of Bonaparte forced Lord Minto into many embassies, and into a great extension of diplomatic relations, and it was now that the Indian government for the first time courted the connection of the Afgháns and the Amírs of Sindh. The Hon.

* Calcutta Review.



Mount Stuart Elphinstone, who had given proofs of eminent abilities as Resident at the Maratta court of Poonah, was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the Afghán court of Cabul; and Sir John Malcolm to Persia.

In 1811 expeditions were sent from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and the isles of France and Bourbon were captured by General Abercrombie and Colonel Keating. In the same year Sir T. Achmuty established the British power in the island of Java. The possession of these islands had enabled the French government to infest the Indian seas with privateers, whose daring operations were most destructive to commerce. Their acquisition was consequently of great importance to Indian interests.

Lord Minto had also to negotiate with Nepaul and Ava, and was convinced that the pacific system must give away to an energetic war. The Ghórkhas and Burmese made predatory incursions, and replied with insolence to every remonstrance.

In Madras, now under the administration of Sir George Barlow, a very mutinous spirit was exhibited by many of the military officers of the Company, which was with difficulty suppressed. Blame was attached to all parties concerned.

Lord Minto resigned his office, and took his passage for England in October 1813. He had formerly opposed Warren Hastings, and taken an active part in the impeachment and trial of that great man. But when he returned from India he frankly confessed an entire change of his views; and recommended carrying out the system of policy that Hastings had been the first to adopt; believing that without this supremacy, by conquest or by connection, the British empire in the East could not stand.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

Treacherous attack of the Nepaulese—Their defeat—The peshwa's rebellion—Pindarree campaign—Its successful issue—The cholera—The peshwa pensioned—Outbreak at Nagpoor—Its suppression—Capture of Asseerghur—Improved state of the countries taken by the British—Educational efforts—Poonah.

THE Earl of Moira, soon after Marquis of Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto as governor-general. The Company, in appointing to this high station so eminent a military character, seemed to intimate a conviction that the merely defensive policy on which they had for some time acted, could not be much longer maintained. Lord Hastings resumed the more active scheme of government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley.

In May 1814, the Nepaulese treacherously attacked and murdered the Company's police officers stationed in Butwal. Lord Hastings determined to send armies to deal with these troublesome neighbours, and took the command in person. The first campaign was not entirely successful, owing to an imperfect acquaintance with the extensive frontier of that rugged district. But early in the following year General Ochterlony, with nearly 20,000 men, including three European regiments, crossed every barrier, and after several severe contests in which he was always victorious, the Nepaul rája eagerly signed a treaty dictated by the governor-general. The lesson the Nepaulese then received made a lasting impression ; they



have never since given any trouble ; and several regiments of Ghorkhas are now in the Company's service.

The court of Poonah had been guilty of various infractions of the treaty of Bassein. The péshwa had given his friendship and entire confidence to a menial servant named Trimbukjí, and had almost ceased to consult his own prime minister Munkasir. Trimbukjí was a man of a violent character, and very hostile to the English, who had laboured hard to introduce order and law into the péshwa's country. He committed sundry outrages on the Guicowár, who despatched a vakíl, named Gungádhur Shástri, to Poonah, to remonstrate with the péshwa. The péshwa referred the Shástri to Trimbukjí ; and this ruffian most barbarously and treacherously murdered him in a Hindú temple.

The Shástri was a Bramin of the very highest caste, and of great reputation for sanctity and learning. As soon as the horrible circumstance came to the knowledge of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the resident at Poonah, he insisted that Trimbukjí should be given up : and as the general voice of the Maratta people backed the demand, the péshwa, Báji Ráo, found himself under the necessity of yielding. Trimbukjí was arrested and thrown into the strong fortress of Thanna, on the island of Salsette, not far from Bombay. But his imprisonment was not of long duration. A common-looking Maratta groom, with a good character in his hand, came to offer his services to the English commandant of the fort. He was accepted. The stable, where he had to attend his horse, was close under the window of Trimbukjí's prison. He was observed to pay more than usual attention to his steed, and to have a habit, while currying and cleaning him, of singing snatches of Maratta songs. At length, in



December, 1816, Trimbukjī disappeared from his dungeon, and both horse and groom from the stable.

It was believed that Trimbukjī fled straight to his infatuated master the péshwa, who concealed him, and solemnly declared to the English resident that he knew nothing about him. The murderer's love for the English had not been increased by the captivity he had suffered; and, wherever he might be, it appeared very certain that he urged the péshwa to throw the whole treaty of Bassein to the winds, to form a new Maratta league, and to make war upon the Company.

In the mean while the Indian armies were drawn into the field by a more contemptible enemy.

The Pindarrees were not a distinctive race, but a numerous class of men, of different races, religions, and habits, gradually associated and assimilated by a common pursuit. They were all horsemen and all robbers. They were something like the first Marattas in their habits of life and warfare, but unlike them in not being united by nationality and one religious faith. Their name first occurs in Indian history about the end of the seventeenth century. From obscure freebooters, they rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful auxiliaries by the different Maratta powers, whose desultory mode of warfare was suited to their own habits.

They never fought when they could run away. Even when acting with the Marattas as auxiliaries, their object was plunder, not war. They were, from their very origin, the scavengers of the Marattas. Some of their chiefs, however, united to the qualities so essential to their profession—activity, cunning, ready enterprise, presence of mind, and promptitude of resources—a wonderful strength of mind (or it might be apathy) in bearing the reverses of fortune and the privations of their lot.



Foremost among these chiefs was Chítú. This man first attracted the attention of the English towards the end of 1806, when raising himself on the temporary ruin of Kurím, another Pindarree chief, he united the bands of many other leaders under his own standard, and prepared to commit depredations on an unprecedentedly grand scale.

As soon as the earl of Moira assumed the government of India, he turned his attention to this subject. His lordship thought it better, even on the score of humanity, to risk a long and sanguinary war, than to leave the people of the country exposed to these terrible irruptions, which came as regularly, year after year, as the tempests of the monsoon. He endeavoured, as Lord Minto had done, to establish a subsidiary alliance with the rája Bhúnsla of Berar, whereby the most exposed frontier, on the line from Bundelcund to Cuttack, might be covered and defended. But the rája Rághójí Bhúnsla persisted in rejecting the English alliance, although the Pindarrees had threatened to plunder Nagpoor, his capital, and annually devastated some portions of his dominions. Other attempts made to establish a friendly connection with the states of Bhopaul and Sacur were not more successful; the truth being, that the felon and murderer, Trimbukjí, had more influence than the governor-general in these native courts.

In October, 1815, when the main army was fully occupied in forcing the stockades of the Ghórkhas, Chítú crossed the Nerbudda with nearly 8,000 of the Pindarrees. On the southern side of the river they broke into two parties and took opposite routes. Major Fraser, with 300 sepoy and 100 irregular native horse, surprised one of the parties in a bivouac, and made them suffer some loss before they could mount, gallop off, and disperse. But



this did not deter them from continuing their depredations as far as the Black River, the Krishna or Kistna. The other party, which had met with no such molestation, traversed the whole of the territory of the nizám of the Deckan, from north to south, and also appeared on the banks of the Kistna.

Elated by his success, Chítú planned and proclaimed a second foray immediately upon the return of the first. The Pindarrees again flocked in from every side to join in it; and by the 5th of February, 1816, 10,000 horsemen had again crossed the Nerbudda from Nemawur. This time the Company's territories did not escape. On the 10th of March, leaving plundered and burning villages in their rear, the Pindarrees appeared on the western frontier of the district of Masulipatam under the Madras presidency. From this point they pressed southward. On the 11th they made a march of thirty-three miles, plundered seventy-two villages, and committed the most horrid cruelties upon the inoffensive and helpless villagers. On the next day they destroyed fifty-four villages, marched thirty-eight miles, and arrived at the civil station of Guntoor. Here they plundered a considerable part of the town, and the houses of all the civil officers; but, steady to their system of never risking life or limb in battle, they shrunk from the collector's office, where the government treasure and the persons of the British residents were protected by a handful of sepoy and invalids. The robbers went off as they came, suddenly and noiselessly. That night there was not one of them to be seen in the neighbourhood, and before the next day closed they were more than fifty miles from Guntoor.

Lord Hastings, who saw the Nepaul war brought to an advantageous conclusion, at the very moment when both



the Marattas and the Pindarrees were confidently calculating on its duration, was most eager to employ the un-reduced strength of his armies in the accomplishment of the important object of securing the peace of Central India by the extirpation of the robbers. A large part of the Bengal army was kept in advanced cantonments, ready to take the field at any moment.

His lordship obtained certain information that the peshwa, Scindiah, and other Maratta potentates, were in close correspondence with the Pindarrees. But at this juncture the interests of the Company were greatly served by the death of two enemies. The nabób of Bhopaul, and Rághójí Bhúnsla, the rája of Nagpoor, both died in the month of March, 1816. The succession to these two musnuds was disputed, as usual, and the successful claimants, feeling their seats insecure, were glad to purchase assistance by concluding treaties favourable to English interests. Appá Sáheb, who was installed at Nagpoor, accepted a subsidiary force of six battalions of sepoys and a regiment of native cavalry; for this force he was to pay seven and a half lacs of rupees per annum, engaging at the same time to keep on foot a contingent force of his own of 5,000 men, and to allow this force to co-operate with the English in putting down the Pindarrees.

The plan of this campaign was now completed, the governor-general having received the sanction of the home authorities to his scheme for breaking up the confederacy and power of the banditti. To overawe the Marattas, and to cover the frontiers of allies, nearly 40,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, besides artillery and the contingents of the native powers, were collected in positions near the territories of Scindiah and Holkar.



The Pindarrees, as soon as they saw themselves completely enclosed by the advancing corps of the British, made no attempt at resistance, and studied only how to escape. At length an intimation was circulated, that, in case of unconditional surrender, their lives would be spared, and the means of an honourable subsistence secured for the chiefs in some remote district. One after another submitted on these terms. Chítú opened a negotiation; but afterwards kept back. He was ultimately devoured by a tiger while lurking in the forests of Asseerghur.

It was during this campaign that the terrible epidemic *cholera* broke out. It has since been ascertained that this was not its first appearance, but it had not, during a long period, assumed any formidable aspect. The year 1817, when it was so destructive in Lord Hastings' army, was uncommonly moist; and the Delta of the Ganges was one sheet of water.

The employment of the British force, in the Pindarree campaign, offered a tempting opportunity to the peshwa to re-assert his independence—a course to which it is supposed he was instigated by Trimbukjí. Mr. Elphinstone, the able resident at Poonah, soon discovered his intentions; but anxious to avoid the imputation of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till compelled to do so. An attack was at length made so suddenly that the resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount their horses and escape. Mr. Elphinstone's books and papers were all destroyed.

The English troops were soon in motion, and gained a series of victories; and the peshwa in a short time made overtures for a treaty; hoping to be allowed to retain his rank as a sovereign. But the governor-general, on



considering his long course of hostility, and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian princes, and that there should be no longer a peshwa. Báji Ráo was ultimately pensioned with eight lacs of rupees a year, and gave himself up to voluptuous indulgences. Trimbukji was also caught some time after, and though a murderer, an extortioner, and a grossly perjured man, the British government merely imprisoned him on the rock of Chunar, near Benares, where he was seen by Bishop Heber in 1824. His allowance was liberal, and provision was made for his family.

Appá Sáheb, at Nagpoor, like the peshwa at Poonah, took advantage of the proceedings against the Pindarrees, to disown his allegiance, and reckoned with certainty on his ability to overwhelm the small English force stationed at his capital. Throwing off all disguise, he declared for the peshwa, not knowing that he was already beaten. Mr. Jenkins, the resident, called in a brigade from its cantonments, and posted it round the residency, which was situated a little to the west of the city of Nagpoor, and separated from it only by a small ridge. The brigade was scarcely posted ere infantry, cavalry, and artillery, natives and wild Arabs, began to gather round the residency. On the following day, the 26th of November, some of the rája's infantry and artillery commenced a fire upon the ridge, which was now occupied by the brigade. This continued from sunset till two hours after midnight.

The day seemed lost and a horrible butchery inevitable, when Captain Fitzgerald made a brisk and most gallant charge with the cavalry of the brigade, which consisted of only three troops. Heading the little column himself, and dashing across a nullah and over the bridge, Fitz-



gerald charged one mass of the enemy, drove them from their guns, turned them upon themselves, and then retired towards the residency, dragging the captured guns with him, and firing as he retired. The people on the ridge set up a joyous shout, and a detachment of them advanced against the fierce Arabs, who kept their ground, though those who ought to have supported them were running away. These Arabs, however, could not stand a bayonet-charge; they were driven from the post, the guns they had captured were recovered, and two other guns, which the enemy had brought up, were taken. As soon as this charge was crowned with success, Appá Sáheb's troops gave way on every side, and about the hour of noon they fled from the field in panic-disorder, leaving all their artillery to the conquerors. Thus ended a conflict more desperate than any that had taken place in India since the early days of Clive.

Appá Sáheb sent vakíls to the resident to express his grief, and to disavow having himself authorised the attack. He also employed the women of his family as intercessors for pardon. But it was of consequence that Appá Sáheb should be entirely crushed with the utmost rapidity, in order that the grand campaign should proceed against the Pindarrees and their supporters, and that other vacillating allies should be deterred from following his example by learning the terrible example of English vengeance—by hearing, in one breath, that the rája of Nagpoor had risen in arms, that the rája of Nagpoor had been beaten, and his power annihilated.

Accordingly the marquis of Hastings, who was himself on the Nerbudda, sent still more troops to Nagpoor, under Major Pitman, Brigadier general Doveton, and Brigadier general Hardyman. These troops being up, the resident,



on the morning of the 15th of December, informed the rāja that if he did not immediately submit to terms, and disband all his Arabs, no conditions would be allowed him. Appá Sáheb endeavoured to temporize. But in the evening General Doveton beat to arms, approached the town walls, and there bivouacked for the night. At six o'clock the next morning the rāja sent to say that his Arabs would not allow him to go over to the English, that he must beg for a respite of two or three days. All the respite General Doveton would give was for two hours. The army advanced in order of battle to a position close upon the enemy's camp; and upon this, Appá Sáheb, giving way to his fears, mounted his horse, galloped away from the camp to the residency, and delivered himself up as a hostage. He there gave a written order that the artillery in the arsenal and in the camp should be surrendered. General Doveton, suspecting mischief, instead of sending a party to take possession of the guns, advanced his whole line by open column of companies.

The arsenal, containing thirty-six guns, was taken without resistance; but as Doveton proceeded, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon his front and right flank. Through the general's prudence and foresight, he was not unprepared for this attack: his cavalry and horse artillery were with him; and, while his infantry charged up in front, these made a detour, and got on the enemy's flank. In less than an hour all the batteries were carried, the Arabs were put to flight, and seventy-five more guns, mortars, and howitzers, forty-five elephants, the entire camp, and all Appá Sáheb's camp equipage were taken. But the fire of those fierce Arabs had cost, in killed and wounded, thirty-nine British and 102 native soldiers. The fate of Appá Sáheb remained in suspense for a few months.



After many wanderings and escapes he finally reached Lahore, where Ranjit Sing allowed him a place of concealment and bare subsistence.

The capture of Asseerghur was the last operation of the Pindarree and Maratta war; a war which had witnessed an unprecedented number and complexity of movements, and some of the most remarkable forced marches that were ever made in any country. THIRTY hill-fortresses, each of which might have defied the whole Anglo-Indian army, fell in the course of a few weeks. And all this was done with a very defective engineering department, and without a proper supply of men trained to siege duty.

The territories assumed by the Company, or taken under its immediate protection, were now quieter and happier than they had been for many ages. Able men were left by the Marquis of Hastings to improve this tranquillity, to establish permanently the reign of peace and law, and to better the condition of all the native inhabitants. For more than thirty preceding years, the province of Malwa, and the whole of Central India, had been oppressed, pillaged, and laid waste by the Pindarrees, Marattas, and others. To Sir John Malcolm, who had assisted so potentially in subduing the sanguinary anarchists, and expelling the Pindarrees, was assigned the equally difficult duty of restoring order and repairing the frightful mischiefs which had been committed in so long a series of years. Under the wise rule established by Malcolm, more than two-thirds of the deserted villages were restored and re-peopled before the end of 1820; and in less than five years from the time the army first occupied the country, Sir John could boast, with an honourable pride, and with perfect correctness, that Malwa and the rest of Central India were tranquil and contented, and rapidly advancing in population and prosperity.



The Marquis of Hastings gave proof of the interest he felt in the education of the natives by taking the office of President of the Calcutta School Society, established in 1818. Its object was to assist and improve existing Vernacular Schools, to establish others, and to prepare select pupils of distinguished talents, by superior instruction, for becoming teachers and translators. This society greatly improved the educational machinery then in operation, and raised the character and qualifications of the teachers employed.

The inhabitants of the wild provinces subject to Scindiah started into prosperity as soon as his numerous, restless, and marauding army was broken up. All the districts which had been wrested from this chief by the Pindarrees were restored to him: the fortress of Asseerghur was nearly all he lost by the war. In the dominions of Holkar, where the anarchy and devastation had been greater, the change to good was the more striking.

At Poonah, changes and reforms equally salutary were introduced, principally through the management of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had the genius of a true legislator, and all the generous sympathies of a philanthropist. On quitting Poonah, Mr. Elphinstone addressed to the supreme government at Calcutta a comprehensive report on the affairs of that country, reciting what had been done and what there remained to do; contrasting the present condition of the native inhabitants under the rule of the Company with their condition under the peshwa, and urging the supreme government to persevere in the good work which had been begun.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LORD AMHERST—BURMESE WAR.

Earl Amherst appointed governor-general—Burmese aggression—Preparation for war—Grounds of the quarrel—War declared—Hostilities commence—Sir A. Campbell placed in command—The English victorious—The court of Ava agrees to the proposed terms—The treaty.

UPON the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings, Mr. Canning, who had presided some time over the Board of Control, was nominated by the Court of Directors to be governor-general of India. The resolution was unanimous, and was passed in the month of March, 1822. The melancholy death of the marquis of Londonderry, on the 12th of August following, led to some important changes in the ministry, and rendered it indispensable that the governor-general elect should remain in England. On the 18th of September, Mr. Canning was nominated Secretary of State for foreign affairs; and he consequently resigned into the hands of the Court of Directors the high appointment which they had conferred upon him in so flattering a manner. Two candidates now presented themselves: the one, Earl Amherst, who had been employed some few years before in an embassy from England to China: the other, Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras. Earl Amherst was preferred, and that nobleman, proceeding to Calcutta, assumed the office of governor-general on the 1st of August, 1823. The Marquis of Hastings had quitted Bengal in January, 1822,



and between his departure and the arrival of Lord Amherst, Mr. Adams, senior member of the supreme council, had presided over the government of India.

The new governor-general had been but a very few months in his office ere he found himself under the necessity of entering into a new war with an entirely new enemy.

The Burmese, elated by some recent conquests which they had made, and being brought in more immediate contact with the British frontiers, began, towards the end of the year 1823, to make sundry attacks. Without notice given, and without any attempt at negotiation, they claimed possession of Shapurí, a small muddy island in the province of Bengal, but close to the coast of Arracan, which the Burmese then possessed. Making a sudden night attack, they drove away a small guard of British troops stationed on the island, killed several of them, and took forcible possession of the island. This, coming close upon other outrages, was not to be tolerated. The government, however, resolved to consider the forcible occupation of Shapurí as the act of the local authorities of Arracan, and addressed a gentle declaration to the Burmese central government, recapitulating the past occurrences, and calling upon the court of Ava to disavow their officers in Arracan.

The court of Ava, as might have been anticipated, considered this gentle declaration as a pusillanimous attempt to deprecate the resentment of the Burmese. They triumphantly appealed to the paper as a proof that the British government of India dreaded to enter upon a contest with them; and they intimated that unless their right to the island of Shapurí was distinctly admitted, the victorious lord of the White Elephant and the Golden



Foot, would invade the Company's dominions. In the meanwhile, two companies of the 20th regiment landed on the disputed island, drove off the Burmese, and stockaded themselves. And on the other side the commanding officer and some of the crew of the Company's cruiser *Sophia*, were seized on the mainland and carried up the country.

Both sides now actively prepared for war, the Anglo-Indian troops on the frontier being, however, ordered to maintain a strict neutrality for the present.

More and more confirmed in their idea that the English were afraid of them, from 4,000 to 5,000 Burmese and Assamese advanced from Assam into the province of Cachar, and began to stockade themselves at a post within five miles of the town of Sylhet, and only 226 miles from Calcutta. Major Newton, the officer commanding on the Sylhet frontier, concentrated his detachment and marched against the invaders. It was at daybreak on the 17th of January, 1824, that he came in sight of their stockade, and a village adjoining, of which they had taken possession. The Burmese in the village presently gave way, but those in the stockades made a resolute resistance, and were not driven out until they had lost about 100 men, and had killed six of the sepoys. They then fled to the hills.

Shortly after this action, Mr. Scott, the commissioner, arrived at Sylhet, and from that point he advanced to Bhadrápúr, in order to maintain a more ready communication with the Burmese authorities. On the 31st of January, Mr. Scott received a message from the Burmese general, who justified his advance into Cachar, and declared that he had orders to follow and apprehend certain persons wherever they might take refuge. In reply, this



Burmese general, who held the chief command in Assam, was told that he must not disturb the frontiers of the Company, nor interfere in the affairs of its allies, and that the Burmese invaders must evacuate Cachar, or the forces of the British government would be compelled to advance both into Cachar and Assam. To this communication no answer was received.

It was clearly the object of the Burmese to procrastinate the negotiations until they had strengthened themselves in the advanced positions they had occupied. The rāja of Jyntia, who had been imperiously summoned to the Burmese camp, and commanded to prostrate himself before the shadow of the Golden Foot, threw himself upon the British government for protection; and various native chiefs, whose territories lay between the frontiers of the Burmese empire and the frontiers of the British dominions, called loudly for English aid. Thus, the south-east frontier of Bengal, had in fact been kept in constant dread and danger of invasion for more than a year, while the adjoining and friendly territories had been exposed to the destructive inroads and the over-bearing insolence of the Burmese and Assamese for many years.

But before this time the great Burmese chief, the Mahā Bandūla, then high in favour at the court of Ava, and the projector of a scheme for the conquest of Bengal, had collected a great army near the southern extremity of the frontier, and had marched into Arracan, provided with golden fetters, in which the governor-general of India was to be led captive to Ava. The lord of the Golden Foot laid claim to all the territories east of Moorshedabād, as having formerly belonged to the kingdom of Arracan, which he and his ancestors had conquered. Exaggerated reports of the strength and ferocity of the Burmese troops carried



and even to Calcutta; the peasants on the frontier fled in dismay from their villages, and every idle rumour was so industriously magnified by timid or designing people, that the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty persuaded to refrain from removing their families and property from under the very guns of Fort William.

As the two states might now be considered as actually at war, Lord Amherst declared war in form, and promulgated the grounds of the quarrel in a declaration addressed to the court of Ava and the different powers of India. Orders had been previously given for the equipment of a force of from 5,000 to 6,000 men at the presidencies of Calcutta and Madras. It had been wisely determined to act upon the offensive, and not to commence operations either on the barren mountains of Arracan, or in the pestilential jungles of Chittagong; but on the great river which leads through the heart of the Burmese empire (and is the highway of the trade of the country), where no attack was expected. The plan of the campaign, in short, was to ascend the Irawaddi and to begin by capturing the city of Rangoon, the principal port and trading place of the Burmese empire.

The two divisions, from Calcutta and Madras, were directed to assemble at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andaman Island—an island occupied, as in the days of Marco Polo, by downright savages, if not cannibals—from which the combined forces, under the command of Major General Sir Archibald Campbell, were to proceed to the Irawaddi. Between the 12th and the 17th of April, the Bengal division, consisting of the king's 13th and 38th regiments, and two companies of artillery, were embarked at Calcutta. By the 4th of May the greater part of the troops from Madras, consisting of his majesty's 41st



regiment, a Company's European regiment, and seven battalions of native infantry, with artillery, gun-lascars, &c., reached the place of rendezvous; and on the following morning the united forces left the Andamans, under the protection of his majesty's ships *Liffy* and *Larne*. The transports were also accompanied or followed by several of the Company's armed cruisers, and by the *Diana* steam-boat. In nearly all parts of the operations which were now about to begin, the land troops were greatly indebted to the co-operation of the navy, and to the services of the steam-vessel, the first which had ever floated in those waters.

The Burmese fought well from behind their stockades; but soon yielded when the English troops forced their way through and attacked with the bayonet.

The sharp lesson they thus received shook the confidence of the Burmese commanders in their troops and stockades. Hitherto, every effort to open communications with them had failed, but they now sent two deputies to the British general. The senior, a stout old man, in a long scarlet robe, and with a red handkerchief tied round his head, then opened the subject of their mission with the question, "Why are you come here with your ships and soldiers?" The provocations they had given were fully explained as being the causes of the war, and the nature and extent of the redress now demanded was plainly stated. In spite of all their address their real object was discovered, and they indeed betrayed it themselves, when they refused to remove the barrier placed in the way of communication and reconciliation, and asked for a few days' delay. Sir Archibald Campbell gave them to understand, that no delay would be granted—that their post on the river would be attacked forthwith. The two



chiefs stepped into their war-boats with an air of defiance, and the boatmen went off with great speed.

The very next morning, the post on the river was attacked by the troops. In a few minutes after the attack commenced, a great part of the extensive work was carried, and the enemy there stationed were driven into the jungle, leaving behind them 150 dead. At the rear gate of this stockade were found the gilt umbrella, sword, and spear of a Burmese commander of high rank; the umbrella, which chiefly denotes the rank, being shattered by a shower of the grape. The body of the chief himself was found a few yards farther in the jungle, and was recognized to be that of the stout and cunning old deputy who had visited the English the preceding day. This night—a night of storm and pitiless rain—was spent by the troops, under arms, under the dripping trees of the jungle or in the inundated rice-fields; but on the following morning, when they marched to storm the rest of the works, they found that they were entirely deserted, and that the Burmese had gone off in a panic to another stockaded post, a good many miles in the rear of Kem-mendine.

For a time there seemed to be a general pause and terror on the side of the Burmese, who had now evacuated every stockade in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. Their recent losses made them keep at a safer distance from the lines, and the troops ceased to be annoyed by their nightly visits to their posts; but beyond these advantages no favourable change took place, either in the condition or in the prospects of the army. Not an inhabitant returned to his home: and so far from any desire of peace being manifested by the court of Ava, it was made evident that the war would be carried to the last extremity.



There was much hard fighting before the Burmese finally yielded. In one engagement the chief Bandúla was killed by a shell or rocket, and after that event the Burmese seemed inclined to treat for peace.

The army however continued to advance, and was met at Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from Ava, by Mr. Price and two Burmese ministers of state, accompanied by Mr. Henry Gouger; Mr. Judson, the American missionary, and his wife; and an adventurous Scotch sea-captain of the name of Laird, who had gone up the country before the war to make some contract about timber; and all the rest of the prisoners, whether Europeans or sepoys. A sadder spectacle has seldom been presented by living human beings than that which was offered to the English camp by these liberated captives. They were covered with filthy rags; they were worn to skin and bone, and their haggard countenances, sunken, wandering eyes, told but too plainly the frightful story of their long suffering, their incessant alarms, and their apprehensions of a doom worse than death.

The sight exasperated the troops, and made them more eager than ever to advance upon the capital and take vengeance upon the tyrant and his savage court.

Mr. Price and the two wongees brought the stipulated sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees, and an authority under the royal sign manual to accept of and sign whatever terms the English might insist upon. On the 24th of February, the treaty of peace was for a second time settled and finally signed at Yandaboo, the Burmese government at the same time engaging to furnish boats for the conveyance of a great part of the force back to Rangoon.

By this treaty it was agreed that there should be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honorable Com-



pany and his majesty the king of Ava—that the king of Ava should renounce all claims, to and abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty states of Cachar, Jyntia, and Munnipoor—that his majesty should cede to the Company in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Arracan, Ramri, Cheduba, and Sandoway—that the Arracan mountains should henceforward form the boundary between the two great nations on that side—that his majesty should also cede the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Saluen river as the line of demarcation on that frontier—that his majesty, as part indemnification for the expenses of the war, should pay the sum of one crore of rupees—that henceforth accredited British ministers, with a body-guard of fifty men, should be allowed to reside at Ava, and that an accredited Burmese minister should be sent to reside at Calcutta; and that free trade should be allowed to British subjects in all the dominions of his majesty, who should abolish all exactions upon British ships entering his ports, &c.

The money demanded as part indemnification was far too moderate a sum. The king was rich and given to hoarding, and both gold and silver bullion abounded in Ava. The court could easily have paid three or four times the amount, and in all probability it would have paid it rather than evacuate the capital and burn it, or abandon it to the English. A crore of sicca rupees, at par, was barely equivalent to £1,000,000 sterling. The war had cost the English from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000. In other respects, the treaty was such as it should be.

Nor was there wanting the consolation that the condi-



tion and prospects of some million of natives were improved by the results of the Burmese war. "These countries, distracted hitherto by incessant feuds, and overrun by hostile armies or by predatory bands, regions once animated by a happy and numerous population, had been converted into wide and unwholesome thickets, and had ceased, not only to be the haunts of man, but had become hostile to human life. Under their new masters, Assam, Cachar, Arracan, and the Tenasserim provinces, experienced a tranquillity and security they had not known for ages, and once more assumed that character for plenty and prosperity which the latter wore when the Europeans first visited their coasts, and which tradition, and the remains of roads and towns still found in them, indicate were equally the enjoyment of all."

However managed, the Burmese war was a necessity. If the government had yielded to the demands of territory arrogantly made by the court of Ava, the Burmese and their stockades would soon have been established on the very threshold of Calcutta, and universal insurrection would have been invited in the empire.

In the autumn of 1824, when the arduous Burmese war was but beginning, an alarming mutiny broke out among some of the Bengal sepoy, who were under marching orders for Barrackpoor, whence they were to proceed to the Irawaddi. Although other Hindus had gone willingly enough, and by sea, these sepoy, of the 47th native infantry, pretended that they should lose caste if they went by sea. In the month of October, when ordered to appear upon parade in marching order, they appeared without their knapsacks, and openly manifested their mutinous spirit.

Sir Edward Paget, who was then commander-in-chief,



acted in the case with the energy and decision that were required. Finding that the two other native regiments at Barrackpore were suspected of being infected, Sir Edward called up two British regiments of the king's service (the 1st Royals, and the 47th), a battery of light artillery, and part of the governor-general's body-guard. The mutinous native 47th fell in on the parade-ground, but refused to obey orders, and turned a deaf ear to the explanations and the promises of pardon that were offered to them. This left Sir Edward Paget nothing to do but to order a round of grape-shot to be fired at them. Almost at the first discharge the sepoys broke, and fled in all directions, throwing away their arms and accoutrements. Only a few were killed, but a good many were taken prisoners, brought forthwith to trial by court-martial, and condemned to death. The number of executions was, however, but small, the far greater part of the mutineers having their sentence commuted to imprisonment and hard labour in irons. The regiment was disbanded, and its name erased from the list of the army. The mutiny spread no further.

It had long been felt by the government that the successful resistance offered by Bhurtpore to the arms of Lord Lake operated injuriously. The natives regarded the place as impregnable. Lord Amherst resolved that the delusion should not continue.

Near the end of 1825, the new commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, invested the place, with an army of 20,000 men, and above one hundred pieces of artillery. Shot and shell were expended in vain against a mud wall 60 feet thick. The engineers then commenced a mine, which was sprung too early, and with little effect. Another enormous mine was dug and filled with powder.



It was exploded the following day with terrific effect. The troops rushed on to the assault, and within a few hours had possession of the whole place.

Lord Combermere's rapid triumph completely destroyed the prestige of the Játs, overawed all the native chiefs, checked the disposition to revolt, and completely confirmed the supremacy of Britain over the whole of India. The fall of Bhurtpoor, moreover, carried dismay and discouragement to the court of Ava, and to many countries beyond the limits of India.

In the course of the following year, Lord Amherst proceeded to the upper provinces. During his stay at Delhi, a final settlement took place of the relations in which the British government in India, and the poor descendant of the Great Moguls, stood towards each other. An end was now put to that prejudicial fiction—prejudicial to the English, and of no benefit to the king—that the governor-general was but the vassal of the Mogul Sháh. British sovereignty was now openly asserted, and an end was thus put to many causes of embarrassment, and of false or anomalous positions.

Having returned to Calcutta, Lord Amherst resigned the provisional government into the hands of W. B. Bayley, Esq., and embarked for England at the close of the month of March, 1827. His lordship, as well as the directors at home, had been sufficiently anxious for peace, yet nearly the whole of his administration had been occupied by wars. During a good part of this administration, the army of India was kept up to the stupendous amount of an effective force of 284,000 men!



CHAPTER XXXIX.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

Lord William Bentinck becomes governor-general—His high character and fitness for the office—His moral courage in carrying out the economical orders of the Court of Directors—New court of Appeal established—Impulse given to Educational operations—The Oriental system abolished, and the English system established—Suttee abolished—Change in the government of Mysore—and in that of Coorg—Lord W. Bentinck followed by Sir C. Metcalfe, who makes the press free.

THE next governor-general, and one of the most distinguished who has held the high office, was Lord William Bentinck, who landed at Calcutta on the 4th of July, 1828; when Mr. Bayley's provisional authority ceased.

Of all the governors general who had succeeded the Marquis of Cornwallis, Lord William Bentinck most resembled that benevolent and upright statesman.* No honester man ever occupied his high position; and no man ever possessed in a greater degree the moral courage required for the solution of the difficult problems of government, to which his attention had to be directed. His administration was distinguished by many important economical, judicial, and revenue enactments.

The Burmese and Bhurtpoor wars had added more than £13,000,000 sterling to the registered debt of India. Upon his lordship was imposed, therefore, the generally unpopular duty of carrying into effect measures of retrenchment, and reduction. A system of economy was

* Kaye.



introduced into various departments of the government. Murmurs were heard from all sides—a dislike, which seemed to be almost universal, was expressed; but his lordship consoled himself with the conviction that he was doing his duty. Several governors general had been instructed by the Court of Directors to abolish sundry allowances made to the army under the name of batta, half-batta, etc; but for fourteen years and more they had all shrunk from the odium, and perhaps the danger, attendant on this abolition.

Lord William, however, resolved to obey his orders, and most of these allowances were abolished almost as soon as his lordship reached Bengal, much to the dissatisfaction of the army. The conduct of his lordship was disapproved by two of the members of the supreme council,—Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, and W. B. Bayley, Esq., both men of ability and of great experience in India.

It should however be mentioned, as a most noble trait in his lordship's conduct, in connection with the half-batta question, that he preferred to bear the odium of a most unpopular measure rather than throw it on the Court. He never contradicted the universally believed report that he had pledged himself to carry out the Court's orders; and it was not known till Auber published the fact, derived from the India-house papers after his Lordship's death, that he had twice remonstrated with his masters against the measure before he carried out the half-batta order.

All the leading men in Parliament, in the debates of 1833, on the new charter, concurred in ascribing to Lord W. Bentinck the credit of having laid the foundation of all the improvements which have subsequently been effected in the administration of India.

Lord William Bentinck, after these economical ar



Arrangements had been made, turned his attention to judicial reforms. He found an empire extending nearly to the Sutlej; and yet there was but one Court of final appeal throughout the whole presidency of Bengal. Suitors had to travel a thousand miles in search of justice, to brave a new climate, and mix with a new race of men. It was therefore a blessing to the people when Lord Bentinck established, at Allahabád, a Sudder court for the North West Provinces, to which appeals lay from all the local judges. And he relieved the pressure upon those judges by an extension of native judicial agency, and the enlargement of the authority of the native officers.

In 1831 a higher grade of native judgeships was established. Previously, there were but two classes of these functionaries with very limited powers and very small salaries. The higher class was known as Sudder Amíns, the lower as Múnsiffs. Lord William Bentinck now established a superior class of judicial officers, known as "Principal Sudder Amíns;" with enlarged powers and higher salaries. The highest salary of these officers was 600 rupees a month; a liberal sum when estimated according to the requirements of the natives, and the general wages of the country.

The Court of Directors, in 1830, openly recognised the expediency of a vigorous movement in favour of European education. They simultaneously addressed the government of all the three presidencies, clearly enunciating their views in the following words.

"It is our anxious desire to afford to the higher classes of the natives of India the means of instruction in European science, and of access to the literature of civilized Europe. The character which may be given to the classes possessed of leisure and natural influence, ultimately



determines that of the whole people. We are sensible, moreover, that it is our duty to afford the best equivalent in our power to these classes for the advantages of which the introduction of our Government has deprived them; and for this and other reasons, of which you are well aware, we are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil government of India, than any to which natives have hitherto been eligible."

Lord William Bentinck's own judgment led him to similar conclusions; and he was well prepared to carry out the intelligent views of the Court on the subject. It was not however till 1835, that he gave the death-blow to the Oriental system, and in a celebrated minute, dated March 7, thus declared his views:—

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

"It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

"His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which his hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning, which, in the [natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any



of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

“It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

“His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language.”

It must not be supposed that Lord William Bentinck and his supporters ever contemplated the substitution of the English language for the vernaculars. The blow which they struck was aimed not at the living, but at the dead languages of the Country—at the Sanscrit and Arabic—languages containing little or nothing to elevate the mind, to invigorate the understanding, or to facilitate the business of life. Mr. Macaulay, who was made President of the Educational Committee, has left on record an able minute on the subject, in which he thus expressed his opinion of the uselessness of the course hitherto pursued.

“I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on



which they are printed was while it was blank ; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology ; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an incumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve, or live on the public all the rest of their lives."

The system established by Lord William Bentinck has been maintained with little variation by his successors. The results, if not perfectly satisfactory, have been highly encouraging. Government has since given an additional stimulus, by recognising a certain educational test of qualification for the public service. But a defect in the national character has done much to embarrass the practical working of this admirable design. The natives of India, when once their expectations are raised, lean with child-like helplessness on the strong arm of government, and instead of exerting themselves, believe that every thing will be done for them. Instead of something conditional, they thought that they saw something absolute in the promises of government, and that they had only to conform to a certain test to secure official employment. The tendency of this was to give them narrow and exclusive views of the advantages of education, and greatly to limit private enterprise.

But the act for which Lord William Bentinck will always be gratefully remembered, was the abolition of Suttee, or immolation of a widow on the funeral pile of her deceased husband ; a barbarous superstition which had prevailed from remote antiquity. The proceedings of former governors general had been directed to the same end, and had



prepared the way for the consummation now effected. It was reserved for Lord William Bentinck to prove the futility of the apprehension that had been entertained as to the consequences of such an interference with native prejudices ; and to establish the safety, as well as to discharge the duty, of abolishing a practice, equally repugnant to the feelings of nature and the laws of civilization.

A new and important era in the communication between the East and the West, dates from the period of Lord William Bentinck's administration ; when the powers of steam were first applied to lessen the interval which divides Great Britain from British India. Those arrangements have since been perfected ; and the communication between regions separated by a fourth of the circumference of the globe, requires now a smaller number of weeks than it formerly did of months for its accomplishment.

In the years 1830—3, the state of things in Mysore called for the interference of the supreme government. As long as the Dewán Púrniah administered the affairs of the Government, Mysore was one of the most flourishing of the native principalities. The Rája however having become impatient of the control exercised by him, determined to take the reins into his own hand. Púrniah was therefore pensioned by a valuable Jágir, (the Talook of Yellandoor), and a Dewán Linga Ráj appointed, who did not possess the abilities of Púrniah, and was never vested with the independent powers, which had been conferred by the British Government on his predecessor. The Rája, thus freed from all control, and too self willed to take advice, entered on a career of extravagance, lavishing his revenues on idle brahmins, dancing girls, and buffoons, which in a few years emptied the well filled treasury left by Púrniah, and plunged himself in debt.



To keep up this reckless expenditure, he rented out his talooks to the highest bidders, who, uncertain of retaining office long enough to reimburse them for the large bribes paid for their contracts, oppressed and ground down their ryots beyond endurance, till at last they broke out into open rebellion, which had to be suppressed, with great loss of life on the part of the unhappy people, by the Company's troops. It became apparent during the enquiries made into the causes of the out-break, that it would not be safe to leave the administration any longer in the hands of the Rájá; the country was consequently assumed by the British Government in accordance with the treaty of 1799, which provided for the adoption of that measure whenever it might be considered necessary.

The Rájá was accordingly divested of all political power, and the territory placed under the authority of a Commissioner; and four Superintendents and their assistants were appointed under him for the sub-divisions of Bangalore, Astagram, Nugger, and Chittledroog: a liberal pension was assigned to the Rájá, three and a half lacs of rupees in addition to one fifth of the *net revenue* of the territory, which yields him now about ten lacs a year; the total amount of the pension being thus between thirteen and fourteen lacs of rupees a year (£135,000), subject to no deduction, except on account of his private debts incurred since the assumption of the country. In other respects the government of the country was not much changed, being carried on by native officers on the principles before in practice, but under the control and direction of the Commissioner and his assistants. The present prosperous condition of the Mysore is a sufficient testimony to the general excellence of its administration.



A still more radical change was made in the constitution of the petty principality of Coorg. The rája of this small, mountainous district, lying between Mysore and Malabar, became ferocious to a degree only to be accounted for by supposing him liable to fits of insanity. With his own hands he often murdered, in the most savage manner, the unhappy objects of his frantic fury—his nearest relations it is said not escaping the paroxysms of his cruelty. He was also distinguished by a vehement animosity against the English, and prohibited all intercourse with the British territories of Mysore. War was accordingly declared against him, and the reasons for it fully set forth. (1834.)

After the war, in which the Coorgs fought bravely, the Rája surrendered unconditionally, and was removed, with his family, to Bangalore; and finally to Benares. A political agent was appointed for the management of the country; but it is now placed under the Commissioner of Mysore. The Coorgs have since shown no disposition to assert their independence.

Lord William Bentinck, who had visited the Neilgherry Hills for his health in 1834, resigned the governor-generalship the following year, and returned to England. The chief seat in council, until the arrival of a new governor-general, was occupied by Sir Charles Metcalfe. His brief administration will ever be remembered by the passing of an Act removing the restrictions to which the public press in India was previously subjected; and giving to it, in regard to the publication of political articles, a degree of freedom equal to that enjoyed in England.

In 1833, the East India Company's Charter was greatly modified by an act of Parliament, and renewed for twenty years.



CHAPTER XL.

LORD AUCKLAND.

Death of the king of Oud—outbreak and its suppression—Rája of Sattara deposed—War with China, its causes, and conclusion—Origin of the war with Afghanistan—its real author—March of British troops—Ghizni taken—Cábul entered—Dost Mahomed surrenders himself—Akber Khán's resistance—The envoy's infatuation—Rising in Cábul—Massacre of British officers—Want of energy—Negotiations—Retreat—Treacherously attacked—All perish in the Khyber Pass—Sir R. Sale's previous successful forcing of the Pass—His gallant defence of Jellalabád.

LORD AUCKLAND reached India in March, 1836. The appointment of his lordship had not been anticipated, as he had previously been comparatively unknown to the public. In the year of his arrival nothing remarkable occurred. But in July, 1837, the king of Oud died, and an outbreak occurred, attended with violence and bloodshed, before the rightful successor obtained possession of the title.

About this time it was discovered that the rájah of Sattara was engaged in correspondence with the enemies of the British government; and was also attempting to seduce the native officers of that government from their allegiance; and after minute inquiry into all the circumstances of his case, conducted with the utmost lenity on the part of the Indian government, he was deposed, and his brother elevated in his stead.



It was during Lord Auckland's tenure of office that the war with China occurred. Many of the Chinese people indulge in the evil practice of opium eating. The emperor wished to put a stop to this practice, and laid a heavy duty on the drug in order to prevent its importation. English merchants disregarded the interdict, and smuggled opium into the country. Large quantities of the prohibited article were thus introduced; and when their cargoes were seized by the revenue officers, the owners resisted. The Chinese authorities were haughty in their demeanour, and various quarrels ensued. After all attempts at negotiation had failed, war was declared against China (1840).

A force was sent from India, consisting of sepoys and Europeans, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough. A series of operations followed in which the Chinese were always beaten, though greatly outnumbering the British troops. The Chinese army was everywhere dispersed, and the British triumphed with ease in every engagement. Several towns were stormed, and Sir Hugh was about to march on Nankin, when the emperor sent to propose an accommodation. A treaty was signed by which the Chinese agreed to pay 21,000,000 dollars; to give up the port of Hong Kong to the English; and open four other ports for trade with the world. (Aug. 29, 1842).

But the great event of Lord Auckland's administration was the war with Afghanistan. A war at once untimely, unnecessary, and calamitous. It occurred when the treasury was overflowing; when various vast and beneficial works had been projected, and were on the point of execution; and a career of successful improvement under the auspices of peace, seemed at last possible to India. It was brought about mainly by the fears of Russian influence



entertained by a few mistaken Indian politicals, and the audacity of a President of the Board of Controul, Sir John Cam Hobhouse. And it won for the British arms the greatest disgrace they have ever sustained in the East.

A revolution occurred at Cábul, and its chief, Sháh Suja, with whom the British government had been in communication, was driven from his throne. He took refuge in the Company's territories where he was liberally provided for. A rumour that Russia was about to take the part of the new ruler of Cábul, and through him attack India, led the British authorities to wish to reinstate Sháh Suja, and for this purpose a large force was collected.

This army, from the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay, assembled on the banks of the Sutledge; Runjít Sing, the sovereign of the Sikhs, permitted it to pass through the Punjáb to Cábul. While on the march intelligence arrived of the failure of the Russian scheme; and the real object of the expedition being thus gained, it would have been wise to leave the people of Cábul to elect their own ruler.

But though Lord Auckland sent half the army back to its quarters within the provinces, the remaining half was ordered to push on. It was under the command of Sir John Keane, and accompanied by Sháh Sujá. Many circumstances conspired to make the advance difficult. There was a want of unanimity amongst the divisions of the army. The cholera prevailed, and the season was unusually trying. The commissariat arrangements were very defective, and the number of camp followers was enormous;—yet all had to be provided for in unfriendly countries, in a march of extraordinary length and of great physical difficulties.



The sufferings of the soldiers and followers were very great; but at length the troops encamped under the walls of Ghizni (July 21, 1839). A gate was blown in by gunpowder during the night; and an entrance being thereby cleared, the troops rushed in with the bayonet: the resistance of the Afgháns was desperate, but the citadel soon fell. The loss of the British was trifling, but that of the besieged was very severe.

On the 30th of July the main body of the army marched towards Cábul; from which Dost Mahomed fled with a chosen body of horsemen. Sháh Sujá Dowla was proclaimed king; and Sir J. Keane, with a portion of his force, returned to reap the honour of a British peerage. About 5000 men were left to guard the new Sháh in Cábul. Sir A. Burnes and Sir W. Macnaughten were the political agents to the force. General Elphinstone and General Sir R. Sale commanded a garrison almost without houses, and without a commissariat. The winter was very severe and both European and native troops suffered much.

On the 13th of November, Khelat was taken by storm with great bravery. The camp followers of the British had suffered many outrages at the instigation of the Khán of Khelat, which made this retribution necessary.

In the summer of the following year (1840) Dost Mahomed surrendered himself to the British envoy, and was sent beyond the frontier. A pension of £30,000 a year was allowed him, and a residence at Mussourie for himself and family. Akber Khán, his "fighting son," was no party to this submission, and lost no opportunity of falling on any British force that came in his way. It was now seen by many that a storm was approaching for which the authorities were not prepared. But all hints to this effect were thrown away on the British envoy.



This strange infatuation clung to him to the last: when the 2nd of November, 1841, ushered in a general rising of the people of Cábul, he expressed a belief that it would "all blow over." From that fatal morning the record of events in Afghanistán is sad and terrible. Burnes was massacred and every European found in the city: the commissariat was seized, and numerous bodies of Afgháns assembled within and about the walls.

Even now had the troops been under the command of a vigorous officer all might have been saved. But the energies and faculties of both officers and men seemed to be judicially paralysed. British-born soldiers cowered before a barbarous and stupid enemy whom they had often beaten. Instead of bravely asserting his demands, the envoy preferred trusting to negotiations with men who were proverbial for their utter faithlessness.

Valuable time was thus lost, and towards the end of November, Akber Khán arrived in Cábul, with a chosen body of horse, and from that day matters drew rapidly to a crisis. Conferences were held between the chief and the British envoy, which resulted in an arrangement that the British should immediately evacuate Afghanistán, being guaranteed a safe passage to India, and supplies of provisions. In a final conference Sir W. Macnaughten was treacherously shot by Akber Khán's own hand.

The retreat of the British forces, amounting to 4500 men, and 12,000 camp followers, took place on the 6th of January, but no sooner had they cleared the walls of Cábul, than parties of Afgháns harassed their rear, and picked off the stragglers day and night. Thus attacked, floundering through snow and wet, the soldiers and camp followers gave themselves up to despair. Before many days had elapsed, of all that host, but one Englishman, Dr. Brydon,



and a few sepoys and followers, escaped with the terrible tidings to Jellalabád, where the gallant Sale held his position with the courage and determination of a hero.

General Sale had been sent from Cábul in October of the preceding year, in command of a brigade consisting of the 13th regiment of the line, the 35th B. N. I. and some cavalry and artillery; he had forced his way with difficulty, through the Khyber pass; and arriving at the ruined town of Jellalabád took possession of it. Akber Khán, with his victorious troops, laid siege to it, after trying in vain to induce them to quit the place under a promise of safe conduct. For nearly a year "the illustrious garrison" sustained a siege such as has no parallel in the annals of Indian warfare. Sale's brigade not only held its lines, but beat the enemy as often as it could reach him in the open country.

In the city of Candahar, General Nott gallantly maintained himself, boldly sallying forth, and attacking the enemy, whom he completely routed and defeated. Ghizní was held for a time by Colonel Palmer; but had ultimately to be abandoned, when the garrison was cruelly murdered.

Meantime, Cábul itself, on the departure of the English, became the theatre of most violent dissensions and revolutions; but the train of these events, and the motives of the barbarous actors, are involved in much obscurity.



CHAPTER XLI.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

Lord Ellenborough's arrival in Calcutta—A large force under General Pollock marches to Afghanistan—General Nott at Candahar—Arrival at Jellalabád—March on Cábul—Recovery of the prisoners—General Nott quits Candahar—All the troops meet in Cábul—Return of the army to India—War in Sindh—Battle of Meanee—Battle of Hyderabad—Great Victory under Sir C. Napier—War with Gwalior—Decisive victory under Sir H. Gough—Recall of Lord Ellenborough.

WHEN the intelligence of the Cábul disasters reached England all classes united in denouncing the policy which had caused them. The government which had appointed Lord Auckland was displaced about the same time (Aug. 1841,) and was succeeded by the second administration of Sir Robert Peel. Lord Ellenborough, who had been president of the Board of Controul, was appointed Governor-general of India, and arrived at Calcutta in February, 1842.

One of his lordship's first objects was to relieve Jellalabád and humble the Afgháns. A large force had indeed already been assembled for this purpose, under the command of General Pollock. The force was now augmented, and vigorously moved on towards the Khyber Pass. This tremendous defile was defended by about 10,000 brave mountaineers, thoroughly skilled in this species of warfare. They had raised a strong breastwork to defend the narrow entrance, and their bands covered all the rocky and pre-



steep heights on the right and left, whence they could take sure aim against the small column, which alone could march on the road beneath. To have penetrated through this passage, exposed to so terrible a fire, would have been scarcely possible, and certainly not without dreadful carnage. General Pollock saw that the only means of securing success was to send troops to scale the heights, and dislodge the enemy posted upon them. This was a most formidable operation; but British soldiers, when brought into close contact, had shown themselves able to vanquish the enemy under almost any circumstances. Two columns were therefore formed, of twelve companies each, and placed, the one under Colonel Taylor and Major Anderson, the other under Colonel Moseley and Major Huish; while 400 of the native troops called Jezailchés, were led by Captain Ferris. Both columns, in the face of a determined opposition, which they overcame in the most gallant style, succeeded in expelling the enemy from the crest of the hill. In this achievement they were much aided by Captain Alexander of the artillery, who threw in shrapnell shells wherever opportunity offered. The assailants continued to drive the opposing force from height to height till they had cleared the whole range as far as Alí Musjid. At the view of this success, the pass was abandoned, and the army, with treasure, ammunition, and baggage, marched through without opposition. This grand operation was accomplished with the very small loss of 14 killed, 104 wounded, and 17 missing; the first including one and the second three officers.

On the 6th, Alí Musjid was attacked, and possession taken, after a slight resistance. A full command was thus obtained of the Khyber Pass, and the route lay open to Jellalabád and into the interior of Cábul.



Meantime, active operations were proceeding in the west, where the enemy omitted no exertion to dislodge the force with which General Nott occupied Candahar. Prince Sufter Jung, a son of Sháh Sujá, seconded the hostile chiefs in plundering the villages, and exciting the people to rise against the British. After continuing these movements during February, they began early in March to press close upon the city; when the general, finding it necessary to drive them to a distance, left 2600 men under Major Lane for its defence, and with the main body dashed out against the marauders. Though possessing a strength of 12,000, of whom one half were cavalry, well mounted, the enemy retreated, passed the rivers Turnuk and Urgundab, and carefully shunned all contact with the pursuing infantry. On the 9th, General Nott approached so near that his artillery could open upon them with effect, when they were completely broken and dispersed, being only saved from destruction by his defect in horse. After accomplishing this object he returned, without sustaining the slightest loss in men, baggage, or camels.

Though the Afgháns were thus severely checked at every point, they continued to lay waste the country, carrying away the forage, and turning aside the streams of water. Colonel Wymer was sent out to check these movements and to collect supplies. On the banks of Urghundab he saw large bodies of cavalry grazing their horses; and on emerging from a pass, a considerable force was observed to be forming in his rear. He marched back and obliged them to retreat; while Colonel Maclaren dislodged another band from a village in front. But at the same time, an overwhelming body, which had collected on the right flank gained a temporary advantage, several officers being wounded. The commander hastened to their aid; and



the skirmish terminated in the enemy being driven in confusion across the Urghundab, while the convoy was completely secured.

General Pollock having, in the manner above related, forced all the barriers opposed by the Khyber Pass, arrived on the 16th April at Jellalabád, where the two victorious armies united, and hailed each other with loud and enthusiastic cheers. Early in May they were reinforced by a brigade under Col. Bolton, who was met on the way by Col. Monteath. Captain Mackenzie, one of the prisoners, arrived from Akbar, with proposals from that ruler, understood to relate to the ransom of the captives and the release of Dost Mahomed ; but he returned without being able to conclude any agreement. He was followed soon afterwards by the dead body of General Elphinstone, who had fallen a victim to disease and anxiety.

On the 13th July, Captain Troup, with several native chiefs, brought fresh proposals, and having returned to Cábul, came back on the 3d August ; but all these negotiations proved fruitless. The English leader had proposed a general exchange of prisoners, which would have included Dost Mahomed, father to Akbar ; but further demands were made by the latter. The army, meantime, were somewhat straitened for provisions ; the heat became intense ; and dysentery with other diseases began to be prevalent. Bands of the enemy again hovered around, and rendered it impracticable to stir beyond cover of the fortifications, without the danger of being speared ; the camels and other beasts of burden perished in great numbers, without the possibility of supplying their place, so that the means of conveyance became deficient. The army were depressed by seeing the summer months pass in a state of inaction, and without any prospect of avenging the injuries sustained by their countrymen.



Détachments were however sent out to keep open the passages, to overawe as well as punish refractory chiefs ; and on these occasions, the most turbulent generally retreated without hazarding a combat. Some of the booty taken from the Cábul army being discovered in the village of Ali Baghan, the troops plundered and set the place on fire, without any authority from their officers, by whom this conduct was much disapproved. On the 20th June, twenty-five forts of the Goolai tribe, a desperate race of freebooters, were found deserted, and a considerable supply of provisions procured.

General Pollock remained at Jellalabád till nearly the end of August, apparently with the view of maturing his plans, and concerting with General Nott a joint movement on the capital. On the 20th, he left these quarters, and on the 23d reached Gundamuk : the enemy occupying the village and fort of Mammoo Khail, only two miles distant, with a strong body. To dislodge them, he marched on the 24th, and found them stationed in an orchard with some enclosures, having their front covered by field-works of loose stones. From these positions they were driven into the village, where they made a show of resistance ; but on the British coming up, they abandoned it, retired into the fort, and barricaded the gates. The assailants, by mounting on each other's shoulders, entered a shattered bastion eight feet high, when they saw the defenders going over the walls on the other side, but were unable from fatigue to pursue. The right wing, under General M'Caskill, advanced upon Kookhi Khail, another hamlet two miles distant, held also by hostile troops, who then abandoned it, but took post upon the adjacent peaks of the great range called Soofaid Koh. From several of these they were dislodged, but from



others maintained a heavy fire with the long muskets called jezails.

The general spent about a fortnight in this place collecting his troops, and making arrangements for their farther advance. On the 6th September, he began his final movement upon Cábul; next day reached Soorkab; and on the morning of the 8th, approached the terrible pass of Jugduluk. Here the enemy, nearly 5000 strong, under the standards of different chiefs, had crowned the amphitheatre of hills on the left of the road, whence they were separated by a deep ravine. They opened a formidable fire on the advancing column, when Captain Nugent, a highly promising young officer, was wounded, and died almost immediately. The British guns were well served, and shells burst among the enemy with powerful effect, yet not so much as to shake their determination or slacken their fire. It was found that the heights must be scaled; for which purpose, Captain Broadfoot was directed to move on the extreme left, while Colonel Taylor, with the light infantry, should cross the ravine and attack the opposite hills, the key of the position, and where the principal chiefs were assembled.

This force, in rushing up the steep, raised an animated and enthusiastic cheer, on hearing which, the enemy, struck with panic, fled down the opposite declivities. Captain Lockwood, with the dragoons, nearly reached their cavalry, who, however, saved themselves by flight. Captain Broadfoot also completely succeeded on the left; but the fugitives from both points rallied on the top of a very lofty mountain, where they planted their standards, and seemed to consider themselves unapproachable. To dispel this idea, Captains Wilkinson, and Broadfoot mounted in columns, covered by the guns of Captains Abbott



Backhouse. As soon as the Afgháns saw them approach, they hastily took to flight, abandoning this last stronghold, and carrying off their standards. They included the most powerful of the hostile tribes—those among whom the insurrection had risen—and who were led by numerous chiefs. But neither Akbar Khán nor any other of the first rank was present.

Pollock now proceeded with the utmost diligence, and on the 11th arrived at Tezeen, where, finding the men and cattle much fatigued, he allowed them to repose on the 12th, before entering into the still more formidable passes which lay before him. The barbarians, imputing this pause to timidity, commenced an attack upon the outposts on the left, which it was necessary to send Colonel Taylor with 240 men to repel. The enemy then retired to the crests of the neighbouring hills, whence they kept up an obstinate fire; but the colonel, having made a circuit unperceived, took them in flank, and drove them down with severe loss.

On the morning of the 13th, the army entered the pass of Tezeen, and found mustered there the whole Cábul force, estimated at 16,000 men, under the personal command of Akbar, Amínúla, and other great chiefs attached to his cause. They had most carefully improved the naturally great strength of the position, and manifested a determination to defend it to the last extremity. When therefore the British troops ascended the heights, they found them, contrary to custom, advancing to the contest, which was maintained with desperation, and in many instances decided only by the bayonet. It was peculiarly obstinate before they were dislodged from the numerous positions on the lofty eminence of the Huft Kothul. The resistance was indeed protracted during a great part



of the day ; but at length British valour overcame every obstacle, and the troops, with three cheers, established themselves on this mighty summit. The enemy then fled in every direction, losing their guns and three standards. A strong body had attacked the rear-guard, with the view of hemming in the army on both sides, or at least of capturing the baggage ; but they were gallantly repulsed by Colonel Richmond, who commanded in that quarter.

The general now marched on to Coord Cábul. The dreadful pass of that name still lay before him, and troops were sent to crown its heights ; but the enemy, dismayed and disorganized by their recent overthrow, had made no attempt to secure them. On the 14th, the general arrived at Bootkhak, and next day encamped on the race-ground at Cábul. On the morning of the 16th, with his staff and a detachment, he entered the Bala Hissar, on whose summit, amid the anthem of " God save the Queen," the British colours were hoisted. The strictest orders were issued to the officers and troops not to injure in any shape the city or its inhabitants, nor even to enter it without express permission.

On the 10th August, also, General Nott quitted Candahár, leaving it to be occupied by Prince Sufter Jung and his adherents. On the general reaching Naunee, however, about twenty miles from Ghizní, Shumshooden Khán, governor of that capital, met him on the 30th with 12,000 men. He marched out with only a part of his force, when the enemy advanced boldly, opening a hot fire from small arms and two well-served guns. The British columns, however, steadily advanced, and after a brisk but short contest, completely dispersed them. Their guns, tents, and ammunition were taken, and the darkness alone saved them from being entirely cut up, their commander fleeing with a train of no more than thirty horsemen.



On the morning of the 5th Sept. the general arrived at Ghizní, which he found defended by strong bodies of troops reinforced by Sultán Jan, one of the leading actors in the scene of assassination. It was judged requisite to begin by driving the Afgháns from the heights, which the troops effected in gallant style, carrying successively every point. The village of Bullal was then chosen as a convenient site for erecting a battery ; and before daybreak on the 6th, one of four eighteen pounders was constructed and advanced towards the walls. It was then, however, discovered that the enemy had evacuated the place ; and arrangements were immediately made for the demolition of this celebrated citadel, as far as could be effected in two days. The loss in these operations consisted of three killed and forty-three wounded.

General Nott now marched directly northward upon Cábúl ; but in approaching Nydan, he again encountered Shumshoodeen and Sultán Jan, with a force as large as before, occupying a range of strong mountain-posts. The 14th and 15th September were spent in driving them successively from these eminences, which was done with the usual success, though not without a hard resistance, costing a loss of four killed and fifty-nine wounded. The army then proceeded to join General Pollock at Cábúl.

An auspicious result now followed the triumph of the British arms. Akbar on seeing his victorious enemy advancing, had despatched the prisoners under a strong guard to Khúllúm in Turkestan, where they were either to be thrown into dungeons or given as slaves to the principal chiefs. In this fearful predicament, they of course looked round for all means of deliverance. The escort was commanded by Salih Mohammed, who had deserted from the British cause, and might therefore not be incorruptible.



A tender was repeatedly made to him of a lac of rupees (£10,000), on condition of enabling them to reach the English camp. He evaded these propositions, evidently doubtful which side would gain the ascendancy. On their arrival at Bameean, however, he came and announced that orders had been received for their immediate departure for Chullúm; but that General Pollock had intimated through another channel a readiness to bestow £2000 and a monthly pension of £100, in case of his effecting their deliverance. This he engaged to do, provided they would enter into a bond guaranteeing the offer just made. Four officers signed the obligation. Salih then dismissed the escort, and changed the governor of the fort for one on whom he could rely.

Dreading lest the Afghán army, even in its retreat, should take this direction, they made indefatigable efforts to put the stronghold in a state of defence. However, on learning the victory at Tezeen, and anticipating the entry of the British forces into Cábul, they conceived it possible to effect their deliverance by their own efforts, trusting to co-operation from that quarter. In fact, General Pollock, immediately on arriving there, had made arrangements for the departure of 700 Kuzzilbash horse, accompanied by Sir Richmond Shakespeare, to whom he advanced 10,000 rupees; and soon after General Sale followed, with a corps of 2000 men. The prisoners departed from Bameean on the 16th, and next day crossed the Kaloo mountain-range, 13,000 feet high, being little inferior to Mont Blanc.

After descending, they were filled with joy by meeting with Sir Richmond and the Kuzzilbashes, and on the 19th with General Sale. The meeting of that officer with his heroic lady and daughter, may be more easily conceived than described. His mission proved by no means super-



mus, as Sultán Jan was in full pursuit, and would perhaps have been up in twenty-four hours. They arrived in camp on the evening of the 21st, when their arrival was celebrated by a royal salute and the most heartfelt rejoicings. They included General Shelton, Colonel Palmer, Majors Pottinger and Griffiths, twelve captains, three surgeons, nine lieutenants, three ensigns, twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The females were Ladies Macnaghten and Sale, besides the wives of five officers and of three privates. There remained only Captain Bygrave, who had been detained by Akbar; but he, too, arrived on the 27th, with a despatch from that chief.

The Afgháns, after so many disasters, retreated into the mountain-territory of Kohistan, immediately north of Cábul, where they hoped to find a present refuge and a point whence they might return upon the city. General Pollock, however, determined to dislodge them, and if he could not capture, at least drive them to a distance. In this he fully succeeded, with comparatively little loss.

No further operations were undertaken against the enemy. Akbar and other chiefs, on whom it might have been desirable to let fall some resentment, had fled beyond the frontier, and sought refuge in Turkestan. The speedy approach of winter gave warning to lose no time in executing the resolution of evacuating a country which had been the scene of so much glory and disaster. It was, however, considered indispensable that, before departing, a severe lesson should be given to the Afgháns as to the hazards which must always attend a war with Britain. The great bazaar, erected under Aurangzíb, by the celebrated architect Alí Murdan Khán, was esteemed the most spacious edifice, and the chief seat of trade in Central Asia. It was 600 feet long, and contained 2000 shops; and here had



been exposed to public insult the remains of the late envoy. It was therefore determined to reduce it to ashes ; and Colonel Richmond, with a party of sappers and miners, and a detachment of troops, were employed two days in completing its destruction.

The army marched on the 12th October in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Pollock, M'Caskill, and Nott. General Sale, with a light corps, went in advance to clear the right flank, and crown the heights of the Koord Cábul Pass. Through these good arrangements General Pollock's division arrived at Jugduluk on the 16th, without any serious attempt to molest it. The second, under General M'Caskill, suffered some annoyance and loss. General Nott's rear was much retarded by the exhaustion of the baggage-cattle, of which advantage was taken by large hordes of Ghilzies to make several brisk attacks. They were gallantly repulsed, yet with a loss of twelve killed and forty-nine wounded. From Jugduluk, the divisions, for the convenience of march, proceeded separately, each at a day's interval. On the 22d, 23d, and 25th, they successively arrived at Jellalabád. Three days were employed in destroying the military works of that celebrated fortress. On the 27th, the first division left it, followed on the 29th by the others.

They proceeded with all expedition through the passes, and though constantly harassed by the Khyberees, sustained no serious loss except on the 3d November, when General M'Caskill's division was attacked with great fury, and a contest ensued, in which two officers, and a considerable number of men fell. Two guns were taken, but recovered next day. On the 6th, the last of the troops, under General Nott, emerged from the pass at Jumrood, and the whole were soon united in the vicinity of Pesháwer. They



then marched in four brigades; crossed the Indus at Attock, and, proceeding through the Pūnjāb, passed the Sutledge to Ferozepore, where the governor-general and commander-in-chief joyfully received them. On the 25th October, Lord Ellenborough had announced in a proclamation, that with a view to terminate as early as possible all the evils arising out of the war, the several Afghāns now in the power of the British government would be set at liberty. In this number, Dost Mohammed, his wives and family, and also those of Akbar Khān, were included.

Soon after this (Dec. 1842) Lord Ellenborough's attention was directed to various acts of the Amírs of Sindh, in contravention of their existing engagements, as well as to decided manifestations of hostile intentions. During the temporary disasters in Afghanistán which threatened to destroy the prestige acquired by British valour in India, the Amírs had displayed an evident desire to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for setting at naught all existing treaties, and thereby almost as effectually favoured the Afghāns as if they had raised an army to co-operate with them against the British. Decided symptoms of hostile intentions became speedily apparent. Early in August the surrounding tribes were described as being almost in a state of insurrection. Chiefs were moving about with armed bands, endeavouring to enlist followers, and availing themselves of every opportunity to plunder.

The movements of British troops speedily afforded indication that the governor-general was resolved to adopt summary measures for suppressing any hostile movements. The force under General England, amounting to about 3500, was ordered to move from Candahár, towards Sindh, and other bodies of troops soon followed them.



increasing their number to above 5000 men. General England's forces experienced little interruption in their progress, excepting that which arose from the excessive heat. The temperature in the Bolan Pass is said to be almost unbearable. Eight men died in the course of two days from its effects.

On the 4th of October, Sir Charles Napier arrived at Sukker, and assumed the command of the forces in Sindh. On his way he had left with the Amírs Lord Ellenborough's ultimatum, and a few days after Major Outram was commissioned to demand an equally definite reply. It was then confidently anticipated that when they learned the complete success of the British arms in the North, there would be little difficulty in negotiating with them. In this, however, the governor-general was disappointed. Negotiations were indeed carried on for above four months, with considerable hopes of a satisfactory termination; and new provisions, which Lord Ellenborough deemed indispensable, received the assent of the Amírs of Sindh.

The usual difficulties, however, were experienced in dealing with native powers. It was obvious, notwithstanding their adoption of the prescribed terms, that no reliance could be placed on their good faith. Of this abundant evidence was speedily afforded. The new treaty which had been proposed and agreed to, received the signature of the Amírs on the 14th of February 1843, and on the very day after, they made a sudden attack, at the head of a large force, on the residence of Major Outram, the British commissioner. The small force under his command maintained their post with the utmost gallantry, and had it not been for the terror of the camp followers, who were employed to remove the property on board a



steamer that lay in the river, the assailants would not have obtained possession of any portion of it.

The commissioner joined Sir Charles Napier at Hala, who immediately on learning the commencement of hostilities, put the whole forces at his command in motion, to oppose the united armies of Upper and Lower Sindh, which were already in the field. On the 16th Sir Charles reached Muttaree, where he learned that the Amírs had taken up a position at Míaní, about twelve miles distant, at the head of a force of 22,000 men, while the number then with him did not amount to 3000. At eight o'clock on the following morning, his advanced guard came in sight of their camp at Míaní, within sight of the towers of Hyderabad. The position occupied by the Sindeans had been chosen with great skill, and their immense superiority in point of numbers allowed them to turn it to the utmost advantage. So soon as the British forces came within range of the enemy's guns, a battery of fifteen pieces of artillery opened upon them with deadly effect. The whole artillery on the side of the British consisted of twelve small field-pieces, which Sir Charles posted on his right, while some skirmishers and a body of native cavalry were ordered to advance, in order to make the enemy show his force. The Beloochees, who formed an important branch of the Sindean army, are celebrated as bold and skilful swordsmen, and they fought in this engagement with the most desperate fury. Rushing on to the top of the embankments, they discharged their matchlocks and pistols at their opponents, and then dashed into the midst of them sword in hand.

The nature of the ground almost completely precluded the ordinary manœuvres of a disciplined force, and from the vast superiority of the enemy in point of numbers, it



appeared for a time impossible that the British could hold their ground. Fast as one wild band of desperate assailants fell before their cool and resolute defence, another band, equally numerous and fearless, sprung into their place. On seeing the perilous state in which the main body in his front was placed, after maintaining their ground for above three hours against a foe which seemed to spring up before them anew as fast as they were struck down or driven back, Sir Charles sent orders to his reserved cavalry to force the right wing of the enemy. This movement was most gallantly executed. This gallant charge decided the fortunes of the day. Though the main body of the enemy did not immediately give way, their resistance slackened as soon as they saw their wing turned and the chief body of their cavalry driven from the field. The 22d, the 23d, and the 12th regiments, then successively charged up the bank with muskets and fixed bayonets, which in the hands of British soldiers have rarely been withstood. They forced the line of the enemy at all points, the last regiment capturing several guns, while the Sindeans gave way in all directions and fled from the field, leaving the whole of their artillery, ammunition, standards, and camp, with considerable stores, and some treasure, in the hands of the victors.

This victory was not secured without considerable loss on the side of the British ;—256 are reported in the despatch of the general as killed and wounded, including an unusual proportion of officers. But the loss of the enemy was immense, amounting, it is believed, to more than twenty times that of their opponents.

Much satisfaction was naturally experienced at the news of a victory of so brilliant a character, gained under unexpected circumstances, and against such very consider-



able odds. Whatever doubts might have been entertained of the good faith or friendly intentions of the Amirs of Sindh, the British general might have been excused had he been found unprepared for so sudden and treacherous an attack as that which immediately followed the signing of the treaty.

The small number of the forces under Sir Charles's command, amounting only to about 6000 men in all, prevented his occupying any extended positions beyond the walls of Hyderabad, which he had taken possession of immediately after the victory at Mianí. The British commander, accordingly, learned, towards the middle of March, that the enemy were once more mustering in numbers not greatly inferior to the force he had already defeated after so arduous a struggle.

The Sindians had posted themselves in a strong and well-selected position, little more than four miles distant from the British camp,—a strong evidence of the very restricted operations to which the British General had been reduced, in consequence of the small number of his available forces. The position of the enemy was nearly similar to that which had formerly proved so difficult to surmount. They had again posted themselves on the banks of the Eullalie, whose dry channel in the previous engagement afforded them such valuable protection. But they had improved not only on the experience acquired in the former defeat, but strengthened their position with a degree of skill never before manifested by them in their wars, and which was considered as affording undoubted indications of the presence of European counsellors in their army.

Sir Charles put his forces in motion early in the morning, and by the time they had advanced about two miles,



they descried the enemy about a mile and a half in advance. Approaching within twelve hundred yards of their position, the troops were drawn up in order of battle, and advanced in successive regiments to the attack. About nine o'clock the British guns opened their fire on the enemy's position, producing considerable confusion in their centre, where large bodies were observed to move to the left, apparently unable to sustain the cross fire of the artillery. The position of the enemy was nearly a straight line. The nullah which formed its front consisted of two deep parallel ditches, one twenty feet wide and eight feet deep, the other forty-two feet wide and seventeen feet deep, further strengthened by banks and escarpments of the most formidable character. These skilful preparations, however, proved altogether ineffectual in arresting the victorious career of the British army, manned though they were by defenders immensely outnumbering them, and inferior in courage and daring to no native force which had yet attempted to withstand the British arms. When the centre of the enemy was seen to give way under the severe fire of the British artillery, Major Stack, at the head of the 3d cavalry, supported by a body of native horse, charged them on their left flank, crossing the nullah, and bearing down upon them with such determined valour, that they gave way before them, and were pursued for several miles with great slaughter.

The enemy stood their ground well, and defended themselves with such bravery, that this victory has been pronounced by experienced officers, as perhaps the most sternly contested of any in which British troops have ever been engaged in India. The 22d regiment, which had to bear the brunt of the fight alone, lost six officers and 145 men, out of about 300 British killed and wounded.



Many acts of intrepid valour were displayed in this severe contest. The general exposed himself during the whole fight, moving with the utmost coolness where the enemy's shots were flying thickest, and his example was not lost on his officers. Eleven pieces of ordnance and nineteen standards were taken. The Belúchí force was entirely routed and dispersed in every direction. The British commander is said to have been welcomed with joy by the inhabitants of the country, who had suffered so much from the fickle rule of the Amírs, that they testified the utmost anxiety to be assured that Sindh was to be annexed to the British possessions. A few months subsequently this annexation formally took place, and Sir C. Napier was appointed Governor of the country. His administration was conducted with great vigour and ability.

Meanwhile the affairs of the court of Gwaliór, which had so long occasioned anxiety and distrust, were at length brought to a crisis. Confusion and anarchy prevailed there, one party deposing another, and successive chiefs struggling for power, while the country was left at the mercy of licentious and undisciplined troops. The British government being bound by its treaties with the late rája to protect his successor, and preserve his territories unviolated, the governor-general could no longer overlook the fact that the conduct of the authorities of Gwaliór involved a virtual violation of the treaty. Lord Ellenborough accordingly immediately ordered the advance of troops, sufficient, as he said, "to obtain guarantees for the future security of its own subjects on the common frontier of the two states, to protect the person of the rája, to quell disturbances within his highness's territories, and to chastise all who shall remain in disobedience." This was rendered the more imperative by



the tender age and helpless position of the rája, which exposed him to the double danger of being made a tool in the hands of his enemies, and the nominal source of wrongs to his friendly allies. Notwithstanding the preparations which had been made for such an emergency, the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, was met by a much stronger and more determined opposition than he had anticipated.

The country generally exhibits features offering great natural obstacles to the operations of disciplined forces, being intersected with numerous deep and almost impassable ravines, and gullies, affording great facilities for the irregular tactics of an undisciplined army. It was only by the unceasing labours of the sappers, that a practicable passage was effected for the army under Sir H. Gough; and after passing the Koharee river in three columns, at points considerably distant from each other, the whole British army took up their position by eight o'clock on the morning of the 29th of December 1843, about a mile in front of Mahárájpúr. The Marattas had occupied the ground during the previous night, taking up their position with such skill as compelled the commander to alter the disposition of his forces. Seven regiments of Maratta infantry were ranged in front, each corps having four guns attached to it, which opened on the advanced forces of the British as they took up their ground. The 39th regiment of British infantry advanced gallantly to the charge, supported by the 56th native infantry. The Marattas stood their ground with great bravery, and the British forces sustained a severe loss, their guns doing great execution as they advanced. But no native force has ever been able to withstand the determined charge of the bayonet. The British drove them from their guns



into the village, but there the Marattas again rallied, and a most sanguinary conflict ensued. After discharging their matchlocks, they flung them from them, and fought hand to hand with the most determined courage.

Meanwhile General Valiant had led on his brigade, and succeeded in taking Mahárájpúr in reverse. Twenty-eight guns were captured by this combined movement, but the Marattas still stood their ground; nor was their strong position taken till nearly every one of its defenders had been left dead on the spot. The same determined resistance was experienced at every point. They had thrown up entrenchments, and planted their guns with great skill, and in nearly every case the gunners were bayonnetted at their posts, without attempting to fly. The consequence was, the loss of the British, both in officers and men, was unusually great. "I regret," says Sir H. Gough in his despatch to the governor-general, "I regret to say that our loss has been very severe, infinitely beyond what I calculated on; indeed, I did not do justice to the gallantry of my opponents. Their force, however, so greatly exceeded ours, particularly in artillery, the position of their guns was so commanding, they were so well served, and determinedly defended, both by their gunners and their infantry, and the peculiar difficulties of the country giving the defending force so great advantages, that it could not be otherwise." As usual, where the natives forces have displayed peculiar steadiness and skill, it was found that they had had the benefit of more experienced assistance; though they required no aid to give effect to their undisciplined courage and gallant daring. There was found to have been a considerable number of the Company's discharged native infantry, as well as one or two European deserters among the Maratta troops.



One of the latter, it is stated, named Berry, from the 2d European regiment, had, when he fell, his lighted port-fire in his hand, and fired off his gun, sweeping away fifteen men.

At the same time that the commander-in-chief crossed the Maratta frontiers, Major-general Grey was directed to lead an auxiliary force toward Punniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwaliór, to co-operate with the main body, and place the Maratta army between two forces, acting in concert. The immense excess of the Marattas in point of numbers over the British forces, however, was such as enabled them to counteract this plan of mutual co-operation. A body of 12,000 men, with a large complement of guns, &c. was detached to arrest the progress of Major-general Grey, whose whole force did not amount to a fourth of that number. The two armies met on the 29th of December, in the vicinity of the fortified village of Mangore, near Punniar, where the Marattas had taken up a strong position, and were able to begin the attack at considerable advantage, by assaulting the cumbrous baggage trains which necessarily accompany an Indian army. Towards four o'clock the commander observed the enemy taking up a strong position on a chain of hills to the east of his camp, and resolved on an immediate attack. By a judicious disposition of his forces, the enemy were assailed simultaneously on the centre and left, and completely broken. The whole guns, twenty-four in number, were captured, and all their ammunition, with a portion of treasure, were taken. The action did not close till night-fall, which prevented the pursuit of the enemy, and enabled them to carry off many of their killed and wounded.

The result of the two great battles of Mahárájpûr and



Punniar destroyed the hopes not only of the mutinous Marattas at Gwaliór, but of numerous restless malcontents of Hindostan, and had the effect of diffusing tranquillity throughout the whole Eastern empire, where the existence of so many races still very partially amalgamated, and curbed in their predatory habits and love of plunder only by the well-directed force of disciplined authority, renders the whole empire peculiarly sensitive to such indirect but powerful influences. The rája was installed with great ceremony at Gwaliór, in presence of the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and an immense assemblage of native chiefs.

Meanwhile, however, great and increasing dissatisfaction was expressed in many quarters at the government of Lord Ellenborough. His lordship had excited the indignation of the Directorship of the East India Company, by a line of conduct which seemed to imply that he was too well assured of the favour of the Duke of Wellington and the British Cabinet, to greatly concern himself as to the approval his proceedings might meet with from the Directory. Great, therefore, was the sensation created both in India and England by the sudden recall of Lord Ellenborough, in consequence of the vote of the Court of Directors, in the exercise of their legitimate power, not only without consulting with the government, but in direct opposition to its expressed opinions.



CHAPTER XLII.

LORD HARDINGE.

Appointment of Sir H. Hardinge—Influence of British policy—Origin and singular character of the Sikhs—Disturbed state of the Punjab—Acts of aggression—War proclaimed by the British—The battle of Moodki—Its uncertain results—Battle of Ferozeshah—Critical position of the British from insufficient supplies—Assault on their convoy—Victory of Alwal—Its important results—General estimation of Indian policy—Battle of Sobraon—Passing of the Sutledj—Terms of peace—Moderation of Lord Hardinge—His return to England—His character, and the excellence of his administration.

It was anticipated that an act so embarrassing to the government as that just narrated, would have made the harmonious appointment of a successor difficult. Such anticipations, however, were not realized. Sir Henry Hardinge was selected to succeed to the important trust. On the 6th of May 1844, he was appointed by the Court of Directors to the office of Governor-general of India, and the Crown immediately confirmed the choice. The bold and decisive measure of the Court of Directors excited much discussion and considerable diversity of feeling for a time; but the contrast between the wonted proceedings of Lord Ellenborough, and the unobtrusive course adopted by Lord Hardinge, speedily reconciled all parties interested in the affairs of India to the change of its governor-general.

The country of the Marattas still continued in a disorderly and disturbed state, and required the presence of a considerable military force to hold the insurgents in



Many of the difficulties unquestionably originated in the complicated system of Eastern policy, which has grown out of the circumstances by which a trading company gradually assumed the character of conquerors and rulers. The system of permitting independent or subsidiary princes or rajas to sway their feeble sceptres within the British dominions, has been again and again condemned, as leading to the very worst consequences. British rulers have thereby frequently been unwillingly made accessory to acts of which they could not approve, while such petty principalities become the centres of constant intrigue, and generally prove a barrier to any effectual measures for the improvement of the people.

The Sikhs, a religious rather than a political body, had exercised in the Punjáb, and over the valley of Cashmere, a divided authority for some time. Runjít Sing, a man of surprising natural talent, but of no education, brought all the chieftains under the control of his sceptre; and then, taking into his service a good many French and Indian officers, gave discipline and consistency to his army. And a very fine army it was. The robust and brave, became, when disciplined after the French fashion, excellent infantry; the guns, of large calibre and admirably horsed, could stand a comparison with those of any European power; and the cavalry, if less efficient, was still formidable on account of its numbers. Runjít was too wise not to stand in awe of his European neighbours. He often prophesied that, sooner or later, the English and his countrymen would fight for the empire of India. But never daring to hope that his countrymen would prevail in the struggle, he resolved that the contest should not occur in his day, and adhered to a peaceful policy.

Runjít Sing died in 1839. His son succeeded him,



but was slain in a tumult; when the widow, an abandoned woman, seized the reins of government as guardian of her child, as yet only an infant. Scenes of rapine and confusion followed, of which it is not worth while to give a detailed account; but the end could hardly be doubted of from the outset. The army, freed from the restraining hand of Runjit Sing, insisted on being led against the English. They had many friends on the other side of the Sutledj, with whom their chiefs were in constant communication; and they clamoured for leave, either to rob the capital, in order to make up the arrears of pay due to them, or to march upon Calcutta.

1845.—Sir Hugh Gough, commander-in-chief in India, was now at Simla. He observed what was going on, and kept up a constant intercourse by letter with the governor-general. And by-and-by, the governor-general, in order that he might be ready for the worst, quitted Calcutta and pitched his camp near that of Sir Hugh Gough. Two posts, on the near side of the Sutledj, Ferozepore and Lúdíana, were strongly reinforced, and orders were issued for brigades in the rear to close up at their leisure. So matters stood, when suddenly intelligence came that the Síkhs had crossed the Sutledj, and that Ferozepore was threatened. Now, then, the time for deliberation was past. Every disposable man was put in motion, and the columns moved on.

The first battle fought with the Síkhs took place on the 18th of December, between the Ambala and Lúdíana divisions of the British army, which had been prudently united by order of Lord Hardinge, and a detachment of the Síkh army under Lál Sing. The two armies met at Moodkí, twenty miles from Ferozepore, and the Síkhs immediately begun the attack. The whole forces under



Lord Gough amounted to about 11,000, while the Sikhs were estimated at 30,000 men, with forty guns. This estimate, however, appears to have greatly exaggerated their number, and Captain Cunningham even inclines to doubt if they much exceeded the British in numbers. The Sikhs were repulsed with severe loss, and seventeen of their guns were taken ; but the British learned in the battle of Moodkí the valour of the enemy they had to contend with. The forces of Lord Gough, already too few, were reduced by a loss of 215 killed and 657 wounded ; among the former of whom were Major-generals Sir Robert Sale and Sir John M'Caskill.

The experience acquired by this victory taught the British leaders the necessity for bringing every available means to bear against their brave and resolute enemy. Previously to the battle of Moodkí, Sir Henry Hardinge, in anticipation of the course which the war was likely to take, had withdrawn a large part of the garrison from Lúdíana, and joined it to his field force. He now sent directions to General Gilbert, who commanded in Ferozepore, to execute with the main army a combined movement, and thus brought the whole in front of an intrenched camp at Ferozeshah. Here from 40,000 to 50,000 Sikhs had established themselves. Lord Hardinge and Sir H. Gough knew that another army of 30,000 men lay on the banks of the Sutledj. They had, moreover, reason to believe that it was about to move to the support of the intrenched camp.

They, therefore, resolved to anticipate the danger by falling, at once, upon the enemy in their front. 14,000 British and native troops attacked, that day, more than thrice their own number of Sikhs, whom strong lines covered, and who possessed an artillery in front of



which the British light six-pounders could not show themselves. One of the most sanguinary battles in Indian history followed. The assailants won but a portion of the intrenchments ere darkness set in. They therefore, lay all night amid the dying and the dead, exposed to a desultory fire from the Sikh batteries. But with the return of day came a renewal of the conflict. The guns were all silenced, but the infantry did its work. The lines were carried; and an attempt on the part of the Sikh army of reserve to recover them, was repulsed. Thus Ferozepore was saved; while the Sikhs, fleeing in confusion, crossed the Sutledj, and began immediately to intrench on its northern bank.

1846.—Though beaten in the field, the Sikhs were by no means broken in spirit. Large reinforcements of men and guns came to them, and Lord Hardinge and Sir H. Gough were forced to look on while they added daily to the strength of their intrenched camp; for nothing more could be attempted till fresh regiments and heavy artillery should come up from the rear. It was at this juncture that the movement of a large force of Sikhs upon Ludiana induced Sir Hugh Gough to detach Brigadier-general Smith to the support of that place. Sir H. Smith pushed on, and fell in with the enemy at a village where he did not expect to find them. It was not his business as yet to fight a battle. He therefore drew off his columns under cover of his artillery, and marching round the Sikh position, relieved the threatened fort, though at the sacrifice of a good deal of his baggage. The loss thus incurred, however, was amply compensated three days afterwards. Having united the garrison of Ludiana to his own force, Smith moved against the Sikhs, who took up a position, with the village of Aliwál on their left, and threw up



banks of earth to protect their line in front, and oppose additional impediments to their assailants. The British formed, and advancing under a heavy cannonade, carried the village. The holders of the post speedily gave way before the determined charge of the British brigades. The Sikhs stood their ground on the field, however, with the most resolute valour. Charge after charge was made with the bayonets of the English, and the Sikhs were gradually pressed to the passage of the river which was at hand. They made several ineffectual attempts to rally, but were driven across the Sutledj with immense loss, and in the utmost confusion and terror. The whole of their guns were taken, spiked, or sunk in the river. Sir H. Smith, in his despatch, expresses his firm conviction that no troops in any battle on record, ever behaved more nobly than did the British on this occasion.

The victory of Aliwál was one of the most important that has ever been gained by the British forces in India. The number engaged was indeed comparatively small. But the effect of this opportune defeat of the Sikhs, at the very time when they were rejoicing in united councils and exulting in anticipated victory, completely overthrew their whole schemes. Goláb Sing instead of attempting to rally his defeated forces upbraided them with the rashness and folly of hoping to overcome the conquerors of India, and immediately opened negotiations with the English commander.

Confidence and joyful anticipations of triumph prevailed throughout the British camp. The victory of Aliwál had restored the faith of the Sepoys in the fortune of British arms, while the European forces exulted in the anticipation of victory. Substantial grounds of confidence had meanwhile been supplied by the arrival of the heavy



ordnance, with abundant ammunition and stores. The obstacles which had impeded their earlier operations, and made victory so difficult and so hardly won, no longer existed. The 10th of February, only twelve days after the victory of Alíwál, was fixed for storming the Síkh position, and driving them beyond the river.

Through indifference or neglect, the British had allowed a post of observation, of some importance, to fall into the hands of the Síkhs, and to surprise this was determined upon as the first proceeding. Long before dawn, the whole British camp was in motion, and an advanced party was ordered to drive in the enemy's pickets. The additional gloom of a thick haze added to the darkness of the night, as the British forces silently advanced to assume the initiative in the contest ; but the posts of observation, both at the Sobraon and in front of Kúdíwalla, were found unoccupied, though held by a strong force on the previous day. The Síkhs were everywhere taken by surprise, and beat loudly to arms throughout their wide intrenchments on both sides of the river. The English heavy ordnance had been arranged in masses on some of the most commanding points opposite the enemy's intrenchments, and at sunrise the batteries opened upon them.

For three hours the deadly shower of iron hail poured down upon the Síkh forces within their intrenchments, mingled with the more deadly shells, that scattered death on every side as they fell. But the Síkh intrenchments bristled with the heavy ordnance which had told so effectively against the light fieldpieces that formed the sole British Artillery in the earlier engagements; and the sun's level rays hardly pierced through the clouds of sulphurous smoke that loomed over the scene of deadly strife. The effect of the cannonade was most severely felt by the



enemy; but it soon became evident that the issue of this struggle must be decided by the bayonet. At nine o'clock, a brigade, supported on either flank by batteries, and horse artillery, moved to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other. The former marched steadily on in line, which they halted only to correct when necessary. The latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until at length they were within three hundred yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs; but, notwithstanding the regularity, and coolness, and scientific character of this assault, so hot was the fire of cannon, musketry, and field pieces, kept up by the Khalsa troops, that it seemed for some moments impossible that the intrenchments could be won under it; but soon persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the satisfaction to see the gallant soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampments.

The resistance of the Sikhs here was terrible. The deadly fire of their muskets and well served artillery, mowed down the advancing lines of the British, and compelled them to give way. The first assailants were repulsed, but they rallied and returned to the charge, and, supported by the advance of the second division, after a severe struggle, they obtained possession of some of the enemy's most important batteries in front. Still the Sikhs stood their ground. No panic seized these hardy enthusiasts, though thus assailed within their own intrenchments. One point after another was forced. The sappers levelled spaces sufficient for the cavalry to pour into their camp, and sustain the efforts of the infantry who had borne the brunt of the deadly struggle. But still the Sikhs fought with all the wild fury of despair.

"The interior," says Captain Cunningham, "was filled



courageous men, who took advantage of every obstacle, and fought fiercely for every spot of ground. The traitor, Tej Sing, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault, and, either accidentally or by design, sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. But the ancient Shám Sing remembered his vow; he clothed himself in simple white attire, as one devoted to death, and calling on all around him to fight for the Gooroo, who had promised everlasting bliss to the brave, he repeatedly rallied his shattered ranks, and at last fell a martyr on a heap of his slain countrymen. Others might be seen standing on the ramparts amid showers of balls, waving defiance with their swords, or telling the gunners where the fair-haired English pressed thickest together. Along the stronger half of the battlements, and for the period of half an hour, the conflict raged sublime in all its terrors. The parapets were sprinkled with blood from end to end; the trenches were filled with the dead and the dying. Amid the deafening roar of cannon, and the multitudinous fire of musketry, the shouts of triumph or of scorn were yet heard, and the flashing of innumerable swords was yet visible; or from time to time exploding magazines of powder, threw bursting shells, beams of wood and banks of earth, high above the agitated sea of smoke and flame which enveloped the host of combatants, and for a moment arrested the attention amid all the din and tumult of the tremendous conflict."

Never before had British arms been opposed to such determined bravery and skill, as strove with them on that bloody plain. The deadly struggles which had hung disgrace for a time on the British banners in the passes of



Afghanistan, owed their fatal terrors to the natural character of the country, far more than to the bravery of its hardy but undisciplined forces. But here they were withstood on a fair field by a foe that listened unappalled to the thunders of their cannon, and stood unmoved before the glittering points of their bayonets when charged. Even the brave Sikhs, however, supported by all the nerve that fanaticism can add to native valour, found British skill and daring more than a match for them on an equal field.

They sustained the conflict with a courage that has won for their arms an imperishable renown, but that could not avoid defeat. Over any but the bravest of all soldiers they would have obtained an easy victory; and as it was, the conquerors purchased their triumph with an unusual loss; 320 British soldiers lay dead on the field, including Major-general Sir Robert Dick, a veteran soldier, who had served with honour in the Peninsula and at Waterloo; Brigadier Taylor, and other distinguished officers, who fell while leading on their men, or recalling them to a sense of their duty, as they recoiled from the deadly fire of the enemy. In addition to these, the British had 2083 wounded, some of them fatally. But the loss of the Sikhs did not amount to less than 8000, while they were irretrievably broken and scattered, without hope of again being able to take the field.

The official proclamation of the governor-general, issued only four days after the victory of Sobraon, contains both a declaration and a defence of British policy. "No extension of territory was desired by the government of India; the measures necessary for providing indemnity for the past and security for the future will, however, involve the retention by the British government of a portion of the country hitherto under the government of the Lahore



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state. The extent of territory which it may be deemed advisable to hold will be determined by the conduct of the durbar, and considerations for the security of the British frontier. The government of India will, under any circumstances annex to the British provinces the districts, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Sutledj and Beas, the revenues thereof being appropriated as a part of the indemnity required from the Lahore state."

As moderate in the hour of victory as he had been resolute during the war, Sir Henry Hardinge abstained from appropriating to himself, as he might have easily done, the whole of the Punjáb. He was content to dismember it. All the provinces on the further side of the Sutledj, which being Síkh by lineage, had hitherto maintained their independence, though under British protection, he added to the empire. The valley of Cashmere, with certain provinces around, he elevated into a separate principality, and gave it to Goláb Sing. On the Mahá Rája, yet a child, he imposed a tax, sufficient, as was calculated, to defray the expenses of the war; and he ordered every gun belonging to the state to be surrendered. This done, and leaving an army of occupation to keep Lahore till tranquillity should be restored, he returned with the commander-in-chief and the bulk of the forces to British India.

For their services in this war, Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough were deservedly raised to the peerage; but the former did not remain long in the country to enjoy the pomp of his viceroyalty. Having witnessed the ratification of the Síkh treaty, and reduced the Company's army to a peace establishment, Lord Viscount Hardinge returned home, to receive from a grateful sovereign and country the applause which his services had earned.



Viscount Hardinge while encouraging by his example the observance of the Christian religion, discountenanced interference with the rites of the natives. By all legitimate means, and without interfering with the labour of the missionary, he encouraged general education and the enlightenment of the native mind:—the rest he wisely left to God and to his appointed time. In October, 1846, he issued a notification prohibiting Sunday labour among the Christians of India. This was a salutary check to many who, having little to do during the week, from mere listlessness and carelessness, were in the habit of desecrating the Sabbath, or permitting it to be desecrated by their subordinates. The Mussulman and the Hindú, who worship after their own fashion, and who scrupulously observe their own holy days, have now some evidence that the Christian respects the faith he professes.

No effort was left untried by his lordship to put down the crimes of infanticide, suttee, and man-stealing. Among the very many able, energetic, and humane officers and administrators, who aided his lordship in carrying out these noble measures, none was more distinguished than Captain S. C. Macpherson, of the Madras army, whose labours among the cruel Khonds of Goomsur and Boad—pursued, at first, under every discouragement, at the expense of health, and well nigh to the extinction of life—ought never to be overlooked. In the regions which came under Captain Macpherson's control, the most horrible of human sacrifices prevailed, and to an extent which appears scarcely credible, though thoroughly well attested by the evidence, and the concurrent testimony of numerous witnesses. The victims were tortured, and subjected to long and excruciating agonies before they were slain. Children and young people were preferred if they



could be kidnapped, purchased, or obtained in any other way; but, in many cases, full-grown men and women, and old people, were immolated—after torture. As many as twenty-five adults have been sacrificed by the Khonds at a single religious festival. By the persevering efforts, the prudent, cautious, patient, and wise measures of Captain Macpherson, under Lord Hardinge and his immediate successor, these revolting rites, if not entirely abolished, were vastly diminished, both in Goomsur and in Boad.

Under Lord Hardinge's administration, innumerable checks and impediments were removed, and trade was rendered perfectly free throughout British India. The octroi, or town-duties, not only of such places as Ludiana and Umballa, but of Surat—where they yielded eleven lacs of rupees per annum—were released, to the infinite benefit of trade and of town dwelling people. During the forty-two months of the noble lord's administration, it is difficult to say, whether he shone more as a warrior and military administrator, or as a civil administrator and statesman.

Possessed of a fine natural taste and a love of the arts, and having with him in his eldest son an accomplished and enthusiastic amateur artist, his lordship encouraged the preservation and repair of the magnificent works of Oriental architecture, which too many of his predecessors had entirely neglected, and had left to the destruction of time, or of barbarous hands. Through his good taste and unsparing liberality, the exquisite Taj Mahal, and the fort and the palace at Agra, were judiciously repaired. He gave every possible encouragement to the Archæological Society of Delhi, instituted chiefly for the purpose of exploring the numerous ruins and antiquities of India. He sanctioned and promoted the scheme of Mr. Thomason,



for forming a College of Instruction of Civil Engineers at Rûrki. Much of India had been already accurately surveyed ; but, as sanctioned by this high-minded and large-hearted governor-general, the grand trigonometrical survey is now extending its operations into Cashmere, and along the banks of the Indus.

By nothing was his lordship more distinguished than by his equanimity, his amenity, his facility in soothing animosities, and his tact in the management of men's minds. He may be said to have been on excellent terms with almost every individual with whom he had to transact business. Although he expected every man under him to do his duty, and to do it thoroughly, his disapprobation of neglect or slowness was always expressed in so kindly a manner, that it could seldom give offence. His friendship and patronage were bestowed upon none but men of high merit.



CHAPTER XLIII.

THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

Múltan—Outbreak—Murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieut. Anderson—The conspiracy universal—Courage of Lieutenant Edwardes—His valuable services—Siege of Múltan—Its fall—Battle of Chillianwallah—Battle of Guzerat and great victory—General tranquillity—Railways and telegraphs—Insolent proceedings of the Burmese—Vain attempts at negociation—War declared—Capture of Rangoon—Of Bassein—Of Prome—Annexation of Pegu—Unavoidable extension of the British empire in India.

LORD DALHOUSIE arrived in Calcutta early in 1848. His reception in India was most flattering: for a high and untarnished reputation had preceded him. His lordship looked forward to a long career of peace and improvement; great plans were matured for the construction of railways and other important public works; but in three months the flames of war were again kindled in the Punjáb.

At Múltan, the capital of a district lying between the left bank of the Indus and the right bank of the Sutledj, it was found necessary or expedient to substitute Sirdar Khán Sing as governor, for Múlráj, who was believed to have shown intentions hostile to the durbar of Lahore and to the British government. It was believed that Múlráj accepted the liberal conditions offered to him, and fully acquiesced in this arrangement; but when Mr. Vans Agnew, a Bengal civil servant and assistant to the resident



at Lahore; and Lieutenant Anderson, of the Bombay Fusiliers, proceeded to Múltan to complete the arrangement (on the 7th of April), they found discontent and turbulence; and on the following day both these gentlemen were attacked and desperately wounded. They retired with their weak escort to a small fort outside the town, being accompanied by Sirdar Khán Sing. A fire was opened upon this place of refuge from Múltan, but owing to the distance, the guns did little mischief. Three days afterwards the Múltan troops came out and attacked the fort; the Síkh garrison within immediately opened the gates, and let in the assailants, and both Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were barbarously murdered.

It was believed for a time that this violent outbreak was entirely referable to some temporary and accidental misunderstanding with the Síkh soldiery, and was unconnected with any organized plan of opposition to established rule, or to any designed hostilities with the British. But the outbreak at Múltan was followed by the discovery of a conspiracy of the most alarming character at Lahore, having for its object the massacre of all the British officers, the expulsion of the whole troops from the Punjáb, and a revolution in the Síkh government. Attempts had been made, not without some slight success, to seduce the sepoys from their allegiance. On the discovery of this, the British resident, Sir Frederick Currie, directed certain native officers, whose fidelity could be relied upon, to fall in with the plans of the conspirators, by which means the whole plot was disclosed. Three native corps, it was found, had been tampered with, but only a small number of the men had yielded to the temptations by which they were assailed. Undoubted proofs, however, were discovered of persons of the highest rank being privy to the



plot, by whom the fakírs had been employed to use their influence over the sepoys in seducing them from their fidelity.

The indomitable courage and skill of a British officer of youth and inexperience, sufficed at this critical juncture to do much for the safety of the British empire in India. Lieut. Edwardes was stationed on the Indus with a force consisting only of one regiment of infantry and 400 sowars, with two guns. His duty was the collection of the land-tax due to Múlráj, and the occupation of Leiah, a town situated on the left bank of the Indus. Hearing of the affair at Múltan, and finding that he was exposed to risk, many of his Síkh soldiers deserted him. On learning the rumour of a general rising, he crossed the river into the Dríaját, whence he wrote to the Khán of Bhawulpore, to make a demonstration which should prevent Múlráj from executing any design against him or Colonel Cortlandt, who commanded the garrison of Dhera Ismael Khán. The Khán lost no time in making preparations to act.

Lieutenant Edwardes effected a junction with Colonel Cortlandt's forces, by which a body of about 7000 men was placed under their joint command. With this force considerable success was achieved, and it was confidently anticipated for a time that these young officers, at the head of such a small and irregular force, were to bring the rebellion summarily to a close, and re-annex Múltan to the Punjáb, ere the British resident or the commander-in-chief could adopt any definite line of policy for the suppression of this unexpected outbreak. But the fortifications of Múltan were such as bade defiance to the efforts of an irregular force, with no other artillery than a few light field-pieces. Major Edwardes at once perceiv-



his inability to make the slightest impression on the fortress with the troops under his command, and he accordingly despatched a messenger to the British resident at Lahore, for reinforcements and heavy artillery.

But though it was no longer to be hoped for that the gallantry of a single officer would prove sufficient to counteract the deep-laid plots and machinations of the Sikhs, the check he had given at so critical a period was productive of the most important results. Much valuable time was gained. The cautious deliberations of those at the head of affairs were carried on while he held the enemy at bay; and by the time it became obvious that the most decisive measures were indispensable, they were ready to forward to his aid a force capable of coping with such difficulties. On the 21st December 1848, General Whish at length effected a junction with Major Edwardes, in the neighbourhood of Múltan, by which he found himself at the head of an efficient force, amounting to 15,000 British troops, and 17,000 allies, and with 150 pieces of ordnance, nearly half of which were of the largest calibre. The result became no longer doubtful. After one of the most obstinate and gallant defences, on the part of the enemy, ever recorded in the annals of Indian warfare, the city of Múltan was yielded to the British commander, (Jan. 21, 1849) and its citadel occupied by a British garrison, though not till the principal powder magazine of the defenders, containing nearly a million pounds of powder, had been blown into the air, and their principal granary and stores had been burned.

While the united forces under General Whish were breaching the walls of Múltan, the commander-in-chief had to withstand a still more formidable resistance in the open field.



Lord Gough does not appear to have thought it advisable to strike a decisive blow at the Sikh army in the field till Múltan should have fallen. He was pressed, however, from without ; and following up the enemy, overtook them on the Chenab river, and partially engaged them. It was an affair of horse, which seems to have been conducted with greater courage than discretion ; for the cavalry suffered themselves to be carried beyond the proper point, and, falling into an ambuscade, suffered severely. The enemy, however, retreated, and took up another position at a place called Chillianwallah. There Lord Gough attacked them, and one of the fiercest battles of which the record is preserved in Indian story took place, without any decisive result. The British army, at the close of the day, stood upon the field of action, from which, for the convenience of water, they withdrew at night a few miles to the rear. The Síkhs retired within fortified lines which they had constructed on the Jhelum, and evinced no disposition to abandon them.

Meanwhile the fall of Múltan had released a large body who were pressing forward to reinforce the army of Lord Gough, while the total inaction of Shere Sing proved that the bloody field of Chillianwallah had paralyzed the movements of the Síkhs, even more than it had crippled the available resources and damped the exulting anticipations of the British.

Victory, indeed had not deserted the British arms in India ; and on the 21st of February, another conflict took place in which the Sikh army, estimated at 60,000 men, with fifty-nine pieces of artillery, and a powerful auxiliary force of Afghán cavalry, was completely routed at Guzerat. " Their ranks broken ; their position carried ; their guns, ammunition, camp-equipage, and baggage,



captured; and their flying masses driven before the victorious pursuers from mid-day to dusk." Fifty-three pieces of artillery left in the hands of the victors, along with the camp, baggage, magazines, and a vast store of ammunition, abandoned by the flying Sikhs, abundantly testified to the triumph which had at length dissipated the apprehensions of thousands, who waited with anxious dread the announcement of the first despatch that should narrate the proceedings, subsequent to the dear-bought field of Chillianwallah.

The victory of Guzerat proved complete and decisive. Once more the van of the British army had maintained its ground on this remote border of British India, until reinforcements could be brought up, and supplies forwarded to the point of attack, and then trying the strength of the opposing power on a well-fought field, victory had unequivocally declared for the conquerors of the East. The fruits of this battle were the entire surrender of the Sikh army, including their commander, Shere Sing; his father, Chutter Sing; his brothers, and most of the principal Sikh sirdars and chiefs. Forty-one pieces of artillery the whole that remained uncaptured by the British, were at the same time unconditionally surrendered, and the remains of the conquered army, to the number of 16,000 Sikh soldiers, laid down their arms in the presence of the British troops. The principal scene of this act of surrender by the vanquished was a place called Hoormuk, at one of the principal fords of the river, across which their broken ranks had fled in dismay before the final charge of the victors of Guzerat. At this spot the Sikh soldiers crossed and delivered up their arms, passing through the lines of two native infantry regiments appointed for this duty. Each of the Sikhs received a rupee to subsist him on his return



home, in addition to which they were permitted to retain their horses.

Two years and a half were then devoted to the organization of an administration for these newly acquired countries; and it was confidently asserted that the wars of the British empire in India had ceased, and that a long season of tranquillity might be anticipated.

The year 1851 will long be memorable in Indian annals, as having witnessed the commencement of railways and electric telegraphs in two of the three presidencies. At Calcutta and Bombay the first sections of the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular railways were put in train; whilst an electric telegraph was begun between the former city and Diamond Harbour, and is now in active operation,—the first of a series of wires which will eventually connect the City of Palaces with the various seats of government throughout that presidency.

Not the least notable occurrence of this year was the passing an act which effected for all India what Lord William Bentinck had done for Bengal alone, by abolishing all pains and penalties attaching, under the old Hindu and Mahomedan laws, to any seceders from those faiths to Christianity, and who had hitherto, by such secession, forfeited all rights to family or other property.

Towards the latter part of the year the political horizon was dimmed by a small cloud in the direction of Burmah, arising out of sundry acts of cruelty and oppression to British subjects. These acts it was deemed by the authorities impossible to overlook; and an expedition was accordingly despatched in November from Calcutta, under Commodore Lambert, to demand reparation for the past, and a guarantee for the future.

Early in January (1852), it appeared as though the



sovereign of Ava was disposed to come to a friendly understanding with the governor-general; but before long it was too evident that this appearance of amity was but a pretext in order to gain time. A new viceroy arrived at Rangoon, and commenced active preparations, by no means of a pacific nature. It was in vain that Commodore Lambert endeavoured to obtain an interview with this functionary; at first his letters were treated coolly, but eventually with contempt; and it became evident that, in order to bring the Burmese to terms, forcible means would have to be resorted to.

Matters being in this state, the Commodore directed British residents in Rangoon to seek refuge on board the fleet. The order was obeyed, though a number were detained on shore and thrown into prison. On the morrow the fleet moved down the river, the steamers towing out some of the smaller ships. An insolent message from the viceroy was disregarded; but as one of the steamers passed the town with a Burmese man-of-war in tow as a prize, the garrison fired upon her, which was so warmly returned by the guns of her Majesty's ship *Fox*, as to cause the immediate abandonment of the Burmese forts.

Upon this open rupture, Commodore Lambert, being anxious for more positive instructions from the governor-general, left for Calcutta in a steamer, first declaring the ports of Burmah in a state of blockade. Although not quite satisfied, it is said, with one act—the seizure of the Burmese ship-of-war—the governor-general ratified all that had been done at Rangoon, and at once resolved upon pursuing the most energetic and prompt measures for the adjustment of these differences. Orders were despatched to Bombay and Madras for the immediate preparation for use of all the steamers available, with contingencies of



such troops as could be spared ; whilst active measures were at once taken at Calcutta for despatching, by steamers and transports, a powerful body of European and native troops, as well as a strong accompaniment of artillery. General Godwin was placed in command.

Various engagements took place, and the result, as might have been anticipated, was the annexation of the conquered portion of the Burmese empire. By a proclamation dated December 28, 1852, the governor general declared the province of Pegu annexed to the British territories ; and called upon all the inhabitants to submit themselves to the authority and protection of the government. He moreover intimated that no further conquests were intended ; but that in the event of the king of Ava refusing to hold friendly intercourse with the British government, or seeking to disturb their quiet possession of Pegu, further hostilities would necessarily ensue, which could have no other result than the total subversion of the Burman empire, and the exile of the king and his family.

The British empire in the East has thus gone on increasing, though contrary to the votes of the Parliament of England, and the wishes of the Court of Directors. Under governors general of the most opposite character, and notwithstanding all the efforts made to prevent it—the Empire has become what it is, a vast dominion extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—from the Indus to the Irawaddy. It is plain that from the battle of Plassey to the Annexation of Pegu, there has been a principle of expansiveness in it which no human authority could controul.* The hand of God has been most clearly visible in it.

* Friend of India.



CHAPTER XLIV.

WHAT ENGLAND HAS DONE FOR INDIA.

Circumstances under which the Government of India has been conducted by the British—Unavoidable wars—Much yet remains to be done in India—Character of the Mogul Government—Great curse left behind it—Character of British rule—Educational Institutions—Electric Telegraph—Railways—Postage—Lex Loci—Universal security—Public works—Jumna Canals—Great Ganges Canal—Missionary labours—Their objects and results.

It is little more than sixty years since it can be said that England began to govern India. Lord Cornwallis is the first Indian ruler who can be properly regarded as an administrator. Up to the time of his arrival the English in India had been engaged in a great struggle for existence. Clive conquered the richest province of Hindostan. Hastings reduced it to something like order. But it was not till the time of Cornwallis that administrative efforts took shape and consistency; and the entire internal management of the country was regulated by a code of written laws; intended to confer upon the natives of India the benefits of as much European wisdom and benevolence, as was compatible with a due regard for the character of native institutions.

During the sixty years that have passed since that period, India has never enjoyed any protracted season of rest. Its rulers have continually been engaged in wars



and contentions, which have resulted in the extension of the empire until it has reached the confines of the Afghan dominions : and many who would have been peaceful administrators, have been conquerors in spite of themselves. In considering the results of British rule we should not reason as if the present territory had been sixty years in British possession, and those years of settled tranquillity. During the whole period the government has been engaged with measures of defence or necessary aggression, which have left little leisure to consider, or money to provide the means of internal improvement.

The preceding chapters of this History have narrated the wars in Madras and Bengal—the Róhilla wars—the Mysore wars—the Maratta wars—the Java war—the Pindarree war—the Burmese war—the Afghán war—the Sindh war—the Síkh war—and the various minor wars that occurred in the course of Indian conquest. And yet most of the governors general have been men to whom the blessings of peace, and the claims of an industrial people, possessed far more attractions than the war policy pursued. Cornwallis — Minto — Amherst — Auckland — Hardinge — Dalhousie, were all by nature peace-governors. Still they were all arrested in their career of internal improvement, by the necessity of concentrating their efforts on great schemes of military organisation, for the subjection of enemies who threatened the security of the frontier, and compelled government to acquire new territory if they did not wish to relinquish possession of the old.

If some of these wars might have been delayed, few could have been altogether avoided. The English in India are not fairly chargeable with that lust of conquest which is sometimes said to have marked their career i



the East. They have been engaged in a continued struggle which has paralysed the efforts of humane men, whose earnest desire was the domestic improvement of the country. Providence, however, has determined that the British empire in India should expand to its present dominions. The whole History of India has been one of expansion—of acquisition : and it is only by so considering the fact that we can rightly estimate the much or the little which the British conquerors of India would have done to promote the happiness of the people who inhabit it.

Many great political problems are yet unsolved—many great social evils are yet unremedied. Much, doubtless, has yet to be done, before the voice of complaint can be authoritatively called upon in the name of reason, to be still. Unqualified commendation in such a case would be as unreasonable as unqualified censure—not because it is unqualified commendation of the Indian government, but because it is unqualified commendation of a terrestrial government, and therefore of one prone to all sorts of short comings, and liable to all kinds of error. If there were nothing more to be complained of there would be nothing more to be done. Now, in India, it must be acknowledged that there is very much to be done. But in England also there is much to be done. The government of England is and has been a government of progress. Englishmen are astonished at the evils which their fathers permitted, and their sons will be astonished at those which they are now permitting. And yet generations of Englishmen have boasted, and the voice of the world has justified the boast, of the blessings of the British Constitution. We have not to consider whether this or that government has attained perfection, but whether it is



making reasonable efforts to approach to it. We have not merely to consider whether the mass of the people are positively happy under any particular government; but whether they are happier than they were fifty or twenty years ago under that government. Progressive improvement is all that we have a right to expect, and that will be found in the History of British rule in India.*

The Mogul emperors erected some magnificent regal structures; but the people were subject to an unmixed despotism. This might not be an intolerable evil under a wise and liberal monarch like Akber; but in all that line of kings from Báber to Aurungzib there was but one Akber. His successor, whom the English found on the Mogul throne, was a feeble sensualist; throughout the country property was insecure, and life not held sacred. There was no supreme law: no tribunal to which all could appeal with a certainty of obtaining justice. On the contrary regal pleasure could at any time set aside legal authority: and all those in any offices of power became irresponsible tyrants.

The luxurious selfishness of the Emperors depressed and enfeebled the people. The country, indeed, is still prostrated by that great curse of Mogul tyranny. It has never recovered from the corrupting influences of the slavish fear which that great domination engendered, India owes much of the confirmed debasement of her morals to the Mogul. It may be that a conquered people are always more or less a false people—that it is not in the nature of men to be truthful with the yoke on their necks. But the form of government observed, and the character of the religion professed by the conquerors, must always regulate the degree to which political pros-

* Kaye.



tion is accompanied by moral debasement. Falsehood is the child of fear. And who can estimate the tremendous amount of falsehood against which the English legislator has now to contend? Falsehood which baffles the wisdom of the enlightened, and sets at nought the best efforts of the humane. The state of things which existed under the rule of the Mogul despots was too surely calculated to corrupt both Mahommedans and Hindus—to perpetuate among both classes the selfishness and faithlessness which years of milder rule and more ennobling example have yet scarcely even begun to eradicate.

An illustration of the character of that rule may be found in the following extract from a minute in which Sir C. Metcalfe, when acting governor-general in 1835, thus expressed his convictions of the duty of the governing power: "I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened, and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge—of which the liberty of the press is one of the most efficient instruments—is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be, that we are permitted by divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the establishment necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are doubtless here for higher



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purposes; one of which is, to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences of Europe, over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people."

Such sentiments would do honour to any Government; and it is most satisfactory to know that each governor-general who has since held that distinguished office, has cherished similar views; and only been prevented from more fully giving effect to them, by the unavoidable wars in which each has been engaged, and the demands these have made on the resources of the empire.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, however, some progress has been made. While the attention of the Government has necessarily been chiefly given to the organization of an efficient administration for the vast territories it has recently annexed, the general interests of the empire have not been overlooked.

In each of the presidencies educational institutions have been established, in which the highest branches of knowledge are taught by competent men, who have obtained honours in the Universities of England. Medical Colleges have also been commenced, where Hindu pupils have graduated after undergoing a searching and comprehensive examination. The late Chief justice of Bombay declared his conviction that "the Hindu slumber of two thousand years is terminating, and something like the same mental activity and thirst for truth is displaying itself as was seen at the revival of letters in Europe, when thirty thousand students might be observed at a single university, and submitting to great personal privation that they might cultivate their faculties." The Government of India has certainly shown every disposition to foster and encourage this intellectual cultivation.



The electric telegraph has been widely introduced, and arrangements are in progress for its extension till the remotest provinces shall share its advantages.

Private enterprise has been liberally encouraged in the formation of Railway Companies, through whose agency the immense benefits of steam will soon be enjoyed throughout India.

An act has just come into operation by which the rates of postage have been reduced so as nearly to correspond with those current in England and America. A letter may be sent any distance for half an anna, and a book weighing sixteen ounces transmitted to any part of India for two annas.

The *Lex Loci* by which natives are exempted from the penal consequences inflicted by the Hindu Law for a conscientious change of their religion, must be regarded as a most important step towards the moral elevation of the people.

Other legislative acts might be cited as showing a similar enlightened regard for the improvement of the civil and social condition of the great mass of the population. Especially should it be remembered that a government has been established under which the poorest cultivator feels that he may live in security, without fear of being deprived of life or property by the lawlessness of tyrants great or small.

There is hardly a native of India in the present day who does not rejoice in the thought that there is no longer any power in the state that can order, under the influence of a gust of passion, even the meanest labourer to be trampled to death by elephants, as was once the case. The poorest cooley is now entitled to all the solemn formalities of a judicial trial; and the punishment of death, by



whomsoever administered, and on whomsoever inflicted, without the express decree of the law, is a crime for which the highest functionary in the Company's territories is as much accountable as a sweeper would be for the assassination of the Governor-general.*

There could be nothing more worthy of a humane government than the prevention, as far as human wisdom can prevent, the recurrence of those periodical famines with which India has been visited. The effects of a drought are more terrible than language can describe. Upper India has occasionally suffered to such an extent, that all the wisdom and all the resources of the strongest government have not been able to mitigate it.

An extensive system of canal irrigation seemed the only possible way of meeting the exigency: and long attracted the attention of the ablest British officers. The Western Jumna Canal was the first great work of the kind executed. It extends from the foot of the Hills to Delhi and to Hissar. Its total length is 425 miles, and there are nearly 700 irrigation outlets from the main channel. This canal has called into being, in places formerly without an inhabitant, an active, contented, and prosperous peasantry.

The Eastern Jumna Canal, though a work of inferior proportions, has proved one of great importance and value. Its entire length is 155 miles, and is said to constitute, in many parts of its course, the most interesting and beautiful views to be found in India.

The next undertaking of this nature was the great Ganges Canal—the most magnificent work ever accomplished in India—if indeed it does not surpass in grandeur and importance every other monument of man's industry

*Kaye.



to be found in any part of the world. It traverses with its several branches more than 800 miles. This stupendous work has only just been completed, having been opened in (April) this year. Its able projector, Colonel Cantley, had the high gratification of witnessing the successful opening of the Canal, and of receiving from Lord Dalhousie the most flattering acknowledgments of the sense government entertained of his important services.

In addition to the various measures adopted by the ruling authorities in India for the general benefit, we may refer to the spontaneous efforts of English Christians, unconnected in any way with the Government, to impart the highest blessings to the inhabitants of India. They believe that India "has been committed to England's charge in order that the blessings which have made England great, may elevate degraded India too; that her high civilization may be shared by her dependent; that the knowledge, which has enlightened her intellect, may enlarge the minds of the Hindus; that the mental vigour of the conqueror may be imparted to the conquered; that the justice, the moral tone, and truth of England, may be infused into a people, who have not known them for ages. Above all, that the BIBLE, which has made England and America the missionaries of the world, may destroy India's idolatries and caste; raise her people from their degradation; purify them from the immoralities which their religion now teaches; make them just, truthful and happy; raise the female population; give them joys in this life, and animate them with the hope of eternal bliss.

The means adopted for the accomplishment of these great objects have been the formation of Missionary Societies, whose agents are endeavouring to convince the Hindus of the evils of idolatry and of the truth of Christi-



anity, by preaching to the old ; by teaching the young ; by giving to all the Bible and Christian books in their own tongues ; by endeavouring, in a word, to enlighten their understandings, to instruct their ignorance, to convince their judgments and draw their hearts ; so that they may become willing converts and abide in the faith which they are persuaded to embrace.

At the commencement of the year 1852, fifty years after the modern English and American Societies had begun their labours in Hindostan, and thirty years since they have been carried on in full efficiency, the STATIONS at which the gospel is preached in India and Ceylon, are three hundred and thirteen in number, and engage the services of *four hundred and forty-three Missionaries*, belonging to *twenty-two Missionary Societies*. Of these missionaries, *forty-eight* are *ordained natives*. Assisted by *six hundred and ninety-eight Native Preachers*, they proclaim the word of God in the bazaars and markets, not only at their several stations, but in the districts around them. They have thus spread far and wide the doctrines of Christianity, and have made a considerable impression, even upon the unconverted population. They have founded *three hundred and thirty-three native churches*, containing *eighteen thousand, four-hundred and ten Members*, or Communicants, of whom above five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted. These church members form the nucleus of a *native Christian community*, comprising *one hundred and twelve-thousand* individuals, who regularly enjoy the blessings of Bible instruction, both for young and old.

The efforts of missionaries in the cause of education are now directed to *one thousand three hundred and forty-seven day schools*, in which *forty-seven thousand, five hundred and*



four boys are instructed through the medium of their own Vernacular language; to *ninety-three* boarding schools, containing *two thousand, four hundred and fourteen* boys, chiefly Christian, who reside upon the missionaries' premises, and are trained up under their eye; and to *one hundred and twenty-six* superior day-schools, in which *fourteen thousand, five hundred and sixty-two* boys and students, are receiving a sound Scriptural education, through the medium of the English language. Their efforts in *Female* Education embrace *three hundred and fifty-four* day schools, with *eleven thousand, five hundred girls*; and *ninety-three* boarding schools, with *two thousand, four hundred and fifty* girls, taught almost exclusively in the Vernacular languages. The BIBLE has been wholly translated into *ten* languages, and the new Testament into *five* others, not reckoning the Serampore versions. In these ten languages a considerable Christian literature has been produced, including from forty to fifty *tracts*, suitable for distribution among the Hindú and Mussulman population. Missionaries have also established and now maintain twenty-five PRINTING establishments.

By far the greater part of this agency has been brought into operation during the last twenty years. It is impossible to contemplate the high position which it occupies, and the results which it has already produced, without indulging the strongest expectations of its future perfect success."*

* Rev. J. Mullens.

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THE END.