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A

HISTORY OF INDIA,

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

BY

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"OUTLINES OF HISTORY," ETC.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO., AVE MARIA LANE.

PREFACE.

THE present work may be regarded as supplemental to my History of England. It was not, however, undertaken with that view, but solely at the desire of my publishers, Messrs. Whittaker & Co., who wished to add a History of India to their Popular Library, and deemed me well qualified to write it. It is rather remarkable that my late friend, Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, when I informed him that I had (as I then thought) done with history, should have proposed to me this very subject, or rather a History of India and our Colonial Empire in general, to complete my account of the British Empire.

In this, as in all my historic epitomes, I have endeavoured (a thing nearly impossible) to unite fulness of information with brevity of narrative; and I trust, that from it may be derived a tolerably clear idea of the origin and progress of our Indian Empire. For my materials, I am indebted to the Histories of Mill and Wilson, and of Thornton, and the various histories, narratives, and biographies that have appeared, from the days of Clive and Orme, down to our own time. In the First Part, I have chiefly derived my information from Mr. Elphinstone's History of India, and the translations of Ferishta. It was not to be expected, that for the sake of a mere epitome, I should consult the archives of the India House, or carefully examine the Debates of Parliament, or the Reports of Committees. I have only aimed at giving a condensed view of the history, as it is to be found in the works just mentioned.

The historic literature of our Indian Empire is very creditable to the servants of the Company. It commences, as is well known, with the "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan," of Orme, the Thucydides, as we may style him, of our Indian Empire; for, like the illustrious Athenian, he has narrated with fulness, candour, and impartiality, the struggle for dominion of two potent nations; and viewing the affairs of Bengal as episodic, his work, though unfinished, possesses an epic unity. The style is remarkably clear, and not devoid of picturesqueness and animation; and as to the objection that has been made, of his being too minute, I very much doubt if that be a fault, in one who has to furnish materials for all future writers on the same subject. Certain I am, that without reading Orme's work, we shall never fully understand the mode in which the foundations of our wonderful empire in India were laid. It ought to be esteemed one of the classics of our language, and the species of oblivion into which it appears to have fallen is a discredit to our nation. I think, however, that if a new edition of it were published, in the octavo form, with notes by a competent person—Mr. Wilson, for example,—and lithographed copies of the excellent plans which it contains, it would find many readers and purchasers. After Orme's History may be mentioned the various historical writings of Wilks, Duff, Malcolm, Todd, and many others, all of which are extremely valuable.

It were greatly to be wished that Mr. Wilson, instead of writing notes to, and continuing the History of Mill, had become himself the historian of our Indian Empire. I know no one so well qualified to write that history in all its fulness, with all the detail which would leave nothing to be desired; for though Thornton's has many merits, and is written with much impartiality, it is rather a popular history, and the author avoids going much into detail, contenting himself with general views. As to Mill, I always regretted that he should have become the historian of India; for though I have not the slightest doubt of his honesty, his political notions were too utopian, and his prejudices so strong, that perhaps a third of his work is useless, and all his elaborate reasonings and theories are refuted by his annotator, often by simply showing that he was unacquainted with the real facts, and was combating a phantom of his own creation. As a writer on public law and political economy, Mr. Mill would, I think, be more in his place than as a historian.

On the various epitomes of the History of India, it would be unbecoming in me to make any observations; if I found fault with them, it might be ascribed to jealousy; if I praised them, it might be asked why I undertook a work, for which, it was apparent, there was little need.

It only remains for me to say a few words on the orthography of Oriental names and terms. Our earlier writers followed in some the Portuguese mode of spelling, in others they gave the sounds of their own language. Sir William Jones adopted the vowel sounds of the Italian language, marking the long vowels with an accent (*á é í*), a very elegant system, and one which I wish had been generally adopted; but it has the disadvantage of giving sounds to vowels, which they have not in English; and the words, therefore, cannot be pronounced at sight, by mere English readers. In consequence, though the system is followed by scholars, such as Elphinstone and Wilson, the more usual mode is to give the English sounds, though the double vowels (as *oo*), when they frequently occur, are disagreeable to the eye. As to myself, I have followed the two systems indifferently, merely using an *apex* instead of an acute accent (*î û*, for *í ú*); writing, for example, *Rajpût* and *Rajpoot*, *Amîr* and *Ameer*. I wish, however, I had not used the *ê*, for the proper mode of expressing the long *e* of other languages in ours, is by *ai* or *ei*, as in *rain*, *rein*, just as in French. I know that it is becoming the practice, to pronounce the latter diphthong like our *y*, a sound which it never has in our language, except in the mis-spelt *height* and *sleight*, and the mis-pronounced *either* and *neither*. In fact, it is, I believe, nearly peculiar to the German language, and was given by Erasmus to the Greek *ει*, a diphthong which, for the last two thousand years at least, has been pronounced by the Greeks like our *ee*, or the Latin and Italian *î*; and hence, I think it is, that our scholars have gotten their erroneous ideas on this subject. I therefore follow those who write *Hyder* and *Khyber*, and not *Heider* and *Khaiber*, or *Kheiber*. There is another sound, about which there is a difference, namely, the short *u* in our *but*, which is of perpetual occurrence in Indian words. The usual way is to write it with a *u*, as in Jumna and Punjab, but some use the short *a*, of the Sanscrit I believe, and write Jamna and Panjab. Of this, I totally disapprove; for few would ever pronounce that short *a* otherwise than in English. Finally, it is better to use *â* than *au*, for the long *a* of the Eastern languages is sounded as in *far*, not as in *fall*.

The coins mentioned in the following pages are the Rupee and the Pagoda; of which, the latter is equivalent to about four of the former. The rupee (Sanscr. *rupya*, silver) varies in value, but that of the Company is generally worth about 2*s*. In the time of Clive and Hastings, its value seems to have been higher, or rather the rupees then spoken of were those of the native princes, for Mill (iii. 325) gives the current rupee at 2*s*. 4*d*., and the Sicca rupee at 2*s*. 8½*d*., and our computations for those times are given after him. In counting, 100,000 rupees make a *lac*, and 100 lacs, or ten million rupees, a *crore*, so that a crore of rupees (at 2*s*.) is a million sterling. The usual way of stating sums in rupees is as follows; 2,76,34,270, namely, crores, lacs, rupees.

I have to apologize for two very shameful *errata* in the early pages of this work; of the former of which, I trust, the reader will be equitable enough to say, *Incuria fudit*.

T. K.

Adbury Lodge, Newbury,
May 1, 1847.

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ERRATA.

Page 4, col. 2, line 29, *for* diameter *read* circumference.
— 6, chap. iii. line 6, *dele* the inhabitants of.

HISTORY OF INDIA.

PART I.

MOHAMMEDAN DOMINION IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of India—Its Divisions—Hindustan—The Deckan Rivers — Climate — Natural Productions — Animals — Minerals.

THE country which, following the ancients, we name India [1], lies in the eastern hemisphere, between the eighth and the thirty-fourth degrees of northern latitude, and the sixty-eighth and ninety-second degrees of eastern longitude. Its length from north to south is about 1900, and its greatest breadth from west to east about 1500 miles. It is bounded on the north by the lofty range of the Himalaya [2] mountains, on the west by the river Indus, on the east by the high lands eastwards of the Brahmapûtra river, while its whole southern coast is washed by the waters of the Indian ocean.

This region consists of two distinct parts, separated by a mountain range. The northern portion is a large oblong plain, the southern a triangular peninsula; the former is named Hindûstân, the latter the Deckan [3]; the mountain range which divides them is called the Vindhya mountains. They commence near the peninsula of Gûzerât, and run eastwards to the river Ganges. The only island of any magnitude on the coast of India is the great island of Ceylon, to the east of its southern extremity.

The portion of India which we denominate Hindûstân, comprises the following regions. Eastwards of the Indus, from its mouth to its junction with the Garrâh, or united stream of the rivers Beyah and Sutlej, extends a wide sandy desert, like those of Africa or Arabia, as far as the Aravalli hills, which run northwards from the western extremity of the Vindhya range towards the city of Delhi. The whole of this tract, however, is not desert; its south-eastern portion is remarkably fertile; it contains many *oases*, and the region along the Indus, and watered by that stream, which overflows annually like the Nile, is rich and well inhabited. To the south of the Sandy Desert lie the two peninsulas of Cutch and Gûzerât; and to the north, and extending to the northern boundary of India, lies the fertile region named the Punjâb, *i. e.* Five-rivers, from the five tributaries of the Indus, by which it is watered.

Eastwards of the Aravalli range the country rises into an elevated plain, or table-land, to the height of about 2000 feet above the level of the sea. On the south-east it is supported by hills proceeding from the Vindhya ranges, north-east it slopes into the basin of the Ganges. It is now known by the name of Central India. The country thence eastwards is the basin of the Ganges, including in it Bengal, which is not usually reckoned a part of Hindûstân. It may be regarded as one great and extensive plain, though in some places the land rises above the general level. This region appears to have been the original seat of the civilization and power of India.

In the Deckan, on the west, the valley of the river Nerbudda lies between the Vindhya and another parallel range named the Injâdree or Satpoora, south of which range is the valley of the river Tapti. The land then rises into a table-land, extending to the extreme point of the peninsula; it is of varied and undulating surface, in general fertile, but displaying at times tracts of sandy desert. This table-land is supported on the west and east by ranges named the Ghâts, of which the western is the higher, and approaches nearer to the sea-coast. On either side of the peninsula between the Ghâts and the sea, are strips of land varying in breadth and in fertility. From that

[1] India is only the Latin name, the Greeks called it ἡ Ἰνδικὴ sc. γῆ or χώρα. It was derived from that of the river named in Sanscrit Sindhu, i. e. *river*, of which the Persians made Hindhu, the Hebrews, ejecting *n*, as usual, Hodu (Esther i. 1), and the Ionian Greeks dropping the aspirate Ἰνδός, and the people Ἰνδοί. The Sanscrit name of the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains is Yambudwîpa or Bharatakhanda.

[2] Snow-mountains; from *hima* snow, and *alaya* abode. Hence the Greeks named a part of the range Imaüs.

[3] The South; in Sanscrit, Dakshina.

part of Hindûstân where the eastern end of the Vindhya range sinks into the plain, an immense tract of forest stretches away southwards into the Deckan, till it reaches the river Godâveri.

The rivers of India are numerous and copious. Those of Hindûstân have their sources in the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains. From the former descend the Indus and its five tributaries, namely, the Jelûm, the Chenâb, the Râvi, the Beyah, and the Sutlej[4]; the Jumnah, the Ganges, the Cusi, and the Brahmapûtra, and their tributaries. The latter sends forth the Chumbul, the Betwah, the Sôn, and others, all of which are received in the Jumnah and the Ganges. The rivers of the Deckan, inferior in magnitude to those of Hindûstân, pour their waters into the sea on either coast of the peninsula, having their sources chiefly in the Vindhya and the western Ghâts. On the west coasts are the mouths of the Nerbudda and the Tapti, the only streams of magnitude on this side; on the east coast are those of the Mahânuddi, the Godâveri, the Kistna, the Palar, the Pannar, the Caveri, and others of less dimensions.

The climate of India is of course various, owing to its extent and its difference of elevation; but it is in general hotter than that of any part of Europe. The annual quantity of rain that falls in India is far beyond that of any country in this continent. The rain is periodical, and is brought by the monsoon, or south-west wind from the Indian ocean. On the west coast and in Hindûstân the rainy season is from May till October, the hottest part of the year, and it is introduced by tremendous storms. At that time the Ganges and other rivers overflow and flood the country, the greater part of Bengal, for example, becoming like one huge lake. Hence in the history we shall often find military operations interrupted by this season. The height of the Ghâts and of the table-land prevent the eastern coast from feeling the early effects of the monsoon, and it is not till the month of October, when the monsoon blows from the north-east, that it receives its supply of rain.

The vegetable productions of India are numerous and valuable. The teak used in ship-building, the wonderful banyan-tree (*Ficus Indicus*), the cocoa, the various palms and acacias, the bamboo which attains to such a prodigious size, and many other useful trees, are abundant. Numerous mulberries yield food to the silk-worm, the cotton-tree and cotton-shrub are every where to be seen, the ebony, the sandal, and other ornamental woods grow abundantly. India has also, from the most remote ages, been famed for its ginger, pepper, and other spices; the indigo derives its name from India; it is the native country of the sugar-cane.

Rice ranks among the most celebrated of the natural productions of India; but it is an error to suppose that it is the principal food of the bulk of the people. Such it is, no doubt, in Bengal, part of Bahar, and the coast of the peninsula; but rice cannot be cultivated without abundance of moisture; and on the high lands of Central India and the Deckan, for example, it is only a luxury; the ordinary food of the people of Hindûstân being wheat, and that of the people of the Deckan the grains named Jowâr, the Dûrra of the Arabs (*Holcus sorgum*), and Bâjra, small grains which grow in bunches on reedy stems. Mangos, melons, and all sorts of gourds, plantains, pine-apples, and other sweet fruits grow in the greatest plenty.

Among the animals of India the elephant is the most famous. It was formerly employed much in war, but now is only used for the carriage of baggage. Camels are also numerous in India, but the Indian horses are small, and of inferior quality; they are only used for riding. The beast of draught is the ox, which is used alike for the plough, the cart, and the carriage. Its colour is white, its form is slender, and it can travel nearly as fast as a horse.

India does not produce the precious metals, but its iron has always been famous. Diamonds, and other precious stones, are found there in great quantities. The finest pearls in the world are obtained from the beds near the isle of Ceylon. Rock-salt is found in the Punjâb, and saltpetre is obtained in great quantities in various places.

[4] Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes, Hyphasis, were the names given by Alexander's Greek followers to the four of these rivers which they saw; for they did not come to the Sutlej. The Sanscrit names, from which three of those are formed, are Vitastâ, Chandrabhâgâ, Acrôvati, and Vipâsâ.

CHAPTER II.

Early Inhabitants of India — Hindoos — Their Colonies — Religion — Sects — Morals — Transmigration of Souls — Buddhists — Jains — Sciences and Arts — Laws of Manu — Castes — Government.

In our inquiries into the history of any ancient country, one of the first questions which presents itself, and one which rarely can be answered satisfactorily is, who were its original inhabitants, and whence did they come? With respect to India, this question cannot be answered more satisfactorily than elsewhere. From its nature and position, it is manifest that it must have been one of the earliest abodes of the human race; and we appear to have some reason to think that here, as in so many other parts of the world, its first occupants were an inferior race, who were invaded and overcome by a more highly endowed portion of our species.

In the forests and dales of the Vindhya mountains, in the great forest district stretching from Bahar in Hindûstân into the Deckan, and along its eastern coast, are still to be met tribes differing essentially from the more cultivated inhabitants of India. They are known by various names. In the west of Bengal and Bahar they are called Côls, in the great forest and in the part of the Vindhya mountains adjoining it, they are named Gonds; thence westwards in that chain, Bheels; and towards Gûzerât, Coolies. In the southern woods of the Deckan they are known by the name of Côlarees, and a general name for them is Parias, that is, Mountaineers. They are of small but active forms, and dark complexion, with something of the negro in their features. They go nearly naked, are armed with bows and spears, and plunder wherever they can. They have a superstition of their own, though they worship one or two of the Hindoo gods. Spirituous liquors are sought by them with avidity; they eat the flesh of oxen and of animals that have

died a natural death. They are objects of horror and detestation to the genuine Hindoos[5].

A very different race meets the view in Hindûstân, and along the coasts of the Deckan. These are tall and slight, with handsome oval countenances, long eyes and eyebrows, dark, smooth, lank hair, an olive skin, but in the cooler regions, and when not much exposed to the weather, even fair, like that of more northern nations. In a word, every thing tends to show their connexion with the Persians, and to prove them to be a portion of the Caucasian or Japhetian, thence named the Indo-German family. Their language, the ancient Sanscrit, and its modern dialects, is clearly akin to the Zend or ancient Persian, the Greek, the Latin, the German, and many other western tongues, while the Tamul, the Telinga, and the other dialects of the Deckan, are as clearly of a totally different family. The more general opinion is, that this superior race came with the Persians from a common country, the high lands of Central Asia, and migrated into India where they subdued the aboriginal tribes, and reduced them to a servile condition. For a long time the Vindhya chain formed their southern limit; but at length they invaded the Deckan also, and spread their religion and institutions over it. They also sent colonies to the isle of Ceylon, and gradually diffused them over the isles of the Indian Archipelago[6]. There is also reason to suspect that Hindoo colonists settled on the coast of Africa, and thence proceeding down the Nile, gave to Egypt those institutions so similar to those of India. But this, as will easily be seen, must have occurred at a time long prior to the commencement of history.

The religion and the political institutions of a people always most justly attract the principal attention of the inquirer. The Hindoo religion, as it is now and has been since the commencement of history, is one of the most intricate and degrading systems of polytheism and idolatry that can be conceived; yet, like every other system, it seems to have been in its origin pure and simple, and gradually to have been corrupted. This appears from the examination of the Hindoo literature, for this people seem always to have possessed the art of writing, and their books claim an age beyond that of the literature of almost any other people.

At the head of the literature of the Hindoos stand the four (or rather three) Vedas, each of which contains hymns and prayers, moral precepts, and theological arguments. From the directions which they contain respecting the calendar, it is inferred that the lowest date which can be assigned for their reduction to their present form is the fourteenth century before the birth of Christ. The religious system which these venerable monuments present, is that of a pure monotheism, joined with the worship of beings superior to man, presiding over the elements, the stars and planets. Personified virtues and powers likewise appear in them, but not prominently. Their general principle is, that every thing, "the substance as well as the form of all created beings, was derived from the *will* of the self-existing Cause."

The next authority is the Code or Institutes of Manu, of which we shall presently say more, whose date is the ninth century before our era. In this there is an account of creation, in which the Supreme Being produced a mundane egg, whence all things, the deities included, arose mediately or immediately. This creation, however, only endures for a limited period, when all will be reduced to nothing, Brahma, its support, being absorbed in the divine essence. The inferior deities named in it are Indra, air; Agni, fire; Varuna, water; Prithivi, earth; Surya, sun; Chandra, moon; and some gods of the planets; Dherma, justice, and other personifications.

The two great epic poems, the Ramayuna and the Mahâbhârata, with the numerous Puranas, as they are named, come next in order, and present the copious and variegated system of popular belief and mythology which is known to have prevailed for more than 2000 years in India. In this system the Deity is resolved into three persons (the Trimûrti, *i. e.* Three Forms), according to his three great acts of creation, preservation, and destruction, named Brahma, Vishnoo, and Seeva, to each of which is joined a female principle to denote his active power. These are Seraswati, Lakshmi, and Parvati. This last, the power of Seeva, is also named Deva, Bhavani, and Durga. Beside these deities and those above named, we meet Pavani, wind; Cuvera, wealth; Cama, love; Cartikeia, war; Yama, the judge of the dead; and Ganesa, who presides over entrances and commencements. These, too, have their wives and attendants, and the whole number of the denizens of the Hindoo Olympus, gods, genii, celestial singers and dancers, and others, is said to exceed three hundred millions. Each of the great deities has a heaven, or celestial abode of his own; those of Seeva and of Indra are the most renowned, and are luxuriantly described in Hindoo poetry.

Unlike the gods of Greece, the deities of India are often represented as strange or hideous in form. Ganesa has the head of an elephant; Seeva has a necklace of skulls, so also has his wife, whose form is still more direful than his own. A multitude of heads or arms is given to a deity to denote his wisdom or power; for we may notice that all these deformities have arisen from art following too closely the language of poetry and devotion.

The Hindoos are divided into two great sects, the adorers of Vishnoo and of Seeva. The latter are by far the most numerous, but the literature of India belongs chiefly to the former. The ten Avatars or incarnations of Vishnoo, in which he took flesh for the good of mankind, form an important part of the religious legends of the priesthood. The subject of the great epic poem, the Ramayuna, is his conquest, in the form of a king named Rama, of the Deckan and Ceylon. A more celebrated, if possible, appearance of Vishnoo (though not one of the ten Avatars), was that in which he was a king's son, like Cyrus, brought up by a herdsman under the name of Crishna to conceal him from a tyrant that sought his life. He afterwards overcame and slew the tyrant, and in the great poem, the Mahâbhârata, which celebrates the wars of the kindred families of the Pandûs and

[5] There is every reason to suppose that our gypsies were originally Bheels. These last are smiths and horsedealers, thieves, jugglers, and dancers; and they are passionately fond of gold and silver. In all these points they correspond with the gypsies, whose Indian origin is historically certain; but the gypsies are remarkable for sobriety.

[6] It is probable that the Mysoreans, and the other civilized inhabitants of the Deckan, are descendants of the *aborigines*.

the Cûrûs, we find Chrishna the ally of the former. His youthful adventures among the Gôpis, or milk-maids, are the theme of poetry, and Chrishna is the favourite deity of the women of India.

To enumerate the absurd legends, to describe the numerous ceremonies, the painful and disgusting penances of the Hindoo religion, is not possible in our limits. When we take a view of them, and more especially recollect, that it is a fixed point with every sect that faith in their god supersedes all religion and morality, we might expect to find the Hindoo character devoid of every estimable quality. But such is by no means the case; the principles of morality are too deeply seated in the human heart, and too essential to the well-being of society to allow them to become extinct, and the religious books of India are too full of its precepts to let them fall into oblivion. Accordingly, the most candid observers of the Hindoo character speak favourably of it, and, lascivious as are many of the legends and ceremonies of the Hindoo religion, the chastity and domestic virtues of the Hindoo women are far above the general standard in some Christian countries.

Like every other people, the Hindoos have a firm belief in a future state of existence. Their great doctrine on this head is that of the transmigration of souls, according to which, the soul after quitting its present abode, will animate another body, either that of a man or an inferior animal, and as the kind of body depends on a man's conduct in this life, this doctrine, as far as it is not affected by that of faith, is not without moral effect. They also hold that in the intervals of being on earth, the soul is, according to its merits, for thousands of years, happy in one of the numerous heavens, or tormented in one of the many hells of their creed.

The system of religion here faintly sketched, is the prevalent, almost the only one professed by the modern Hindoos. It is named Braminism from the Bramins, who are its teachers. But five, or even ten centuries before our era, a great reformation of it was effected by a person named Buddha, who rejecting the Vedas and Puranas, and the distinction of castes, taught that all men are brethren and equal; that future happiness, which consisted in absorption in the divinity, was to be obtained by the practice of virtue, by contemplation, and by mortification of the senses. The Buddhist, too, was on no account to deprive even the smallest insect of existence. The sect long flourished in India, but at length the Bramins, aided by the temporal power, succeeded in suppressing it by persecution. Its votaries had already carried it into all the countries north and east of India, and it is computed that nearly two-thirds of the people of Asia profess it. Certainly no other religion can vie with it in extent of sway. One of the most curious circumstances in Buddhism is its astonishing agreement with the Church of Rome in rites, ceremonies, and institutions. Like it, for example, it has monasteries of both sexes, with injunctions of celibacy. The resemblance is so strong, that the early Catholic missionaries regarded it as a device of the devil to turn men from the truth.

There is still in India a sect named the Jains, who agree in some points with the Buddhists, and like them reject Braminism. But they are not numerous, and the Bramins have long since lost the power to persecute.

A contemplative people, as the Hindoos are, must early have turned their thoughts to the subjects denominated metaphysical. We accordingly find that all the theories on that subject, formed by the Greeks or by the moderns, were already familiar to the sages of India. Thus the system devised by the excellent Bishop Berkeley, and developed and explained by him with so much ingenuity and elegance, was known in India centuries before our era. So also was the atomistic theory, on which Epicurus founded his philosophy, long familiar to the Hindoos.

In astronomy the Hindoos had advanced far before the Greeks. They were acquainted with the precession of the equinoxes, they knew the causes of eclipses, and had constructed tables by which they might be accurately calculated. Some of their sages had discovered the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and had even with tolerable accuracy calculated its diameter. A passage in the Vedas asserts that the pole-star changes its position, the constellations are named in the epic poems, and the fixed stars are spoken of as bodies of great magnitude, which shone by their own native light. In geometry the Hindoos had made discoveries, which were not made in Europe till modern times. Such were the mode of expressing the area of a triangle in terms of its sides, and that of expressing the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle. In arithmetic, they are entitled to the fame of the invention of the decimal system of notation. But, in algebra, the merits of the Hindoos are still higher, and discoveries not made in Europe till the last century were familiar in India for centuries before. This, however, is the latest of their sciences, and the works which treat of it have all been written since the commencement of our era. Finally, the Hindoos were versed in trigonometry, in which they went far before the Greeks, and were acquainted with theorems not discovered in Europe till the sixteenth century.

All the subtleties of logic, and the refinements of grammar, are to be met with in Sanscrit works on these subjects. In the copious poetic literature of India, the niceties and varieties of metre are as numerous as in that of ancient Greece. The Sanscrit language is, for copiousness, beauty, flexibility, and nicety of structure, almost without a rival, in the opinion of those most competent to form a judgment on the subject.

The wonderful excavated temples of Ellora, Salsette, and Elephantina, and the Pagodas[7] on the Coromandel coast, prove that in architectural skill, and in the art of sculpture, the ancient Hindoos far exceeded the Egyptians. That in the most remote ages the Hindoos understood the art of ship-building, and made distant voyages, is proved by their colonies. There is also in the ancient Code of Manu a law relating to the interest of money, in which that lent on *bottomry* is particularly noticed; and this, we may observe, could only take place among a people familiar with the sea.

For the political condition of ancient India, the great authority is the Code of Manu. We think, however, that those inquirers are wrong, who

[7] We will describe the form of the Pagoda in the subsequent part of our work. The name is a corruption of the Sanscrit Bhahagavate, holy house.

suppose this Code to be like that of Justinian, the Code Napoléon, or similar works—a system of laws and regulations which were actually in force, and cited as the law of the land. We rather agree with those who view in it an ideal system, like the Republic and Laws of Cicero, in which the actual constitution and laws of the state are taken as a basis, and such additions made, as in the writer's opinion would bring it nearer to perfection. On this principle, and we believe on no other, can we account for the extravagant privileges and powers given in it to the Bramins, and the intolerable precepts laid down in it for the regulations of their lives, privileges, and powers which they never possessed, and precepts which they could only partially have obeyed.

The great feature of the Laws of Manu is the division of the people into *castes*[8] like those that prevailed in ancient Egypt. These were four in number, viz. the Bramins, the Cshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras, the first of which, it is said, proceeded from the mouth, the second from the arm, the third from the thigh, and the fourth from the foot of Brahma.

The Bramins were not, as is generally, but perhaps erroneously stated, a sacerdotal caste, for we nowhere read of their conducting public worship, like the priests of Judæa or Egypt. They seem rather to have been "an order of men who followed a course of religious study and practice during the first half of their lives, and spent the other in a condition of self-denial and mendicity[9]." They were, in fact, a people of philosophers, who were to be the instructors of the other classes in their public and private duties; for, though the next two classes might read the Vedas, the Bramin alone was to expound them. The king was to have a Bramin for his counsellor, and justice was to be administered by Bramins; but the Bramin was to shun all worldly honour, and not to seek to accumulate wealth. A Bramin was to spend the first quarter of his life as a student, rendering every, even the most menial, service to his master, and he was to support himself by begging from door to door. In the next quarter he was to marry and live with his wife and family, discharging the duties of his order, of which the principal was teaching. When this was concluded, he was to become an anchorite, retiring to the woods, clad with bark or the skin of an antelope, letting his hair and nails grow, sleeping on the ground, exposed to the rain and sun, "without fire, without a mansion, wholly silent, feeding on roots and fruit." The last stage relieves the Bramin from much of this austerity. He returns to the world, dresses nearly as the ordinary Bramin, is released from all ceremonies and external forms. His only business is contemplation, till at last he quits the body "as a bird leaves the branch of a tree at its pleasure." Such is a sketch of a part of what we may term the *ideal* of the life of a Bramin; for, though individuals might and did reduce it to practice, such could never have been done by all the members of a numerous society.

[8] This, like so many other words relating to India, has come to us from the Portuguese. In their language, and in that of Spain, *casta* is race, kind, or quality; but we know not its origin.

[9] Wilson, note on Mill, i. p. 191.

The Cshatriyas were the military caste; the royal dignity belonged to them, and all places of rank and command; for the Bramins only expounded the laws, and took no part in the executive government. The Cshatriya was to defend the people, to give alms, read the Vedas, and sacrifice, and he was to shun sensual gratifications.

The Vaisya was to cultivate the land, keep cattle, follow trade, and lend money on interest. He too was to give alms, sacrifice, and read the Vedas.

The lot of the Sudra was the most unfavourable. He was to be the servant of all, but his exact station can hardly be ascertained. In some respects he resembled the Spartan helot; but though in the Code he is treated with the utmost contempt, and as if he were not of the same species with the higher classes, yet Hindoo nature was always too gentle to allow of such being the practice, and the lot of the Sudra was never so hard as that of the helot or of the middle-age serf.

The men of the first three classes might marry into the classes beneath them, but this was not permitted to the women. If a Bramin woman married a Sudra, their son was a Chandala, the lowest of mortals, and if *he* united himself with a woman of the higher classes, their progeny, says the law, "is more foul than their begetter." It is from these marriages that many of the numerous sub-divisions of caste have been derived.

A name by which the three higher castes are distinguished, is that of the *twice-born*. A Bramin in his fifteenth, a Cshatriya in his twenty-second, a Vaisya in his twenty-fourth year was solemnly girt with a band or thread, the first of cotton, the second of *cusa*-grass, the last of wool, which went over the left shoulder and across the breast. This was regarded as a second birth; the Sudra who was not admitted to this honour was only a *once-born*.

The government in India was absolute monarchy. The king and all his officers were of the Cshatriya caste. It would appear that the monarch was at liberty to choose his successor among his sons. Great monarchies seem to have been unknown; though occasionally an able and warlike prince may have made several minor states acknowledge his supremacy.

The revenue, as in the case of all ancient monarchies, arose chiefly from a share in the produce of the land. In the case of grain, this varied from a twelfth to a sixth, according to the quality of the soil; it might, if necessary, be raised to a fourth. The king had also a sixth of the produce of trees, of honey, and other natural productions, and of manufactures. There were also duties on merchandise, licences for carrying on trades, etc.

The country was partitioned into civil and military divisions. There were lords of one, ten, a hundred, and a thousand villages, and over these were officers of high rank, whose duty it was to inspect them, and correct any abuses they might commit. The military divisions did not coincide with the civil ones; in each was a body of troops under an approved officer. It is probable that some part of the revenue of the district was assigned for the pay of the officer and his troops.

It is probable that the village-system, which is of so much importance in modern India, is coeval with the formation of the state; but as it is not spoken

of in the Laws of Manu, we will defer our notice of it.

The preceding very imperfect sketch is intended to give some idea of the condition of India in the ages previous to the time when the expedition of Alexander the Great first brought Europeans into that country, and excited a curiosity about its learning, its laws, and its institutions. Even at that time, we find, by comparing the accounts of the Greeks with the early Hindoo authorities, that there was a decline, especially in religion; idolatry, and the abominations connected with it, had spread over the land, and the *Suttees* or practice of women burning themselves with the bodies of their husbands, which is not even alluded to in the Laws of Manu, or the epic poems, had come into use. It appears also that the monastic orders, a sure mark of the corruption of religion, existed then in India.

CHAPTER III.

Earliest notice of India — Alexander the Great — Græco-Bactrian Kingdom—Vicramaditya—The Khalifat—Invasion of India — Decline of the Khalifat—Sebuktegin — Mahmûd of Ghuzni—His Invasions of India—Temple of Sômnât—Character of Mahmûd—End of his Dynasty.

INDIA has no history of its own; our first knowledge of it, as of so many other countries, is derived from the Greeks. Herodotus, when describing the extent of the Persian empire under Darius I., names India as one of the provinces; but this was only the part of it about the Indus, and as ~~the inhabitants of~~ a strip of country under the Parapamisus mountains to the west of that river is said to have been possessed by Indians, it is doubtful if the dominion of the Persian monarch extended into the Punjâb. When Alexander the Great had overthrown the Persian empire, his lust of conquest led him to India. He took the route trodden by all the invaders of that country, namely, along the valley of the river Câbul, crossed the Indus at probably the modern Attock, and conquered the Punjâb as far as the Beyah, and but for the mutiny of his troops, which forced him to return, he might have reached the Ganges. As he probably proposed to revisit India, he took care to establish an interest there by extending the dominions of the two rajas Taxiles and Porus, the first of whom had been his ally, and the second his most powerful opponent. His death, however, and the confusion into which his empire fell, ended all plans for the subjugation of India. The princes of the Macedonian empire which established itself in Bactria held the vale of the Câbul, and extended their claims over India; and Menander, one of these princes, marched into that country as far as the Jumna. But there was a powerful native empire, named by the Greeks that of the Prasii, whose capital, named Palibothra, lay at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sôn; and the Syrian kings, Seleucus and Antiochus, formed alliances with the sovereigns of this empire against the Bactrian monarch, whose dominion was finally overturned by the hordes of the north. It is to the circumstance of this alliance that we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of India at that time, for Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus, resided for many years at the court of Palibóthra[1].

The history of India henceforth becomes very obscure. We collect from the Hindoo books, and from inscriptions, that the tribes that possessed Bactria used to make inroads into the Punjâb, and that the religious feuds, which ended in the overthrow of Buddhism, raged during this period; but still all accounts concur in representing the country as being in a very flourishing state. The court of the princes, whose name was Vicramaditya, who reigned at Ayôdha, *i.e.* Oude, and who extended their dominion to the Deckan, was famed for magnificence, and for the patronage of genius and science. It was at the court of the first prince of this name, a few years before our era, that Calidâsa, the author of the beautiful drama, Sacôntala, flourished. Foreign trade was carried on extensively during this time, and the products of India were diffused over the Persian, the Roman, and other empires; but darkness broods over the internal history.

While India was thus in repose, the prophet of the Arabs appeared. The inhabitants of the desert, animated by enthusiasm, fell on the effete and feeble empires of Rome and Persia, and every where victory followed their banners. Their empire speedily extended from the Ebro to the Oxus. The Khalîfehs, or successors of the prophet, had finally fixed their abode at Bagdad on the Tigris; their dominion extended into Câbul, and but for the decay of enthusiasm, the feuds that broke out, and the inertness and degeneracy always consequent on long-established rule in the East, the conquest of a large part of India might have been achieved.

India was, in fact, invaded by the troops of the Khalîfehs. In the reign of the Khalîfeh Walîd I. an Arab ship was seized at a placed named Dêwal, in Sind. Application was made to Dâhir, the rajah of that country, for restitution, but he replied that Dêwal was not under his authority. The governor of Basra, for the Khalîfeh, would not be satisfied with this reply, and he despatched from Shîraz, under the command of his nephew, named Mohammed Câsim (a youth of only twenty years of age), a force of 6000 men to invade the territory of the Hindoo prince (711). Câsim led his little army in safety through the desert of Mecrân, which, under the name of Gedrosia, had so nearly proved fatal to Alexander the Great. He appeared before Dêwal, which he reduced, and thence advancing crossed the Indus to Mêrûn (now Hyderabad), whence he proceeded, apparently northwards, to Alôr, the then capital of Sind, but of which the ruins only now remain. His force had by this time been augmented by a body of 2000 horse from Persia; but the rajah was awaiting him with an army of 50,000 men. Câsim seeing the great disparity of numbers, prudently resolved to act on the

[1] The prince with whom Seleucus was allied is called Sandracottus. Sir W. Jones was struck with its resemblance to Chandraguptas, *i. e.* Moon-protected, a celebrated name in Hindoo story. The history of the two, who were both usurpers, in fact, coincides, and thus the first point in Indian chronology was obtained. Palibothra is the Sanscrit Pataliputra, whose ruins are near the modern Patna. The name which Megasthenes gives the Sôn is Erannoboas, a Græcised form of its Sanscrit name Hirânyavahas, *i. e.* Gold-armed.

defensive, and, choosing a strong position, awaited the attack of the Indians. Fortune favoured him; a fire-ball, flung from the Arab line, struck the elephant on which the rajah rode, which, in its terror, rushed from the field, and plunged with its rider into the adjoining river. An event of this nature, as we shall frequently see in our subsequent narrative, is decisive of a battle in India; and though Dâhir mounted a horse, and made every effort to rally his troops, the fortune of the day was not to be restored, and he had only the consolation of falling bravely in the midst of the enemy's cavalry. His widow defended the town when assailed with a courage worthy of her late lord, until the supply of provisions was exhausted. She then proposed to the garrison to devote themselves to death, after the manner of India. They complied with her wishes; piles were kindled, in the flames of which the women and children voluntarily perished; the soldiers then, having bathed and devoted themselves, opened the gates, rushed forth sword in hand, and soon fell beneath the weapons of the Moslems. Câsim gave the Indians one more great defeat, and thus reduced the whole dominions of rajah Dâhir, which seem to have included Multân, the southern extremity of the Punjâb.

It was always the custom of the Moslems to grant religious toleration to any people who had submitted to their arms. In the present case the rule was to be observed as usual; but in the towns which had been taken by storm, the Hindoo temples had been rased, and the endowments of the Bramins seized to the use of the state; and to restore the revenues, and rebuild the temples, seemed to the scrupulous mind of Câsim somewhat more than mere toleration. He referred the matter to the Khalîfeh, whose reply was, that those who had submitted were entitled to the privileges of subjects; they should therefore be allowed to rebuild their temples, and celebrate their worship; the lands and money of the Bramins should be restored, and the three per cent. on the revenues which they had hitherto enjoyed should be continued to them.

Among the prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Câsim were two daughters of the late rajah. Hindoo beauty had always been highly prized by the Arabs, and that of these maidens was such, as made them appear worthy of being presented to the Commander of the Faithful. They were accordingly transmitted to Damascus (then the seat of the Khalifat), but when they were brought into the presence of Walîd the elder princess burst into tears, and declared that she was unworthy of his regards, as she had been dishonoured by Câsim. The Khalîfeh, filled with rage, issued orders for Câsim to be sent to him, sewed up in a raw hide. The orders were obeyed, and when the Hindoo princess beheld his body she cried out, exultingly, that Câsim was innocent, but that she had thus avenged the death of her father, and the ruin of her family.

The conquests of Câsim in India were retained for a space of about thirty-five years, when the Hindoos rose against the Moslems, and expelled them; and more than two centuries elapsed before they reappeared in India.

The Khalifat shared the fate of all Eastern empires; its princes, degenerated and successful rebels, established independent states. The house of Ommiyah, which, by the murder of Ally, the son-in-law, and fourth successor of the Prophet, had obtained the imperial dignity, reigned at Damascus over the East and the West, during a space of ninety years, when the standard of revolt was raised against them in Khorasân (the northern province of Persia), in favour of the descendants of Abbas, the Prophet's uncle. The latter proved victorious, but they were unable to reduce the western portion of the empire, which thus remained divided. Bagdad, which they built on the banks of the Tigris, became the capital of the Abbasside Khalîfehs. The names of Harûn-er-rashîd, and of his son Almamûn, give lustre to this line; but after the death of the latter, the Khalîfehs sank into indolence and sloth, and fortunate adventurers made themselves independent, especially in the eastern parts of the empire, where the population was chiefly Turkish, and of a warlike and predatory character. One of the most celebrated of these lines was that named the Samanee, who came from beyond the Oxus, and during a period of 120 years held the eastern part of Persia. The fifth of these princes had a slave named Alptegîn, whom, being a man of ability, he gradually raised, till he made him governor of the province of Khorasân. On the death of the prince, the chiefs consulted as to which of his sons should be his successor, and Alptegîn having happened to give his vote against him who proved the successful candidate, he was deprived of his government, and his life was in danger. Followed by a trusty band of dependents, he retired into the mountains of the present Afghanistân, and fixed his abode at Ghuzni, whence he could defy the efforts of his enemies. He here reigned over the adjoining country during fourteen years. He gave his only daughter in marriage to Sebuktegîn, a Turkish slave, whom he had raised as he had been raised himself by the Samanee prince, and appointed him his successor.

As the dominions of Sebuktegîn extended along the valley through which the river Câbul runs to its junction with the Indus, the adjacent Hindoo districts had been subject to the incursions of his rude and warlike subjects. Jypâl, the rajah of Lahore, therefore, thinking the present a favourable occasion, resolved to become the assailant in turn, and he led an army to the opening of the Câbul valley, beyond Pêshâwer. The two armies met at this place, but ere they could engage there came on a violent tempest, which so disheartened the Hindoos, that the rajah found it expedient to propose an accommodation. Sebuktegîn was at first unwilling to treat, but he finally agreed, on receiving fifty elephants, and the promise of a large sum of money, to allow the rajah to retire unmolested.

Messengers arrived soon after at Lahore to demand and receive the money that had been promised; but the rajah cast them into prison, and, having formed alliances with some of the powerful rajahs of Hindûstân, he advanced with a force, it is said, of 100,000 horse, and a far larger number of footmen, towards the valley of the Câbul. Sebuktegîn, though his troops were far inferior in number, relying on their superior discipline, strength, and courage, hesitated not to give battle, and by a succession of well-directed charges of cavalry, he gained a decisive victory. The Hindoos were driven to the Indus with prodigious slaughter, and the riches of their camp became the prey of the victor.

The whole country to the Indus submitted to Sebuktegîn, who retired, leaving a governor with 10,000 men in Pêshâwer to maintain his dominion over these provinces.

Sebuktegîn soon after led his forces over the Oxus to aid the Samanee prince against the hordes of the eastern Tartars. His services were rewarded by his being confirmed in his own government, and that of Khorasân being conferred on his son Mahmûd. He died on his way back to Ghuzni.

Mahmûd, who was in his thirtieth year, and who had been trained up to arms from his earliest youth, happened to be away at his government when the death of his father occurred. His younger brother Ismael, therefore, having possessed himself of the treasure accumulated at Ghuzni, and thus being able to secure the support of the chiefs and the army, resolved to contest the empire. Mahmûd, having tried the way of accommodation in vain, a battle ensued, in which Ismael was defeated and captured. He remained a prisoner for life, but was treated with every indulgence that could be bestowed upon him with safety.

By taken advantage of the fallen state of the Khalifat and the decline of the power of the Samanee, Mahmûd speedily rendered himself independent, and having received the investiture of Khorasân from the Khalifeh, he assumed the title of Sultân, being the first Moslem prince that bore it (999).

Mahmûd was brave, prudent, and energetic; he possessed military skill, he was animated with a passion for glory, he was zealous for Islâm, and he was covetous of wealth; rest, therefore, was alien from his nature and his position. Conquests might easily, no doubt, have been made in the west, and his dominion, possibly, be extended to the Mediterranean, but India held out far greater inducements to the Sultân of Ghuzni. Accordingly, in the fourth year of his reign (1001), he led a force along the vale of the Câbul, and near Pêshâwer he encountered the troops of Jypâl of Lahore. The rajah was defeated and made a prisoner, and the victor, traversing the whole of the Punjâb, passed the Garrah, and stormed and plundered the city of Butinda. He returned with the booty to Ghuzni, having released Jypâl and the other Hindoo prisoners for a ransom and the promise of tribute. The rajah, on his return to Lahore, disgusted with a life in which he had endured so many disasters, or moved by superstition, transferred his dominions to his son Anungpâl, and, mounting a funeral pile, set fire to it with his own hands and expired in the flames.

Mahmûd again crossed the Indus to punish a rajah who had refused to pay his portion of the tribute imposed on Jypâl. His third expedition (1004) was undertaken to punish the Afghan chief of Multân, Abû-'l-Futteh-Lôdi, who, though a Moslem, had rebelled and formed an alliance with Anungpâl of Lahore. The troops of Anungpâl encountered those of Mahmûd near Pêshâwer, and the rajah was defeated and obliged to seek refuge in Cashmîr. Mahmûd then advanced and laid siege to Multân. At the end of seven days the proffered submission of the chief was accepted; for tidings had reached the Sultân of the invasion of his northern dominions by the Tartars. Leaving, therefore, the charge of the affairs of India to Sewuk-pâl, a converted Hindoo, he returned with all speed to Ghuzni. A battle fought near Balkh, in which Mahmûd employed 500 Indian elephants to great advantage, ended in a signal victory on his part, and the vanquished foe hastened to recross the Oxus. The approach of winter prevented Mahmûd from passing that river and following up his success.

Being now at leisure, he resolved to take vengeance on Anung-pâl for his former unprovoked hostility, and he assembled troops for a fourth descent into India (1008). Anung-pâl, aware of his danger, called on the rajahs of the states which had aided his father, representing to them the common danger, as, if he were subdued, they would be attacked in their turn. His arguments proved effectual, and a larger army than had yet assembled advanced to Pêshâwer. The sight of their numbers nearly daunted Mahmûd, and he acted on the defensive. His camp was surrounded by the Hindoo troops, and the Guckars, a mountain tribe, even forced their way through his intrenchments, and committed great havoc among his cavalry. At length one of these accidents so frequent in Indian warfare gave him the victory. The elephant on which Anung-pâl rode, taking flight, ran off the field; the Hindoos, thinking themselves deserted by their sovereign, gradually gave way; the troops of Mahmûd pressed on, the flight became general, and the slaughter, as usual, immense. Mahmûd entered the Punjâb, and hearing of the immense wealth said to be contained in the temple of Nagarcote, which stood on a hill at the foot of the Himalaya mountains in the district between the Râvi and the Beyah rivers, he resolved to become its possessor. As the garrison had been withdrawn for the late battle, the priests offered no resistance, and the accumulated treasure of ages was conveyed to Ghuzni, where, during a festival of three days, the conqueror displayed it to the view of his subjects.

In the year 1010, Mahmûd took Multân and brought Abû-'l-Futteh to Ghuzni, where he remained a prisoner for life. The following year he penetrated further into India than he had yet done, for he took the city of Tanêsan, near the Jumna, plundered its wealthy temple, and brought an immense number of captives with him to Ghuzni.

Two plundering expeditions to the delicious vale of Cashmere succeeded, in the latter of which the army suffered severely from the weather on its return; Mahmûd then turned his arms northwards, and reduced the whole region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, after which he thought again of India and of plunder.

In this his ninth expedition (1017) he resolved to penetrate to the sacred Ganges. With a force of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, he set out from Pêshâwer, and keeping close to the foot of the mountains where the rivers of the Punjâb are most easy to cross, he proceeded till he had passed the Jumna. He then turned southwards, and led his troops under the walls of Canouj, a city described as abounding in wealth and magnificence, and whose ruins at the present day are said to cover an extent of ground equal to that occupied by London. The rajah, unprepared for resistance, came forth, and surrendered himself and family to the Sultân, by whom he was received to friendship and alliance, and his town was left uninjured. Mahmûd then turned northwards, repassed the

Jumna, and took, plundered, and destroyed the city of Muttra, one of the principal seats of Hindoo devotion. He then returned to Ghuzni, laden with spoil, and followed by captives.

Mahmûd returned to India for the tenth time (1022) to the aid of the rajah of Canouj, who had been attacked by the rajah of Calinjer. But his ally had been cut off before he arrived, and neither in this expedition, nor in one which he undertook the following year, was he able to exact vengeance for him. As Jypâl II., the rajah of Lahore, was so unwise as to oppose him, when on his way to the aid of Canouj, he deprived him of his dominions, and annexed them to Ghuzni. This was the first permanent settlement of the Mohammedans to the east of the Indus, and led to their future dominion over India.

In his twelfth and last expedition to India (1024), Mahmûd, instead of directing, as before, his course eastwards, turned to the south. On a promontory of the peninsula of Gûzerât stood a temple named Sômnât, dedicated to the god Seeva, and celebrated for its sanctity and its wealth. The intelligence of its treasures awoke the zeal of the pious sultân, and he resolved to destroy this abode of idols. His army was assembled at Multân, and as the sandy desert was to be crossed in order to reach Gûzerât, he collected 20,000 camels for bearing food and water, and directed his soldiers to furnish themselves as abundantly as they could with all things necessary. He thus marched without loss over a space of 350 miles of a soil, presenting now tracts of mere sand, now of bare hard clay, and reached Ajmîr, on the east of the Aravalli hills, in safety. The rajah of this place, and his people, fled from the town, which Mahmûd plundered, and then, proceeding along the plain on the west of the Aravalli mountains, he at length entered Gûzerât, and appeared before its capital, Anhalwâra, whose rajah also fled at his approach. Without making any delay, he pushed forwards for Sômnât, the object of his wishes. He found the temple surrounded on three sides by the sea, and the isthmus on the land side strongly fortified. The garrison defended the works with that desperate valour, which the Hindoos have so often shown in the maintenance of fortified places. On the third day the adjoining rajahs appeared with a large force for the rescue of the temple, and Mahmûd was obliged to suspend the siege to engage them. While the battle was raging most strongly, the rajah of Anhalwâra arrived with his troops, and the Moslems began to give way. Mahmûd threw himself on the earth, imploring the Divine aid, and then springing to horse, cheered his troops and advanced; his men, ashamed to desert their prince, rushed forwards; the foe, yielding to the impetuosity of their charge, fled with the loss of 5000 men, and the garrison, now hopeless of relief, took to their boats, leaving the temple to its fate.

Mahmûd, on entering the temple, was dazzled with its magnificence. Fifty-six pillars, it is said, richly carved and adorned with precious stones, supported the roof; and from a massive golden chain hung the lamp which gave light to the temple. As he advanced to destroy the idol the priests flung themselves at his feet, offering an enormous ransom if he would spare it. Mahmûd paused, his officers were preparing to advise him to accept it, when, crying that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than as the seller of idols, he raised his mace and struck the image. Others followed his example, and a large quantity of diamonds and other precious stones which had been concealed within it, poured forth to reward his zeal and piety[2].

The treasures obtained by the sultan were immense, and so delighted was he with the climate of Gûzerât, where he remained for some time, that he had thoughts of resigning Câbul to his son, and making it his permanent residence. On reflection, however, he gave up this idea, and setting a Hindoo prince over the country he prepared to set out on his march homewards. Finding his army somewhat reduced in number, and learning that the rajahs of Ajmîr and of Anhalwâra had collected a force to oppose him, he did not deem it prudent to return by the route he had come. He resolved, therefore, to try a new one, along the sands eastwards of Sind. The hardships and sufferings which his troops encountered in this region, especially during three days in which their guides led them astray, are not to be described. Despair seized on all, and many died raging mad; when at last they reached a pool of water, they saw in it the direct hand of Providence. At length their hardships terminated, and they arrived once more at Multân, whence they returned to Ghuzni. But before the end of the year the unwearied Mahmûd was again on the Indus, to chastise the people of its west bank, named Juts, who had harassed his troops on their march from Gûzerât. They took refuge in the islets of the river, but Mahmûd, who had provided himself with boats, pursued them to their retreats, and destroyed nearly the whole of them.

Mahmûd returned no more to India. The distracted state of Persia now attracted his ambition, and in the three remaining years of his reign he succeeded in making himself master of nearly the whole of that country. He died at Ghuzni, on the 29th of April, 1030, after an active reign of thirty-three years.

Sultân Mahmûd, of Ghuzni, is one of the most illustrious names in Oriental history; where vigour, justice, and generosity, are the qualities that most attract praise in a sovereign. For though Mahmûd loved wealth, and was insatiable in the acquisition of it, he dispensed it liberally in the rewarding of merit, and the advancement of literature and science. He founded a university in his capital, liberally endowed, and furnished with a museum and an extensive library. It is to him that Persia is indebted for the preservation of her mythic and poetic annal, in the Shâh-nâmeh of Ferdousi, to whom he committed the task of clothing them in verse. Unfortunately, his illiberal treatment of the poet is a stain on his memory. Mahmûd likewise adorned Ghuzni with piles of architecture, vying with those which he had admired at Canouj and Muttra, and his nobles emulated each other in

[2] This is the account given by Ferishta. Wilson says that the earlier Mohammedan writers have none of these particulars, and he therefore doubts the whole story. Sômnât, he says, was a mere *Linga* or stone cylinder, and not an image. Mahmûd, it is said, carried away the gates of the temple, and set them up in his tomb at Ghuzni; whence, of late years, they, or their successors, have been brought back to India—a measure, *in the opinion of many, of no great* wisdom.

following his example. His own tomb, and the mosk named the Celestial Bride, are the most celebrated of his buildings.

After the death of Mahmûd, his descendants occupied the throne of Ghuzni for about a century and a half; but they were almost continually engaged in hostilities with the Seljûkian Turks, and other tribes on the north and east of their dominions, and devoted but little of their attention to India. Lahore, however, continued to be the seat of their power in that country; and the general of one of these princes, on one occasion, led an army over the Ganges (1098). The two last sovereigns of this house, when driven from Ghuzni by the Afghân chiefs of Ghôr[3], fixed their abode in Lahore. The last of these monarchs, Khûsrû Malik, was overcome by the Ghorians in the year 1186, and the dynasty of Ghuzni terminated in his person.

CHAPTER IV.

House of Ghôr—Shuhâb-ud-dîn—His conquests—Slave-kings—Khûtb-ud dîn—Shems-ud-dîn Altumsh—India invaded by the Moguls—Rukn-ud-dîn—Sultana Rezia—Nasir-ud-dîn—Anecdotes—Bulbun—Ky Kobâd—End of the Dynasty.

Ghyas-ud-dîn, who succeeded to the Ghorian dominions in the year 1157, swayed by that strong family affection for which this house was distinguished, associated in the government his brother Shuhâb-ud-dîn, whose military talents were considerable. It is pleasing to observe, that he never had reason to repent of his generosity.

The views of Shuhâb-ud-dîn, as soon as the brothers had rest on the north and west of their dominions, were turned to India; and his conquests there were so extensive, that he may justly be regarded as the true founder of the Mohammedan empire in that country. In the year 1176 he commenced his career of conquest by the capture of the city of Ûch, on the edge of the Desert, near the confluence of the rivers of the Punjâb with the Indus. Two years later he invaded Gûzerât, but was defeated, and in his retreat he encountered toils and sufferings similar to those experienced by Sultân Mahmûd. He then turned his arms against Khûsrû Malik, the Ghuznivide prince of Lahore, and obliged him to give his son as a hostage. He next overran Sind as far as the sea-coast. Again he engaged in hostilities with Khûsrû of Lahore, who, having formed an alliance with the Guckârs, appeared now so formidable, that Shuhâb-ud-dîn deemed it best to have recourse to stratagem. Pretending alarms on the side of Khorasân, he made proposals of peace to Khûsrû, sending him as a pledge of his intentions his son, who was a hostage. Khûsrû, incautiously quitting Lahore, advanced to meet him and Shuhâb-ud-dîn, placing himself at the head of a strong body of cavalry, and marching with secrecy, contrived to get between him and his capital, and then, surrounding his camp, forced him to surrender (1186). Khûsrû and his family were sent to Ghyas-ud-dîn, by whom they were confined in a castle for the rest of their lives.

The rival Mohammedan power in India being thus at an end, Shuhâb-ud-dîn had now only the native princes to contend with; and the want of union which prevailed among them, joined with the inferiority of discipline and experience in their troops, as compared with those hardy warriors whom he drew from the mountains beyond the Indus and the Oxus, appeared to give him greatly the advantage in the contest. Still the struggle was severe, and none fell until after a gallant resistance.

His first attack (1191) was on Pritwî, the rajah of Delhi and Ajmîr. The battle was fought between Tanêsar and Carnâl, on the great plain to the north of Delhi. The tactics of the invaders were those of the Turkish tribes at all periods of their history, to charge with successive bodies of cavalry, and thus to keep up an unceasing series of attacks; those of the Hindoos were to keep together, and endeavour to outflank and surround the enemy. On this occasion the latter tactics prevailed. While Shuhâb-ud-dîn was assailing the centre, he learned that his wings had given way, and soon perceived that he was surrounded. He instantly made a desperate charge into the thickest of the hostile array, and reached and wounded the rajah's brother, when he himself received a wound, and would have fallen from his horse, had not one of his followers leaped up behind him and carried him off the field. The rout of the Moslems was complete, and they were pursued by the victors for a space of forty miles.

Shuhâb-ud-dîn returned to Ghuzni, where he remained for two years, apparently engaged in pleasure, but secretly brooding over his defeat, the memory of which deprived him of all rest; for, as he told an aged councillor, "he never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety." At length (1193), having assembled a gallant army, he set out once more to seek for conquest in India.

Pritwî and his allies, aware of his approach, had assembled so large a force, that, when Shuhâb-ud-dîn appeared, the rajahs sent to tell him, that if he was prudent they would permit him to retire unmolested. He feigned alarm, represented himself as only his brother's general, and spoke of sending home for instructions. Having thrown them off their guard by this conduct, he crossed at daybreak one morning the stream which lay between the two camps, and fell with fury on the unprepared Hindoos. Their camp, however, was of such extent, that a part of the troops had time to form; and while they held the assailants in check the fugitives fell into the rear, and the whole army then advanced in four lines. Shuhâb-ud-dîn and his men fell back, maintaining a running fight till they had drawn the Hindoos out of their ranks, and then a furious charge was made by a body of 12,000 select horsemen, cased in steel-armour, and "this prodigious army," says Ferishta, "once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins."

Many Hindoo chiefs fell in the fight. Pritwî was made a prisoner, and was put to death in cold blood. The town of Ajmîr was taken, a part of its inhabitants were massacred, and the rest led into slavery. Shuhâb-ud-dîn then returned to Ghuzni, leaving the command in India with his general,

[3] The mountains of Ghôr are to the west of Câbul and Ghuzni, and eastwards of Khorasân.

Khûtb-ud-dîn, who speedily made himself master of the city of Delhi.

The next year saw Shuhâb-ud-dîn again in India, where he defeated the rajah of Canouj [4], and took the city of that name, and Benâres, on the Ganges, one of the greatest seats of Hindoo devotion. He then returned to Ghuzni, and in the following year he descended anew into India, where he laid siege to the strong fortress of Gwâliôr, to the south of Agra; but, being recalled by some troubles in Khorasân, he left the conduct of the siege to Khûtb-ud-dîn, by whom the place was reduced. It had scarcely fallen, when news arrived that the rajah, whom Shuhâb-ud-dîn had set over Ajmîr, was hard pressed by the rajahs of Gûzerât and Nagôr. Khûtb-ud-dîn hastened to his relief, but was defeated, and severely wounded, and with difficulty he made his escape to Ajmîr. Being reinforced from Ghuzni, he forced the rajahs to raise the siege, and he then carried his arms into Gûzerât, where he took and garrisoned its capital, Anhalwâra. Meanwhile, another of Shuhâb-ud-dîn's generals had reduced Oude and North Bahâr, and, having waited on Khûtb-ud-dîn to inform him of his success, he returned and subdued the rest of Bahâr, and also the greater part of Bengal.

Shuhâb-ud-dîn, on the death of his brother (1202), succeeded to the sole monarchy. He was at that time engaged in a war with the shah of Khârism, who had lately risen to power on the ruins of the Seljûkees; and, though victory smiled at first on his arms, he at length met with a total defeat. As a report was spread of his death, many of his officers threw off their allegiance. One declared himself independent in Multân, and the Guckars descending from their mountains ravaged the Punjâb, and seized on Lahore. Khûtb-ud-dîn, however, remained unshaken in his fidelity, and the indefatigable sultan was soon in a condition to reduce all the rebels. The Punjâb was recovered, and the Guckars were even induced to embrace the Mohammedan faith. Shuhâb-ud-dîn then set out on his return to Ghuzni. When he came to the Indus, he ordered his tent to be pitched close to the stream, that he might enjoy the cool air from its waters. During the night some Guckars, who had lost relations in the late engagement, and who were on the watch for vengeance, swam across the river, and, entering the tent unobserved, despatched the king with several wounds (1206).

The dominion of the house of Ghôr ended with Shuhâb-ud-dîn; for though he was succeeded by his nephew, Mahmûd, the authority of that prince was merely nominal, and he died after a reign of only five or six years. A series of civil commotions ensued, and all the dominions west of the Indus fell eventually to the monarchs of Khârism. Mahmûd, on his accession, had sent the insignia of royalty, and the title of king, to Khûtb-ud-dîn, who remained faithful to him, as he had been to his predecessor, as long as he lived. On the death of Mahmûd, he assumed independence, and became the founder of a sovereign dynasty in India.

The dynasty of which Khûtb-ud-dîn was the founder is named that of the Slave Kings, for such had been the original condition of himself and of his successor, in whose family the line was continued.

Slavery in the East, it is well known, is not the degraded condition it was in the free states of ancient Europe. The slave is considered to be a member of the family; he is treated, when deserving, with consideration, is often married to a daughter of his master's, or succeeds to his property in default of heirs, and when the master pursues the path of ambition and attains to dominion, his faithful slaves, if possessed of abilities, rise to civil or military dignities. Such was the career of Khûtb-ud-dîn. He was a Turk by birth, and when a child he was brought to Nishapûr in Khorasân, and sold to a man of wealth. His master, finding him a boy of talent, had him instructed in the Persian and Arabian languages. On his death, Khûtb-ud-dîn was sold, and he was purchased by a merchant, who presented him to Shuhâb-ud-dîn, under which able and discerning prince his advancement was rapid. We have seen how exemplary his fidelity was to his prince; to the honour of Shuhâb-ud-dîn it is to be recorded, that his attachment to his servant was equally firm, and that he never showed the slightest want of confidence in him, or made him feel the caprice of a despot.

Khûtb-ud-dîn had married the daughter of Eldôz, another of his late master's slaves, and who now ruled in Ghuzni. The latter, heedless of this connexion, asserted a claim to dominion over India, and, advancing with an army, made himself master of Lahore. He was speedily, however, driven over the Indus by Khûtb-ud-dîn, who, in his turn, made himself master of Ghuzni. But Eldôz soon after expelled him, and he returned to India, where he spent the remaining brief period of his reign in tranquillity. His reign only lasted four years, but he had governed India during twenty years as the vicegerent of Shuhâb-ud-dîn and his successor.

He was succeeded by his son Arâm, a prince of no capacity, who, after reigning only a twelvemonth, was dethroned by his brother-in-law Altumsh (1211).

Shems-ud-dîn Altumsh had also been a Turkish slave. It was said that he was of a noble family, and, like the patriarch Joseph, was sold out of envy by his own brethren. He was purchased by Khûtb-ud-dîn for 50,000 pieces of silver—a proof of his great talents and capacity. He rose rapidly through different stations, and at the time of his revolt he was governor of Bahâr. Though a good number of his brother officers had invited him to occupy the throne, many others were opposed to him, and his elevation cost him a battle. Eldôz also, being driven out of Ghuzni by the Khârismians, attempted to obtain possession of India, but he was defeated and captured by Altumsh (1215), and he ended his days in captivity.

In was during the reign of Altumsh that the celebrated Chingiz Khân, having united the various tribes of Moguls and Tatars [5], under his dominion,

[4] The rajah fell in the battle, and his body, we are told, was recognized by his false teeth.

[5] There has been great confusion made between the Mongols or Moguls, and the Tatars. The difference has been explained by Schmidt: see Bohlen Das alte Indien, i. 101.—The terms originated with Chingis Khân, who named the broad-faced, flat-nosed, yellow-skinned race, who conquered China and other countries, Kökä-Monghöl,

began to spread devastation over Asia. He burst like a storm over Khârism, whose sultan had murdered his ambassadors, defeated his troops with immense slaughter, and reduced all his dominions. In the pursuit of that sultan's gallant son and successor Jellal-ud-dîn, the Moguls, we are told, passed the Indus, and on their return, with the barbarity characteristic of them, as provisions were running short, they massacred 10,000 Indian prisoners rather than give them their liberty.

Altumsh reduced to obedience all the Mohammedan chiefs in India who aimed at independence. In the course of his reign he subdued Malwa, which had been hitherto unassailed, and he thus was paramount lord of the whole of India north of the ocean and the Vindhya mountains, with, of course, more or less of authority according to local and other circumstances. He died in 1236 after a reign of twenty-five years

Altumsh was succeeded by his son Rukm-ud-dîn. Unlike his gallant sire, the new monarch gave himself up to the society of dancing women, players, and buffoons, leaving affairs of state to his mother. This woman, who had been a Turkish slave, acted with such cruelty, putting, for example, to death the females of Altumsh's harêm (probably her former rivals), that a rebellion speedily broke out, which ended in the deposition and death of Rukm-ud-dîn after a reign of only seven months, and (an event almost unique in the Mohammedan East) the elevation to the throne of Rezia the eldest daughter of Altumsh.

"Sultana Rezia," says Ferishta, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinise her actions most severely, will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." Her father had perceived and fostered her talents, and he used even to commit the regency to her during his absence in war. "He saw his sons," he said, "giving themselves up to wine, women, gaming, and the worship of the winds (*i. e.* flattery), and therefore thought the government too heavy for their shoulders to bear, while Rezia, though a woman, had the head and heart of a man, and was better than twenty such sons."

The sultana changed her dress, assumed the royal robes, and each day sat in public, giving audience and administering justice. A party headed by the late vizir, however, opposed her elevation, and even defeated a body of her troops; but she succeeded in sowing discord among the chiefs, and the confederacy dissolved and melted away. She might now, perhaps, have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign, had she not been subject to a defect which seems inherent in women invested with sovereign power—she had a favourite. This man, named Jummul, had been originally an Abyssinian slave, and was consequently dark of hue as compared with the Afghân and Turkish officers. She made him first Master of the Horse, and then elevated him to the important post of Amîr-ul-Ômrâ (*Commander of Commanders*), or Commander-in-Chief of her army. It is not said, however, that she indulged him in any improper familiarity; the only charge made against her is, that she allowed him to lift her to her horse.

A Turkish chief named Altûnia was the first to rebel. The queen marched against him, but her army mutinied. Jummul was slain and herself made a prisoner, and delivered into the hands of the rebel. Her brother Behram was then placed on the throne, but the captive empress, meanwhile, became the wife of Altûnia, and at the head of an army they advanced to Delhi to recover the throne. Fortune, however, proved adverse, and they were forced to seek safety in flight. At the head of a second army Rezia again advanced to Delhi; but her troops, composed of Indians, were, as Ferishta observes, no match for the Tatars in the service of Behram; they were defeated, and the queen and her husband being taken in the pursuit were barbarously put to death (1239).

The reigns of Behram and his successor Masâûd offer little to interest. During the reign of the latter (1244) the Moguls made an irruption from the north-east through Tibet into Bengal, the only invasion of India on that side which history records[6].

The throne now came to Nasîr-ud-dîn, a grandson of Altumsh (1246) who had been thrown into prison on that monarch's death, where he remained till released by Masâûd, who sent him as governor to Baraj. The wisdom and policy which he exhibited in this office recommended him, it is said, to the Ômrahs, by whom he was placed on the vacant throne. He gave the office of vizîr to Ghyas-ud-dîn Bulbun, a man of great talent, who had taken an active part in all the commotions of the late reigns. The reign of this prince, which lasted twenty years, presents the usual series of insurrections of vassals, intrigues of courts, and Mogul invasions. He died in 1266, without heirs, and the throne was occupied by the vizîr Bulbun.

We are told of Nasîr-ud-dîn, that when he was a prisoner he used to support himself by copying books, and that he even continued to do so when seated on the throne. One day, as he was showing a Korân of his own writing to one of his Ômrahs, the latter pointed out a word which he said was wrong, the king assented and drew a circle round the word. When the Ômrah was gone he began to efface the circle. "I knew," said he to one who was present, "that the word was right, but I thought it better to erase it than to touch the heart of a poor man by bringing him to shame."

This prince had no concubines, and only one wife, whom he made do all the housewifery herself. One day she complained to him that she had burned her fingers baking bread, and requested to have a maid to assist her; but he replied, that he was only a trustee for the state and would burden it with no needless expenses. He exhorted her to persevere in her duty, and God would reward her.

Ghyas-ud-dîn Bulbun was a Turk by birth, and related to the emperor Altumsh. When a youth he was taken a prisoner by the Moguls, and carried to Bagdad to be sold as a slave. He was there purchased by a man of piety and learning, who, on

i. e. Heavenly People; and those tribes of Upper Asia, who were subject to them, Tatar, *i. e.* Tributary. These last were chiefly Turks, a portion of the fair Caucasian race. Turk and Tatar are, therefore, nearly equivalent. In our Outlines of History (p. 305), following Klaproth, we asserted the direct contrary.

[6] Mill seems to doubt the truth of this statement; but, as Wilson observes, it is not long since Nepâl was invaded by a Chinese army. As we proceed, we shall find an Indian army sent to invade China.

discovering who he was, brought him to Delhi and presented him to Altumsh, by whom he was liberally remunerated. Altumsh gave Bulbun one of his daughters in marriage after he had advanced him through a series of offices, civil and military.

On the throne Bulbun proved a tyrant. In the time of Altumsh forty of the principal slaves, of whom he was one, had entered into a compact for mutual support, and most of them had attained to high stations. He now wished to put an end to such a system, and he contrived to make away with his surviving confederates. He laid it down as a rule to confer office only on men of family, and he even avoided all converse with men of low origin. He also made it a rule to exclude Hindoos from office. He established rigorous game-laws, and, as in his youth he had exceeded in the use of wine, he now prohibited even moderate indulgence in it. In cases of rebellion he punished not merely the leaders, but even their meanest followers.

The ravages of the Moguls had extended so far and wide, that there were few royal houses in Asia of which there were not members reduced to poverty and driven into exile. Many of these princes sought refuge, where almost alone it was to be found, at the court of Bulbun. The men of letters also repaired thither, and by their presence gave lustre to the palace of his eldest son, Mohammed, who loved and encouraged literature. But the emperor's second son Kera was a man of pleasure, and *his* palace was the resort of players, musicians, and buffoons.

The Hindoo population of the region between the Jumnah and Ganges, and southwards, had never been completely subdued, and their plundering excursions had now become very serious evils. Bulbun directed his forces against them, and slaughtered them without mercy, and he cut down, to the extent of a hundred miles, the forests which afforded them a retreat. Tôgral, the governor of Bengal, having assumed independence, was at first successful against the troops sent to reduce him. But the emperor, though nearly in his eightieth year, took the field against him in person (1285), and the rebel was speedily defeated and slain. The vengeance of Bulbun was poured forth unsparingly on his adherents, and people of all ranks were executed.

While Bulbun was engaged in suppressing rebellion in the east, his gallant son Mohammed had the charge of defending the west against the invasions of the Moguls. One army he defeated and drove off, but soon another appeared; and, though the prince gained a complete victory over it, he was slain in the pursuit by a party of the enemy's horse. The loss of this his best and ablest son, joined with the cares and anxieties of state, proved too much for the nature of Bulbun, stern and rugged as it was, and he sank beneath the stroke of fate (1286). The Ômrahs placed on the throne Ky Kobâd, the son of Bakarra Khân the governor of Bengal, one of the sons of Bulbun.

Ky Kobâd, a youth of eighteen, was devoted to pleasure; "he delighted in love and in the society of silver-bodied damsels with musky tresses." The nobles, swayed by the example of the monarch, gave a loose to enjoyment, and dissoluteness and luxury every where prevailed. The vizîr Nizâm-ud dîn, hoping eventually to secure the crown for himself, encouraged his young sovereign in all his excesses; and, in order to alienate the affections of the Turkish soldiery from him, by infusing into his mind doubts of their fidelity, he persuaded him to invite their chiefs to a banquet and there to massacre them.

Bakarra Khân, hearing how matters were going on at court, advanced at the head of his army, in order to put things on a better footing. The emperor, induced by his vizîr, advanced to oppose him. When the armies were in presence, the father sought an interview with his son, which was granted in spite of the efforts of the vizîr, who resolved, however, to make it as humiliating as possible to Bakarra Khân. This prince submitted to every thing till, having come into the royal presence and made several obeisances, he saw the king still sitting unmoved on his throne. Overcome by this uttermost mark of filial disrespect, he burst into tears. Ky Kobâd, whose nature, like that of most voluptuaries, was weak rather than bad, was overcome. Regardless of his vizîr's injunctions, he sprang from the throne, and ran to cast himself at his father's feet; his father caught him, and they fell weeping on each other's neck, and all present were affected at the sight. But this effect was only transient, and Bakarra Khân, after several interviews, finding the vizîr's influence not to be subverted by peaceful means, returned to Bengal, leaving his son to his fate.

That fate was not long delayed. Ky Kobâd speedily destroyed his constitution by debauchery, and, viewing his vizîr as the cause of his ruin, he had him taken off by poison. The reins of government, which he was unable to hold himself, became the subject of contest among the leading Ômrahs, of whom there were two parties, namely, the Turks and the Afghâns; and it ended in the triumph of the latter, the assassination of Ky Kobâd, and the elevation to the throne of Jellal-ud-dîn Khilji (1288). The unfortunate Ky Kobâd had reigned only two years.

CHAPTER V.

House of Khilji — Jellal-ud-dîn — First Invasion of the Deckan—Alâ-ud-dîn—Story of Dêwal Dêvi—Massacre of the Moguls—Mobarek—House of Tôghlak—Ghâzi Khân—Shâh Mohammed—Attempt to invade China—Fictitious Money—Mohammedan Kingdom in the Deckan—Firûs-ud-dîn—Invasion of India by Timûr—The Syuds—House of Lôdi—Behlôl—Secunder—Ibrahim—End of the Afghân Dominion in India.

JELLAL-UD-DÎN was seventy years of age when he was placed on the throne of India. Mildness and benevolence, almost vices in an Eastern monarch, distinguished his character. He pardoned rebels, he lightly punished offenders; hence the frame of government was relaxed, governors withheld their tributes, bands of robbers were collected, and the roads became insecure.

It was in the reign of this monarch that the Moslem conquests were extended into the Deckan, which, during the three centuries that the Mohammedans had been in India, had remained hitherto unassailed. The emperor's nephew, Alâ-ud-dîn, was of a very different character from himself.

Having acted against insurgents in Bundelcund and Mâlwa, and gained booty and collected troops, he set out (1294) at the head of only 8000 men from Karrah (between the Jumnah and Ganges), the seat of his government, and traversing the great forest which spreads thence into the Deckan[7], he reached Elichpûr in Berâr unopposed; for he pretended that he had quitted the service of his uncle in disgust, and was going to enter that of a Hindoo rajah. He then turned westwards, and soon appeared before Deôgiri (now Douletabâd), the capital of the Maratta country, which was the main object of the expedition. He found the rajah Kâmdeô nearly unprepared for defence. The town was taken and pillaged, the rajah having retired, after a brief resistance, with what men he could collect, to the adjoining nearly impregnable hill-fort. Here he was besieged by Alâ-ud-dîn, who gave out that his troops were only the advance guard of the army of the king; and the timid rajah had actually concluded a treaty for surrender, when his son returned with an army which he had hastily collected, and attacked the besiegers, in reliance on his superiority of numbers. Victory, however, remained with Alâ-ud-dîn, who now raised his terms; but the rajah resolved to hold out, expecting his allies to come to his aid. Just then, however, it was discovered that, in their haste to victual the fort, they had taken sacks of salt in mistake for sacks of grain, and that, in consequence, their provisions were nearly run out. An immediate surrender was the result, with the delivery of an immense quantity of money and jewels, and the resignation of Elichpûr and its dependencies. Alâ-ud-dîn then retired through Candêsh to Mâlwa.

This expedition, when the smallness of the force and the difficulties of the route through mountains and forests are considered, places the military talents of Alâ-ud-dîn in a high rank. It is much, therefore, to be regretted that treason to his excellent uncle should have been united with them. By feigning fear of the king's resentment for having thus acted without his orders, he induced the unsuspicious old man to come almost alone to Karrah. Alâ-ud-dîn fell at his feet; the king raised him, and was patting him on the cheek and affectionately reproaching him for having distrusted an uncle who had reared him and who loved him as his own child, when, on a signal, assassins posted for the purpose rushed forth and stabbed him to the heart. His head was then stuck on a spear and carried through the camp and city (1295). Alâ-ud-dîn forthwith assumed the royal dignity, and, having gotten the late king's family into his hands, he put his two sons to death.

From the vigorous character of Alâ-ud-dîn, it may easily be inferred that his reign was glorious in war; but his internal administration was also beneficial, and general prosperity prevailed among his subjects. His first expedition was against Gûzerât, which now for the first time was permanently conquered. For some years then he was harassed with Mogul invasions. One of these, apparently aiming at conquest rather than plunder as hitherto, reached Delhi, driving the Indian army and the people of the country into that city before it (1298). The pressure of famine caused thereby made Alâ-ud-dîn give up his plan of acting on the defensive, and lead out his troops to action. The talents, it is said, of his general Zafar Khân secured him the victory; but the services of this able man had already drawn on him the jealousy of the king and his brother Alif Khân; and, the latter leaving him unsupported in the pursuit, a party of the Moguls turned and cut to pieces him and the small detachment that attended him. During the following seven years Mogul invasions were renewed at various intervals, but without success; they then ceased to occur for many years.

Though harassed with these Mogul invasions, Alâ-ud-dîn had still his thoughts turned toward the Deckan; and when at last they had ceased he sent a force against the rajah of Deôgiri, who had withheld his tribute (1306). The commander of this army was a eunuch named Malik Kâfûr, who having been taken from his master, a merchant in Gûzerât, had come into the possession of the king, whose favour he speedily won, and he, of course, rose to the highest offices, with also, of course, the aversion and hatred of the nobles. On this expedition he acted with vigour, and the rajah was forced to submit and accompany him to Delhi, where, however, he was received with favour and dismissed with honours.

The following incident occurred on this occasion. At the time of the invasion of Gûzerât the rajah having fled, his wife, named Câula Dêvi, had been made a prisoner and placed in the harêm of Alâ-ud-dîn, with whom she speedily became a great favourite. Hearing of this expedition, she requested that every effort might be made to obtain possession of her daughter, Dêwal Dêvi, who was with her father, the exiled rajah. Alp Khân, the governor of Gûzerât, was accordingly directed to attend to this affair, and, having tried in vain the effect of negotiation, he marched his troops against the rajah. Dêwal Dêvi had been sought in marriage by the son of Ram Deô of Deôgiri, but the Rajpût prince had disdained to bestow the hand of his daughter on a Maratta. Now, however, deeming it the lesser evil, he gave his consent, and sent her off under escort to Deôgiri. His troops were defeated by Alp Khân, but that availed nothing, as the princess was gone; and he had arrived within a day's march of Deôgiri, where he was to join Kâfûr, when a party of his men, having gone to view the wonderful caverns of Ellora, fell in with the princess's escort, and captured her without knowing who she was. Alp Khân lost no time in conveying her to Delhi, and the king's eldest son, struck with her uncommon beauty, made her ere long his wife. This incident, Mr. Elphinstone observes, is remarkable, as showing the intermixture which had already taken place between the Hindoos and Mohammedans, and also as leading to the first mention of the caves of Ellora.

Kâfûr afterwards (1309) invaded Telingana, took the strong fort of Warangôl, before which an expedition sent by way of Bengal had failed, and made the rajah tributary. The following year he marched against the rajah of Carnâta, whom he defeated and made a prisoner. He reduced the whole eastern part of this territory as far south as the spot named Adam's-bridge, opposite the isle of Ceylon. In the year 1312, Kâfûr again entered the Deckan, where he put the reigning rajah of Deôgiri to death, and reduced the country to more complete subjection.

[7] See above, p. 2.

constitution of Alâ-ud-dîn had now been out by intemperance and luxury, and the influence of Kâfûr over him was unbounded. This able but unprincipled man now ventured to raise his eyes to the throne. With this view he sought to alienate the mind of the king from his children by representing them as plotting against his life; he also laboured to remove or destroy every man of rank or influence who he thought might stand in his way. He had succeeded in causing the queen and the two eldest princes to be cast into prison, and he had obtained an order to make away with Alp Khân, when, rebellions having broken out in Gûzerât and the Deckan, the tidings threw the king into such paroxysms of rage as brought him to the brink of the grave, and Kâfûr is said to have accelerated his end by poison (1316). Alâ-ud-dîn had reigned twenty-one years.

One of the acts of this monarch was the massacre of the Mogul converts. At various times bodies of these men had been induced to embrace the Mohammedan faith, and to enter the imperial service. At all times they have proved turbulent and insolent. Alâ-ud-dîn, aware of their character, suddenly discharged the whole of them from his service, but without any apparent cause. Driven to desperation at seeing themselves thus deprived of the means of living, some of them conspired to assassinate him. The plot, however, was discovered, and the king, without making any inquiry, ordered the whole of them (15,000, it is said), guilty and innocent alike, to be massacred and their families to be sold for slaves.

Kâfûr produced a real or fictitious will of the late monarch, appointing his infant son Omar to be king, with Kâfûr for his guardian; and he immediately caused the eyes of the two eldest princes to be put out, and sent assassins to murder Mobârik, the third son. But they were induced to spare his life, and, Kâfûr being shortly after put to death by a conspiracy of the royal guards, Mobârik ascended the throne without opposition. He proved a sensual, bloody tyrant, devoted to the lowest debaucheries, and placing the whole of his confidence in a converted Hindoo named Khûsrû Khân. This man, after effecting the conquest of Malabar, against which he had been sent, and bringing thence a large treasure, proceeded to destroy the nobles or drive them from court, and he filled the capital with Hindoo troops of his own caste. He then (1321) ventured on the deed he had long projected; he murdered his master and all the members of the royal family, and mounted the throne himself[8]. But Ghâzi Khân Tôghlak, the governor of the Punjâb, refused to yield obedience to him, and, marching to Delhi with his disciplined troops, he put an end to his life and reign. As there was no surviving member of the house of Khilji, Tôghlak himself, with the general consent of the people, assumed the royal dignity.

The new monarch was the son of one of Bulbun's Turkish slaves by an Indian mother. His reign commenced without blame, and during its short period proved vigorous and beneficent.

[8] "The army," says Ferishta, "now remained to be bribed, who loved nothing better than a revolution; for they had always, upon such an occasion, a donation of six months' pay, immediately divided from the treasury." Mill notices the similar conduct of the prætorian guards at Rome, as an instance of the similarity of military despotisms.

An expedition into the Deckan, led by the king's eldest son Jûna Khân, proved unsuccessful. He was unable to take the fort of Warangôl; disease broke out in his camp; some of his officers with their men deserted; he was pursued on his retreat to Deôgîri with great slaughter by the Hindoos, and he reached Delhi with only 3000 men. The next year he was more successful, for he took Warangôl and made the rajah a prisoner.

The king himself now proceeded in person to Bengal (1324), where Bakarra Khan, the son of Bulbun, still held the government, and the use of royal ornaments was conceded to him by the son of his father's former slave. As Tôghlak approached the capital on his return, he was received by his eldest son in a splendid wooden pavilion erected for the occasion. During the ceremonies, the building happened to give way, and the king and his second and favourite son were killed by the fall; the eldest son, chancing to be absent at the time, escaped. It is certainly possible that the casualty may have been accidental, but the probability is so strongly on the other side as, in our opinion, to amount almost to certainty.

Jûna, on mounting the throne, took the name of Shâh Mohammed. He celebrated his accession with great magnificence, distributing gifts in the utmost profusion to his friends and to men of letters. He was himself the most learned and eloquent prince of his time; versed in languages, literature, and philosophy; regular, and even austere in his religious observances; abstinent from wine and from pleasure; brave and generous in the field and in the court. But all these noble qualities, which made him the subject of admiration, were rendered of no value by a perversity of mind bordering on insanity, and an utter disregard for human suffering in the pursuit of his wild schemes of ambition.

In the commencement of his reign, he completed the conquest of the Deckan. Seeing then no object for his ambition in India, he resolved to become the conqueror of Persia, and even of China. For the first he assembled a large army, which, after it had consumed his treasures, dispersed for want of pay, and plundered and wasted the country. In order to the invasion of China, a body of 100,000 horse were sent through the Himalaya mountains to prepare the way for the main army. This force, we are told, reached the frontiers of China, but found there awaiting it so large an army, that, fearing to encounter it, it turned and commenced its retreat. It endured even more than the calamities incident to such a course. It was fallen on by the mountaineers, slaughtered by the pursuing enemy, exhausted by want of provisions, drenched by tremendous rains, and entangled in impervious jungles. At the end of fifteen days hardly a man survived, and thus terminated the magnificent project of the conquest of China.

To recruit his shattered finances, Mohammed had now recourse to a novel expedient. He had heard of the paper money of China (to which country the invention is due), and he resolved to imitate it, for which purpose he issued copper tokens as representatives of particular sums of money. But Mohammed was not aware that, for the success of a project of this kind, there must be confidence in the good faith and solvency of the government, and he found that, with all his power, he could not

force his tokens into general circulation. He did abundance of mischief, and caused considerable distress by the experiment, but his finances remained as embarrassed as ever. He then increased the taxes, and the husbandmen, driven to desperation, left their lands and fled to the woods. The infuriated monarch, resolved to have at least revenge, used then to order out his troops as if for a grand hunt, surround a tract of country with them, gradually narrow the circle, and finally slaughter all the peasants within it like beasts of game or prey. The natural consequence was famine and its attendant evils.

Rebellions followed. The revolts in the Punjâb and in Mâlwa were easily crushed, but the governor of Bengal became and remained independent (1340). The Hindoo states of the Deckan mostly flung off the Mohammedan yoke. A rebellion in this country being headed by his own nephew, who when taken was flayed alive, the king marched thither in person, and he was so pleased with the site of Deôgiri, that he resolved to make it his capital. Forthwith the whole of the inhabitants of Delhi were ordered to quit their homes and hasten to people this town, to which he gave the name of Douletabâd. Twice, then, he permitted them to return to Delhi, and twice he forced them back to the Deckan, once in the very midst of a famine. This plan, too, after causing misery and death to thousands, proved an utter failure. Such are the caprices of despotism.

The number of Moguls in the service of the Indian monarchs had continually gone on increasing, and they now formed a large portion of the imperial army. A body of these troops quartered in Gûzerât having revolted, Mohammed marched against them. They retired into the Deckan, and seized on Douletabâd. The king came and besieged that town, and he had nearly reduced it, when news of disturbances in Gûzerât drew him thither, and he left the conduct of the siege to one of his Ômrahs. But the Moguls defeated this general, and drove him into Mâlwa, and before Mohammed could march against them he fell sick and died (1351), after a reign of twenty-seven years.

It was during the reign of Shâh Mohammed that the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta visited India. Mohammed made him a judge with a most liberal salary, and afterwards sent him on an embassy to China.

On the death of Mohammed, the Moguls returned to the Deckan, and there established an independent kingdom. Their first king was one of their chiefs, named Ismael, an Afghân by birth, who shortly after resigned in favour of Zuffir Khân, one of his ablest officers. This man, whose original name was Hussun, was also an Afghân. He had been, it is said, the slave or servant of a Bramin astrologer at Delhi, and one day, as he was ploughing a piece of land which the Bramin had given him, he turned up a treasure; he told his master, who informed the king, by whom Hussun was made commander of one hundred horse. The Bramin predicted to him a brilliant career, stipulating to be his minister when he should be king of the Deckan. The prophecy, as we have seen, came to pass, and Zuffir kept his word with the Bramin. This monarch died (1357) after a reign of eleven years, during which he extended his dominion over the greater part of the Deckan. The title by which he mounted the throne was Alâ-ud-dîn Hussun Gungoo Bahmanee, from which last his dynasty was denominated.

Shâh Mohammed was succeeded by his nephew Fîrûz-ud-dîn. This monarch acknowledged the independence of the kingdoms of Bengal and the Deckan; he made excellent financial and legal regulations; he constructed a great number of public works, such as bridges, baths, inns, hospitals, mosks, tanks, etc. The most considerable of these was the canal, named after him, from the river Jumnah to the Gâgur, a portion of which has been restored in our own days, to the infinite advantage of the adjoining districts.

Firûz died in the year 1388; and in the six following years four princes of the house of Tôghlak successively occupied the throne. In the reign of the last of these princes, named Mahmûd, several of the provinces assumed independence; and, finally, a Mogul invasion, such as India had never yet witnessed, swept over and devasted the country. We have seen the hordes that roam the plains of Central Asia, united under Chingiz Khân, spread devastation and misery around almost to the bounds of the earth. A similar scourge now arose to afflict the world, in the person of Timûr (commonly called Tamerlane), who, though by birth a Turk and a Mussulman by religion, was able, through his superior talents, to combine Turks and Moguls, and run a career of conquest and spoliation nearly equal to that of Chingiz.

India, which had escaped the arms of the Mogul conqueror, was destined to be the prey of Timûr. In the year 1398 this prince's grandson, Peer Mohammed, having reduced the Afghâns of the mountains of Solimân, crossed the Indus, and laid siege to Multân. Timûr himself, then taking the same route with Alexander, along, as we may term it, the high-road to India, crossed the mountains of Hindoo Cûsh, and reached Câbul. Instead, however, of taking, like that conqueror, the direct line of the river Câbul, he moved southwards through the mountains (probably along the course of the Kûrrum) into Bannu, crossed the Indus and the Jelûm, and marched down the banks of this river to the city of Tulumba. He levied a heavy contribution on this city, which then was sacked, and its inhabitants massacred by his soldiers—without his orders we are assured; for such was the fate of most cities that he took; the troops of this most severe and despotic of commanders, strangely on such occasions venturing to fling off the yoke of obedience, and never being punished for it!

Being joined by his grandson, from Multân, Timûr crossed the Garra, or Sutlej, and directed his march across the Sandy Desert, in nearly a straight line for Delhi, taking in his way Adjudin and Butnêr, the people of which last town were massacred by mistake, as usual. The Indian army was defeated under the walls of Delhi, the king sought refuge in Gûzerât, and Timûr was proclaimed emperor of India. The usual course of events took place in Delhi. Heavy contributions were levied for the monarch, his troops began to plunder, some resistance was offered, and this led to a general massacre and conflagration. During five days Timûr remained a tranquil spectator of all these atrocities, engaged in celebrating a feast in honour of his victory. When his troops were glutted with blood and plunder, he gave orders for the march,

and on the day preceding his departure in the stately mosk, erected by Shâh Firûz on the banks of the Jumnah, "he offered up to the Divine Majesty the *sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise.*"

Laden with plunder, and dragging myriads of captives with him of all ranks, and of both sexes, he moved northwards to Meerut, where, as usual, there was a general massacre. He then crossed the Ganges, and marched to where that river leaves the mountains, near Hardwar, and then westwards, along the foot of the mountains as far as Jummoo, north of Lahore; he then turned to the south, and leaving India by the usual route, proceeded to make preparations for marching into Anterior Asia, to encounter the Ottoman sultan Bayazîd. His visitation of India, which lasted about a year, had been like that of a destroying angel; he left behind him anarchy, famine, and pestilence.

Mahmûd returned to Delhi, but he could recover no authority. After his death (1412) the government was administered in an imperfect manner, in the name of Timûr, by Khizr Khân, the governor of the Punjâb. As Khizr was a Syud, or descendant of the Prophet, the dynasty of himself and his three successors is named that of the Syuds.

The limits of the empire, under these princes, were reduced almost to the capital; and Alâ-uddîn, the last of them, was glad to resign the throne to Behlôl Khân Lôdi, the possessor of the Punjâb, and retire to Budâyun, a town about 100 miles east of Delhi (1450).

Behlôl belonged to the Afghân tribe of Lôdi. His grandfather, Ibrahim, was a wealthy merchant, who repaired to the court of Shâh Firûz, by whom he was appointed governor of Multân. His sons rose to power and command; and his grandson made himself master of the Punjâb, when the feeble Syuds attempted to destroy the Lôdi family; and the last of them, as we have seen, was obliged to resign to him the throne of Delhi. During an active reign of thirty-nine years, Behlôl gave to the empire once more respectable limits. It now reached the Himalaya on the north, the Ganges and Benâres on the east.

Ferishta relates, that while Behlôl was yet a young man, and in a private station, his future dignity had been prophetically announced to him. As he was paying his respects one day to a renowned Dervish, the latter, while Behlôl was sitting before him, cried out, in a fit of enthusiasm, "Who will give me two thousand rupees for the empire of Delhi?" Behlôl replied, that he had only sixteen hundred in the world, but that he would give them; and, sending for them, he presented them to the holy man, who, laying his hand on his head, saluted him king. Behlôl, when ridiculed by his comrades for his folly, replied, that "if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap purchase; if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm." When he attained the empire, he divided his treasures among his friends, and lived with them on terms of the greatest familiarity. He very rarely could be induced to mount his throne, saying, that "it was enough for him that the world knew he was a king, without his making a vain parade of royalty." Though not learned, he patronised literature, and was liberal to men of letters.

Secunder Lôdi, the son and successor of Behlôl, was also a man of talent, and in general, just and liberal. It is, however, in his reign, that we first meet with religious bigotry exercised against the Hindoo religion; for it is remarkable, how tolerant the conduct of the Mohammedan rulers of India had been hitherto. Secunder destroyed the Hindoo temples, and forbade pilgrimages, and the practice of bathing on festivals in the sacred streams. A Bramin, in a dispute with a Moslem, who reproached him with idolatry, having replied, that "he considered the same God to be the object of all worship, and therefore held the Mohammedan and Hindoo religions to be equally good," the bigoted Moslem summoned him before the Câzi, or judge of the city. The king hearing of it, assembled the principal doctors of religion to consider the matter, and they decided that the Bramin should have the option of conversion or death. He refused to abandon his own more humane creed, and died a martyr to his faith. A pious Moslem ventured to remonstrate with Secunder, against his prohibition of pilgrimages. "Wretch," cried he, drawing his sword, "do you defend idolatry?" "No," replied he, "but I maintain that kings ought not to persecute their subjects." The monarch was appeased. When Secunder, on one occasion, was marching against one of his brothers, a Calender, or religious mendicant, prayed for his success. "Pray for victory to him," replied he, "who will best promote the good of his subjects." Secunder died in 1509, having reigned nearly twenty years.

His son, Ibrahim, who succeeded, possessed none of his virtues, but courage. His pride was insufferable; one of his maxims was, that kings have no relations, all are alike his slaves. The Ômrahs, of the tribe of Lôdi, who used to have the privilege of sitting in the royal presence, were now obliged to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. This conduct of the monarch naturally led to insurrections and rebellions. Ibrahim was at first successful in suppressing them, but at length (1524) Doulat Khân Lôdi, governor of the Punjâb, called to his aid Bâber, a prince of the house of Timûr, who now was ruling in Câbul; and Bâber, who had already, as the representative of Timûr, put forth claims to the empire of India, cheerfully obeyed the call. He defeated an army which opposed him, took Lahore and some other towns, and was on his way to Delhi, when commotions in Balkh recalled him to Câbul. Having composed them, he returned to India, and at Pâniput, on the road to Delhi (1526), he encountered the army of sultan Ibrahim, said to contain 100,000 men, with 1000 elephants. As Bâber's force did not exceed 12,000 men, he resolved to act on the defensive. He linked his cannon together with ropes of twisted leather, with infantry behind, and breastworks in front; he also protected his flanks with works. Ibrahim, likewise, fortified his position; but, instead of awaiting an attack, he attempted to storm the enemy's lines. The result was a repulse, then a defeat and total rout. The earth was covered with the bodies of the slain, among which lay that of sultan Ibrahim. With him terminated the rule of the Afghâns in India, and the throne fell to the house of Timûr, the greatest and the last of the Mohammedan dynasties, which have ruled in that extensive region.

CHAPTER VI.

Sultân BÂBER—His Early Adventures—Conquest of India—His Character—HUMÂYUN—His Flight from India—Birth of Akber—Humâyun's Adventures—He recovers Câbul—And India—His Death—Sheer Shâh—Selim—Mohammed.

BÂBER, the founder of the Mogul empire in India, was sixth in descent from Timûr. His father was Omar Sheykh Mirza, who was married to a Mogul princess of the family of Chingiz. In the division of his father's dominions, while Bokhara and Samarcand fell to one of his brothers, Balkh to another, and Câbul to a third, the portion of Bâber was the rich and fertile Ferghâna on the Upper Jaxartes. Bâber was only twelve years old when (1494) the death of his father left him a throne and a war with two of his uncles. The deaths of these princes favoured him, and in the confusion which ensued, this monarch of fifteen years of age ventured to attempt the conquest of Samarcand, and though he failed more than once, he was finally successful (1497).

His ambition, however, was beyond his means; while he was engaged in Samarcand, one of his principal officers, named Tambol, revolted in Ferghâna, and after a reign of only one hundred days, Bâber was obliged to quit Samarcand, which immediately cast off its obedience. A severe fit of illness now brought him to the very point of death, and when he recovered, he found Ferghâna lost as well as Samarcand. Still he did not despair; with some slight aid from his Mogul uncle, he succeeded in recovering Ferghâna (1499), and while thus occupied, he received invitations to return to Samarcand, but ere he reached it, he learned that both it and Bokhara had been occupied by the Uzbegs, who now were rising into power[9]. Meantime Tambol had recovered Ferghâna, and Bâber was now obliged to seek refuge in the rugged mountains to the south of that country. Hearing while there, that Shybânee, the Uzbeg Khân, was gone on an expedition, he resolved, though with only 240 followers, to make another attempt on Samarcand. He entered it by night, mastered the guards, and the citizens rose in his favour. The whole country now declared for him, and Shybânee was forced to retire to Bokhara. In vain Bâber tried to prevail on the neighbouring princes to unite for their common interests against the Uzbegs. He was forced to give them battle alone, and owing to the baseness of his Mogul troops, who quitted the field to plunder the baggage, he was totally defeated. He then shut himself up within the walls of Samarcand, whence, after having endured siege and famine during four months, he was obliged once more to seek his safety in flight.

Bâber now spent nearly two years in poverty and distress. So low was he brought, that he had nearly determined to retire to China, and there pass the remainder of his days in obscurity. He succeeded, however, once more in recovering Ferghâna; but Tambol called in the Uzbegs, and Bâber, after maintaining an obstinate contest in the streets of the city, was forced to fly, and in his flight he was captured. He, however, regained his liberty, but the whole of the country beyond the Oxus being now in the hands of the Uzbegs, he took a last farewell of his favourite Ferghâna, and proceeded to try his fortune in more southern regions. He entered Bactria with not more than between two and three hundred followers, most of them only armed with clubs, and two tents, of which the best was reserved for his mother. But the army there declared for him, and at the head of it he entered Câbul (1504), which submitted at once, and of which he never again lost possession. It may surprise those who look through the preceding sketch of Bâber's exploits and adventures, to learn that he was not yet three-and-twenty years of age; but such is the real fact.

Contests with his old enemies the Uzbegs, with the mountain tribes of Afghanistân, and with his relations of the house of Timûr, occupied Bâber for many years, and he ran risks at times equal to any he had encountered in his early days. At length he turned his thoughts toward India, and became, as we have seen, the sovereign of that country.

After the battle of Pâníput, Delhi and Agra opened their gates to the conqueror. But the whole of the country to the east, in which various Afghân chiefs were more or less independent, remained yet to be subdued. The summer, too, came on so excessively hot that his troops were unable to endure it, and they clamoured to be led back to Câbul, and some were even preparing to return without leave. Bâber then assembled his officers, and representing to them, that as India had been the great object of their labours, it would be a disgrace to abandon it now, he added, that *he* would remain, but that all who wished might return to Câbul. This firmness had the desired effect on the greater number, though some would not remain. Most of the Afghân chiefs, then, finding from this that Bâber's was not, like Timûr's, a mere transient invasion, but that he was resolved to remain in the country, now made their submission, and others were reduced by Bâber's son Humâyun.

The Mussulmans having thus submitted, or been reduced, Bâber had now to take the field against the Hindoos. Sanga, rajah of Mêwâr, joined by other rajahs and by Mahmûd, a prince of the house of Lôdi, advanced with a large army to Sikri, within twenty miles of Agra. The advanced guard of Bâber's army was driven back with great loss, but with the usual want of strategic skill characteristic of the Hindoos, the victors, instead of pushing on and completing the victory, retired, and suffered him to take up a position and fortify it. Unluckily for Bâber there just then happened to arrive in his camp a celebrated astrologer, who from the aspect of the planet Mars announced a total defeat to the royal army. The spirits of both officers and men were depressed by this untoward prediction, and desertion began to prevail. Bâber, though he despised it, saw its dangerous efficacy; he, therefore, to counteract it, had recourse to religion; he repented of his sins, forswore the use of wine, vowed to let his beard grow, and to remit taxes, and then assembling his officers, made a strong appeal to their sense of honour. They swore on the Korân to conquer or die: he then drew up his army in front of his camp, and galloped from right to left along the line, encouraging the soldiers. The Hindoos advanced to the attack, but were to-

[9] The Uzbegs were Turks, with a mixture of Mongols. They still possess the country beyond the Oxus.

tally routed; several of the rajahs fell, and Sanga escaped with difficulty. After the victory the astrologer approached to congratulate the sultan, but Bâber poured on him a torrent of abuse, then giving him a large present, he ordered him to quit his dominions (1527).

The reduction of Hindoo rajahs and Afghân chiefs now occupied the active sultan, and success uniformly attended him. As the Afghân king of Bengal seemed resolved to retain North Bahâr, which belonged to the crown of Delhi, Bâber crossed the Ganges at the head of an army; he then passed the Gagra, behind which the Bengalese army was posted, and speedily drove it off the field, and the king of Bengal was glad to sue for peace. Bâber then pursued a body of Afghâns who had seized the city of Lucknow in Oude. They retired at his approach, and a division of his troops chased them over the Ganges and the Jumnah (1528).

This was the last of sultan Bâber's military exploits. He seems now to have fallen into ill-health, and his death was brought on in the following unusual manner. His son Humâyun was attacked by a severe disease, the physician had given him over, when Bâber, according to a superstition of the East, declared that he would devote his own life for that of the prince. He accordingly walked three times round the bed of the patient, and then spent some moments in prayer, and so strong thence grew his assurance of success, that he repeatedly cried out, "I have borne it away." From that hour the health of Humâyun began to improve, and that of Bâber to decline. Feeling the approach of death, he called his sons and his ministers about him, and explained to them his last wishes, enjoining concord and unanimity. He then breathed his last (Dec. 26th, 1530), in the fiftieth year of his age, the thirty-eighth of his reign, and the fifth of his residence in India.

The character of sultan Bâber is the most pleasing that is to be met with in Oriental history. It is also the one with which we are best acquainted, for we possess his autobiography, memoirs actually written by himself, in which his thoughts and his feelings are displayed as well as his actions. Here we become acquainted with his love for plants and flowers, his unaffected admiration of beautiful landscapes, his relish for simple and natural pleasures, his social and amiable temper, his kind and affectionate heart, and his cheerful and buoyant disposition, which no reverses of fortune could overcome. It is very pleasing to hear him telling how he never enjoyed himself more than when, after he had been obliged to quit Samarcand, he at length got a full meal, a quiet night's sleep, and a temporary release from toil and care.

Humâyun succeeded his able father; but a plan had been formed for excluding him and giving the crown to another; for Khalîfah, the vizir of Bâber, over whose mind he had attained great influence, in order to retain his power, had resolved to set aside his master's own sons, and give the throne to his son-in-law, Mehdi Khaja, a vain, thoughtless young man. Every thing had been arranged, and they were only waiting for the death of Bâber, when suddenly Khalîfah threw Mehdi into prison, and declared for Humâyun. The cause was as follows:—As Khalîfah was one day visiting Mehdi, he was summoned to the emperor, who was supposed to be dying. Mehdi attended him with the utmost respect to the door, but as soon as he was out of hearing he muttered to himself, "God willing, I will soon flay your hide off, old boy." Turning round, he saw one standing behind him; he was confounded; but seizing the witness's ear, he gave it a twist, saying, hurriedly, "Mind, the red tongue often gives the green head to the winds." The menace, however, did not avail him; his want of caution lost him the crown.

Humâyun's reign commenced with the separation of Câbul from India. His brother, Câmrân, who was governor of the former country, refused to submit to him, and he was obliged to acknowledge his independence, and to make the Indus the boundary between their respective dominions. Insurrections of some of the Afghân chiefs in India succeeded, but they were easily suppressed. A war then followed with Bahâdur Shâh, the Afghân king of Gûzerât, who had lately conquered Mâlwa, and whose supremacy was acknowledged by the Mohammedan princes of the Deckan. The war was commenced without provocation by Bahâdur. When Humâyun entered Gûzerât, he found the enemy posted in an intrenched camp, well supplied with artillery, which was directed by a Turk from Constantinople, and some Portuguese prisoners—the first mention of Europeans in India. Humâyun, however, by cutting off his supplies, obliged him to destroy his guns, and fly in the night, leaving his army to shift for itself. He fled to Cambay, and thence to the little isle of Diu. The open country readily submitted to Humâyun, but the hill-fort of Champaner long held out. At length, one night 300 chosen men, among whom was the emperor himself, scaled it, by fixing iron spikes in the perpendicular rock, while the army made an attack on one of the gates, and it thus was taken (1535).

Humâyun was soon obliged to quit Gûzerât, and take the field against the most formidable of his opponents. This was Sheer Khân, one of the Afghân chiefs in India, a man of considerable talent, who, by taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country, had made himself master of Bahâr, and was now engaged in the conquest of Bengal, the capital of which, named Gour, he was besieging when Humâyun commenced operations against him, on his return from Gûzerât. In order to check the advance of the monarch, and thus gain time for the reduction of Bengal, Sheer Khân placed a strong garrison in the fort of Chunâr, on the Ganges, south of Benâres, well supplied, and with directions to hold out to the uttermost. The siege accordingly lasted several months. At length the place surrendered, and Humâyun pursued his march unimpeded along the Ganges, and crossing that river he entered Gour, from which city Sheer Khân had retired, after having reduced it. But the rainy season had now commenced; the country was one sheet of water, no operations could be carried on, and the soldiers suffered severely from the damp, unhealthy climate. After a delay of several months, Humâyun found it necessary to commence his retreat. But Sheer Khân had recovered Chunâr and Benâres; he was master of all Bahâr, his posts extended up the Ganges as far as Canouj; he was now engaged in the siege of Juanpûr; and, as a further proof of his power, he at this time assumed the title of king (1538).

At Mongheer a body of troops, which Humâyun had sent in advance under one of his ablest generals, was surprised and defeated by the corps sent against it by Sheer Khân. He himself had reached Buxâr, on the right bank of the Ganges, half way between Patna and Benâres, when he found Sheer Shâh prepared to cut off his retreat. As the latter had marched thirty-five miles that day, Humâyun was urged to attack him at once; but he declined, and next day Sheer Shâh had fortified his position. Humâyun followed his example, and then commenced forming a bridge of boats over the Ganges. Sheer Shâh suffered him to proceed with it for two months; then, secretly quitting his camp with a good part of his troops, he got into the rear of Humâyun's position, and, marching by night, attacked his camp in three several places at daybreak. Humâyun had just time to leap on horseback: he was preparing to advance against the assailants, when his officers urged him to consult for his safety; and one of them, seizing his bridle, drew him to the river-side. He plunged into the stream to swim across; ere he reached the further bank his horse was exhausted and sank, and the same would have been the fate of the monarch, had not a water-carrier, who was crossing on his inflated skin-bag, been at hand, who supported him and brought him over. Humâyun himself made his way to Agra; but his whole army was cut to pieces or drowned, and his queen fell into the hands of Sheer Shâh, by whom she was treated with the most scrupulous delicacy and sent to a place of safety (1539).

Sheer Shâh now resumed operations in Bengal; and Humâyun, being aided by his brother Câmrân, collected another army, with which he advanced to Canouj. Sheer Shâh occupied the opposite bank of the Ganges, and, as Humâyun's troops were beginning to desert, he crossed the river by a bridge of boats, and gave battle. But fortune again proved adverse; his army was totally defeated and driven into the Ganges. Humâyun's horse being wounded, he mounted an elephant which he met, but the driver, when desired to attempt the passage of the river with him, refused; the king then hurled him from his seat on the animal's neck, and gave his place to a eunuch who chanced to be also on the elephant. They entered the stream, and reached the opposite bank, which proved too steep to be ascended, and the king might have perished, had not two soldiers tied their turbans together, and thus drawn him up. He then, with some difficulty, made his way to Agra (1540).

The empire of India was now lost; for Câmrân resigned the Punjâb to Sheer Shâh, and retired to Câbul, leaving Humâyun to shift for himself. After an ineffectual attempt to get his authority recognized in Sind, Humâyun resolved to throw himself on the protection of Maldeo, rajah of Marwâr. He set out in order to cross the Sandy Desert, but on reaching Jodpûr he learned that he had nothing to expect from the rajah. He now resolved to make for Amercôt, a fort on the Indus. In the march thither over the Desert, the sufferings of himself and his followers were intense. To obtain water they had to fight with the villagers, to whom of whom seized the wells in which lay their only hope of relief. They were now in despair, but the rajah's son was generous. He advanced with a white flag, and having gently reproached them for having entered the Hindoo territory and killed kine in it, he supplied them with water, and suffered them to proceed. But still the perils of the Desert were to be encountered; all suffered, many died, and Humâyun had only seven followers with him when he reached Amercôt. Others, however, joined him in a few days. His reception by Rana Persad, the Hindoo prince of Amercôt, was cordial and friendly.

At Amercôt was born his son, the celebrated Akber. His mother was a Persian lady, whom Humâyun had met at an entertainment given to him by the mother of his brother Hindal. Struck with her beauty, and finding she was not betrothed, he had instantly made love to and married her. She was far advanced in her pregnancy at the time of crossing the Desert. One of the officers, who had lent her a horse, finding his own exhausted, brutally made her dismount, and Humâyun had to place her on his own horse and walk by her side till he met with a baggage camel. When Akber was born, his father happened not to be at Amercôt. It was usual, on such occasions, for the father to give presents to his friends; but Humâyun, when the news reached him, had nothing but a pod of musk. This he broke up, and distributed with a wish that his son's fame might be diffused through the world like that perfume.

Humâyun could not collect more than a hundred men for the invasion of Sind, but rajah Persad joined him with his troops; and when in that country he was joined by other Hindoo rajahs, so that his force at length amounted to 15,000 horse. Ill-fortune or imprudence, however, prevented him from deriving any advantage from it. One of his Moguls offended Persad, who got so little redress when he complained to the emperor, that he and his friends retired from the camp. Humâyun, unable to maintain himself now in Sind, resolved to make his way, if possible, to Candahâr, where his brother, Mirza Askeri, then commanded for Câmrân. He gave out that his intention was to leave his son there, and proceed himself on pilgrimage to Mecca. He had reached Shâl, within 130 miles of Candahâr, when a horseman, sent by one of his friends, galloped up to his tent, and rushing in, announced that Askeri was at hand with the intention of making him a prisoner. He had only time to place his queen on his own horse, and fly with her, leaving the child to the mercy of his uncle. Askeri, on coming up, pretended that his intentions had been altogether friendly; he treated his little nephew with affection, and took him with him to Candahâr. Humâyun escaped to Sistân, whence the governor sent him to Herât, there to await the pleasure of the Shâh of Persia (1543).

The present monarch of Persia was Shâh Tahmasp, the second of the Suffavi dynasty. He invited Humâyun to court, and treated him with the utmost respect. But Shâh Tahmasp was a bigoted Shiah in his faith, and he insisted on the exiled monarch's conforming to his creed. At their first

creed itself, Humâyun does not appear to have been so compliant, for next day, when Tahmasp, going on a journey, passed by Humâyun's palace, and the latter went to the gate to salute him, he went on without noticing him. A few days after, when a large quantity of firewood was sent him, he was told that it would serve for his funeral pile, if he refused to conform. To his request to be allowed to proceed on his pilgrimage a decided negative was returned; and it was added, that he must become a Shiah, or take the consequence.

At length Humâyun's resolution gave way, and he signed a paper containing a profession of the Shiah faith, with, probably, an engagement to introduce it into India, and an undertaking to put the king of Persia in possession of Candahâr, if recovered by his aid, for which purpose Tahmasp promised a force of 12,000 horse. After some delay Humâyun set out (1545) with 700 followers, and in Sistân he was joined by 14,000 Persian horse, commanded by the Shâh's son, Morad Mîrza. They took the fort of Bost on the river Helmund, and thence marched unopposed to Candahâr, which Askeri defended against them for five months. As none of the chiefs of the country had yet joined Humâyun, the Persians were talking of raising the siege and retiring; but just then partizans began to come in, and the garrison suffering from famine, a part of it fled from the town, while others deserted to the besiegers. Askeri was thus obliged to surrender, and the fort and its treasures were ceded to the Persians. The greater part of the army then returned home, leaving a garrison under Morad Mîrza; but that prince happening, as we are told, to die suddenly, Humâyun contrived to get into the town, where he slaughtered a part of the garrison, and, as a great favour, allowed the remainder to depart.

Humâyun then advanced to Câbul, whence Câmrân fled, but while the former was away on another expedition, he returned and recovered that city, and when Humâyun besieged him, he had the barbarity to expose the young Akber to the fire of his father's cannon. He was, however, forced to fly; he then surrendered, and was forgiven; he rebelled again, defeated Humâyun, and recovered Câbul, whence he was again expelled. He finally (1553) sought refuge with the Guckers, by whom he was given up to his brother. Humâyun for the first two or three days treated him with kindness. He then determined that he should be blinded. The operation was performed, as usual, by piercing the eyes repeatedly with lancets. This he bore patiently; but when lemon-juice and salt were squeezed into his eyes he cried out, "O Lord my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion on me in the next." He went to Mecca, where he died.

Circumstances in India now proving favourable, Humâyun was encouraged to attempt the recovery of that country. He reduced the Punjâb (1555), and a victory at Sirhind opened the way to Delhi and Agra. He did not, however, long live to enjoy his dominion. About six months after his return to Delhi, as he was walking on the terrace of his library, and was descending the stairs (which were on the outside of the building), he heard the call to prayers. He stopped, repeated the creed, and then sat down on the steps, till the crier should have ceased. When he went to rise by the aid of his staff, it slipped on the marble, and he fell over the low parapet of the stairs. He was stunned by the fall, and on the fourth day he breathed his last, in the forty-ninth year of his eventful life, and the twenty-sixth of his reign.

We must now take a retrospect of India during the sixteen years' absence of Shâh Humâyun.

Sheer Shâh, having taken possession of the Punjâb, and suppressed a rebellion in Bengal, turned his arms against the southern Hindoo states, and reduced Mâlwa. He afterwards besieged the fortress of Raisin, which was held by a Hindoo chief. A surrender was offered on condition of the garrison being allowed to depart with all their property. The terms were agreed to, and 4000 Rajpûts issued and encamped within a short distance. But Sheer Shâh was induced by the arguments of some Mohammedan lawyers to break the treaty, and he surrounded them with his troops and commenced a general massacre. The Rajpûts fell to a man, but not unavenged, as double the number of the assailants lay dead on the plain. No Mohammedan prince, but Timûr, had as yet been guilty of such an atrocity in India, and it ultimately proved the cause of the death of its perpetrator. For, as he was besieging the fort of Calinger, where the rajah refused to accept of any terms, as he was sure they would not be kept, and was himself directing the artillery, a magazine, struck by one of the enemy's shot, blew up, and he was so much injured by the explosion that he only survived a few hours. In this interval the fort was taken, and Sheer Shâh, who had not ceased to direct the operations, cried, like Epaminondas and Wolfe, "Thanks be to Almighty God!" and breathed his last (1545).

Though Sheer Shâh reigned only five years, he made more internal improvements in the state than most monarchs had done who had occupied the throne for long periods. His principal work was a magnificent causeway extending from Bengal to near the Indus, with caravanserais furnished with provisions at every stage, and wells at every mile and half, and mosks supplied with priests and criers. Along the whole length of this road were planted rows of trees to yield the traveller shade. He was also the first to establish horse-posts along the roads, for the despatch of intelligence and of letters. It was said, that so great was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants used to set down their goods and sleep on the highway without apprehension.

Adîl Khân, the eldest son of Sheer Shâh, being a prince of a feeble character, was induced to resign his claims in favour of his brother Jelâl Khân, on condition of getting the country of Biana. Four of the principal Ômrahs were guarantees of this agreement, and when Selîm (the name which Jelâl assumed) gave reason to suppose that he meant to violate it, they took up arms against him. He, however, reduced them, and the rest of his reign passed in tranquillity.

On the death of Selîm (1553), his only son, a child of twelve years of age, was murdered by his uncle Mohammed Khân, who then mounted the throne. He proved a monarch of a most odious character, ignorant, fond of low society, and addicted to gross debauchery. His prime minister was a Hindoo, named Hêmoo, who had originally

kept a small shop, and whose appearance, it is said, was meaner than his origin. But Hêmoo was a man of talent and of resolution, and he ably upheld the affairs of his master as long as he lived.

Mohammed's extravagance quickly wasted the imperial treasure. He then to supply his necessities, or rather to enrich his favourites, proceeded to resume the governments and the lands of his nobles. This gave immediate occasion to rebellions. Ibrahîm Soor, a member of his own family, seized on Delhi and Agra. Another relative, Secunder Soor, became independent in the Punjâb. The governor of Bengal then rebelled, and while Hêmoo was preparing to march against him, he learned that Mâlwa had cast off the yoke, and that Humâyun had entered India, defeated Secunder, and taken Delhi and Agra. Hêmoo engaged, defeated, and captured the governor of Bengal. He then was advancing against Humâyun, when he received intelligence of the death of that monarch, and the accession of his son Akber, who was then in the Punjâb. Encouraged by this intelligence, he advanced without halting, his numbers increased every day, he took Agra by siege, defeated Humâyun's Mogul troops under the walls of Delhi, occupied that city, and then set out for Lahore. Akber was only thirteen years of age; the general opinion in his court was in favour of a retreat to Câbul; but Behram Khân, one of his father's ablest and most faithful officers, to whom he had given the conduct of affairs, rejected these timid counsels. With a far inferior force he advanced against Hêmoo, whom he encountered at Pâniput. In spite of the talent and courage of its leader, the Indian army was defeated, and Hêmoo himself was made a prisoner (1556). Mohammed's reign thus virtually terminated; and he fell shortly after in battle against another rebel in Bengal.

CHAPTER VII.

Dismemberment of the Empire—The Bahmanî Empire—Shîahs and Sûnnîs—Bejapûr—Ahmednugur—Bidr—Golconda—Elichpûr—Battle of Tâlicote—Gûzerât—The Rajpût States.

The Afghân empire in India began, as we have seen, to be dismembered in the reign of Mohammed Tôghlak. As its recovery and reunion long engaged the arms and policy of the house of Timûr, it is necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to take a view of the states formed out of it, and of the general extent and character of the Mussulman dominion in India.

When Mohammed mounted the throne, the Afghân empire in India embraced the whole continental part of that country, which we have denominated Hindûstân, including Gûzerât and Bengal; the Râjpût states alone being unsubdued. In the Deckan, the extensive forest tract, named Orissa, which extends for 500 miles from the Ganges to the Godâveri, running from 300 to 400 miles inland, remained still in the hands of the wild aborigines. All the rest of the Deckan, excepting a slip along the west coast, and the southern extremity, acknowledged the sovereignty of the court of Delhi.

The revolt of Bengal commenced the dismemberment. The Hindoos then recovered Télingâna and the Carnatic, reducing the Moslem dominion in the Deckan within the limits of the Kishna on the south and the meridian of Hyderabâd on the east, and forming from their conquests the states of Warângôl in the north, and Bejâyanugur in the south. After this came the Moslem rebellion in the Deckan, when the court of Delhi ceased to be obeyed to the south of the Nerbudda. Such was the state of the empire at the death of Mohammed, and it continued to have this reduced extent till just before the invasion of Timûr, when Gûzerât and Mâlwa asserted their independence, and another independent state was formed, named Jûanpûr, consisting of the country on the Ganges as far as the centre of Oude. After the departure of Timûr the remaining provinces threw off the yoke, and the empire only contained the district round Delhi.

The Bahmanî empire, founded by Husun Gunga in the Deckan[2], lasted for about one hundred and seventy years, and during all that time the throne was occupied by his descendants. Their wars were with the two Hindoo states of Warangôl and Bejâyanugur, the former of which they subverted, and from the latter they gained the country between the Kishna and the Tumbudra rivers. But in their court and army there prevailed a religious dissension, which eventually dismembered the state. This was the rivalry between the sects of the Shîahs and Sûnnîs, which, as our readers are doubtless aware, divide the Mohammedan church, the latter acknowledging the first three Khalifehs as rightful successors of the prophet, the former regarding them as usurpers, and maintaining that Ally, the fourth Khalifeh, was the only rightful one. The Persians alone, we believe, nationally hold the Shîah faith; all the other Moslems, especially the Ottoman Turks, holding the Sûnnî creed. As the courtiers and the army of the first Bahmanî kings were of various countries, Persians, Afghâns, Turks, Moguls, even Georgians and Circassians; there were, of course, among them followers of both creeds. But afterwards, beside the foreigners, there were the Deckanees or native troops, the descendants of the conquerors, and these were of the Sûnnî faith, as also were the Abassinians, who came over the sea in great numbers to take service with the Bahmanî kings. These always took part with the Deckanees against the other foreigners, who were mostly, it would appear, Shîahs. The consequence of this dissension was, that when in the natural order of things in the cast the Bahmanî kings had degenerated, and were no longer able to keep the contending parties in order, Yussuf Adîl Khân, a Turk who was the head of the foreigners, the Deckanees having got the better of himself and his party, retired to his government of Bejapûr, where he made himself independent, and founded the dynasty of Adîl Shâh. Soon after, Nizâm-ul-Mûlk, the leader of the Deckanees, having been assassinated by a Turk, named Kasîm Barîd, his son Ahmed cast off his allegiance, and founded a state, the capital of which was named Ahmednugur. Kasîm Barîd having thus attained the chief power at court, continued to govern under the name of a succession of royal puppets; but his son, Amîr

[2] See above, p. 16.

Barîd, disliking that circuitous kind of dominion, threw off the mask, put an end to the Bahmanî dynasty, and became the first of the Barîd dynasty of Bidr. Two other chiefs also made themselves independent; the one, Kûtb Kûlî, a Tûrkmân from Persia, founded the dynasty of Kûtb Shâh, at Golconda, the other, Imâd-ul-Mûlk, of a family of Hindoo converts, that of Imâd Shâh, at Êlichpûr, in Berâr.

It is hardly necessary to mention that these states were at continual war with one another and with the adjoining Hindoo states. At length their jealousy of the rajah of Bejâyanugur caused a temporary confederacy among them. They united their forces to attack him, and, in a fierce and bloody battle, fought (1565) near Tâlicôta, on the banks of the Kishna, they defeated his troops, took himself prisoner, and put him to death in cold blood, and overthrew his monarchy. They, however, benefited themselves but little, in consequence of their mutual jealousies; and various petty states were formed out of the ruins of his kingdom. The kings of Golconda alone extended their dominions; they subdued all Warangôl, and conquered the Carnatic as far south as the river Panâr.

The kingdom of Gûzerât, though small, became the most important of the Mussulman states out of the Deckan; for we may observe all through Indian history, that Bengal, notwithstanding its wealth and its extent, owing probably to the feeble character of its people, never acts a conspicuous part in a military point of view. The kings of Gûzerât reduced and annexed Mâlwa to their own kingdom; they often defeated the Rajpûts, they established their supremacy over Candêsh, made the kings of Berâr and Ahmednugur do them homage, and were frequently engaged in maritime wars with the Portuguese.

The native Hindoo states not in the Deckan, at that time and down to the present day, are those of the Rajpûts, *i. e.* Princes'-sons. These seem to be, as they themselves assert, the descendants of the Cshatriyas of the Laws of Manu. In the states that were overturned by the Mussulmans they sank into the mass of the population, devoting themselves almost exclusively to agriculture; but where the nature of the country favoured them, they retained their independence.

The country held by the Rajpûts may be regarded as lying between the Indus and the Jumnah, bounded on the south by the Vindhya chain, and extending northwards as far as the parallel of Delhi. It thus contains the Sandy Desert and a great part of Central India, being divided by the Aravalli hills. To the east of these hills, beginning from the north, lie Mewât, Jypûr, Ajmîr, Harâuti, Mewâr, Bundelcund, and Mâlwa, containing many strong towns and fortresses, such as Jypûr and Ajmîr, Oudipûr and Chitôr in Mewâr, Ujên and Bôpâl in Mâlwa, Câlinjer in Bundelcund, Rintambôr, Gualiôr, and many others. The general name for the Rajpût country, to the west of the Aravalli range, is Mârwâr; it contains the states of Jodpûr, Jesalmîr, Bicanîr, and some smaller ones. As these lie in the Desert, their situation has always protected them; while those to the east of the mountains were sometimes subdued, sometimes rendered tributary by the Mussulmans.

The Rajpûts are divided into clans. A kind of feudal system prevails among them; the founder of each state, after reserving a royal demesne, having partitioned the land among his relations, on the terms of obedience and of military service. They, in their turn, divided their lands on similar terms; and thus the chain of dependence was formed, as in feudal Europe. It is interesting to remark how similarity of institutions seems to have operated in forming similarity of character. The Rajpûts had pride of birth, lofty spirit, and romantic feelings; they listened with delight to the spirit-stirring strains of their bards; they treated their women with a degree of respect rare in the East; they were guided by strict rules of honour in the treatment of their enemies [3].

The preceding sketch will, we trust, enable the reader to form a tolerably clear idea of the political state of India at the time of the accession of Akber. As that monarch was a great political reformer, we reserve our account of its social and internal condition till we have narrated the events of his reign.

CHAPTER VIII.

AKBER—Behram Khân—Reduction of various Chiefs—Asof Khân—Siege of Chitôr—Marriages with Rajpût Families—Reduction of Gûzerât—Akber's Temerity—Reduction of Bengal—Recovery of Câbul.

WITH Akber the history of India assumes once more the appearance of that of a potent and regular empire. This noblest and greatest of eastern monarchs, distinguished alike by courage, enterprise, talent, and magnanimity, reduced the whole of Hindûstân to obedience, and gave it wise laws and political regulations. Many years, however, were occupied in the contests with the various refractory chiefs; and the enumeration of all his various conflicts would only cause weariness to the reader.

As Akber was only in his fourteenth year when he came to the crown, the government, though he was remarkably manly and intelligent for his age, was of necessity administered by Behram Khân, under whose charge his father had placed him, and who now received the title of Khân Bâbâ, *i. e.* Lord Father, as being guardian of the sovereign.

Behram was a Turk by birth. He had adhered to Humâyun through all turns of his fortune, and his fidelity to Akber was equally firm. But his temper was arbitrary and his manners haughty and overbearing. The Ômrahs, who regarded him as no more than their equal, could ill brook his superiority, evinced in so offensive a manner; and discontent prevailed in the court and camp. Some of his acts, too, were so flagrantly unjust, as to furnish reasonable ground for apprehension and complaint. Thus, taking advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, he put to death Tardi Beg, the general who had lost Delhi to Hêmoo, though he had been one of Bâber's favourites, and

[3] The last great war among the Rajpûts was of a romantic character; it was between the rajahs of Jôdpûr and Jypûr, for the hand of a princess of Oudipûr. A most copious account of this people will be found in Colonel Tod's Râjasthân.

was as faithful to Humâyun as himself. Another Ômrah, who ventured to oppose him, was put to death on some slight pretext; and the king's own tutor, Peer Mohammed, narrowly escaped the same fate, and was obliged to go on pilgrimage to Mecca.

Akber soon grew weary of the state of pupillage in which he was held. Having concerted his plans with some of his friends, he took occasion, when on a hunting party, to direct his course to Delhi, under the pretext of his mother's illness. When there, and out of Behram's reach, he issued a proclamation, announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and forbidding obedience to any orders but his own (1560). Behram was thrown into perplexity; he soon found himself deserted; his overtures to the king were rejected. He had then thoughts of trying to make himself independent in Mâlwa; but he abandoned them, and set out for Najôr, with the intention of embarking in Gûzerât and making the pilgrimage to Mecca. While at Najôr he received a message from the king, dismissing him from his office, and directing him to proceed on his pilgrimage. He sent his standards, kettledrums, and other ensigns of office to the king, and proceeded to Gûzerât; but meeting there with some further cause of irritation, he assembled some troops and attempted to seize the Punjâb. Akber advanced against him in person, and Behram was defeated and obliged to throw himself on his sovereign's mercy. Akber, who always acted with magnanimity, sent some of his principal nobles to meet him and conduct him to the royal tent. Behram threw himself at the king's feet, and began to sob aloud. Akber raised him, seated him on his right, gave him a dress of honour, and offered him his choice of an extensive government, a high station at court, or an honourable pilgrimage to Mecca. Pride or prudence counselled him to choose the last; an ample pension was assigned him, and he set out for Gûzerât; but as he was preparing to embark he was assassinated by an Afghân, whose father had fallen by his hand in battle.

Akber, a youth of only eighteen years of age, had now a difficult task to perform. He had to reduce refractory chiefs to obedience, to recover the dominions of the crown, and to introduce order into the internal administration of the state. To accomplish this, he had only the revenues of the Punjâb and of the country about Delhi and Agra, and a mercenary army of adventurers, collected from various quarters, and consequently without affection or attachment to his person and cause. But, like his grandfather Bâber, by the energy of his own character, his talents, and his virtues, he triumphed over difficulties beneath which another would have succumbed.

A son of the late sultan Mohammed, having collected troops, advanced to Jûanpûr (1560), where he was defeated by one of Akber's generals. But the victor held back the king's part of the spoil, and Akber was obliged to march against him in person. In like manner, when Bâz Bahâdur, the Afghân governor of Mâlwa, had been reduced by Adam Khân, another of Akber's generals, the revolt of the victor was only prevented by the celerity of the monarch, who arrived in his camp before he was aware of his approach. Bâz Bahâdur afterwards entered the service of the emperor, who treated him with great liberality, according to his usual custom.

There were many Uzbegs in high command in the army of Akber; and these men, offended by the king's strictness, and also fancying he had a hereditary antipathy to their race, conspired and revolted (1564). They were joined by other chiefs, particularly Asof Khân, who had lately reduced the Hindoo kingdom of Gurrah, on the Nerbudda. This country was governed by a queen, a woman of a high and noble spirit, who had led her own troops to battle, and when she saw them routed and herself wounded, sooner than fall into the hands of the enemy, she ended her life with a dagger. Asof became master of her treasures, which were considerable, and the desire to retain them drove him into rebellion.

The war with these rebels lasted for two years, with various success. At length, when Akber had nearly succeeded in reducing them, he was called away to the Punjâb, which was invaded by his brother Hakîm, who ruled in Câbul. During his absence the rebels recovered their ground; but on his return he marched against them, though it was the rainy season, and drove them over the Ganges; and, while they thought themselves secured by the vast body of waters that river now rolled, Akber swam over it at night-fall, with only 2000 men, on horses and elephants, and, lying concealed for the remainder of the night, fell on them at sunrise. Taken thus unprepared, they were thrown into confusion and routed, and they fled in various directions.

When Akber had attained his twenty-fifth year (1567), he had reduced all the rebellious chiefs by force, or attached them by his clemency; and he now was able to turn his thoughts to plans of conquest. The Rajpût states first attracted his attention, and he turned his arms against the Rana of Chitôr, a prince of a feeble character, who instantly fled to Gûzerât, leaving the defence of the fortress to a chief of great courage and ability, named Jy Mal. Akber made his approach by trenches, and ran two mines; but when they were fired, only one of them exploded at once, and it was not till the soldiers were mounting the breach that the fire reached the other, and its explosion did so much injury to the assailants that they were forced to retire, and all the works had to be recommenced. The siege might then have lasted a long time, were it not that, one night, as Akber was visiting the trenches, he happened to see Jy Mal, who was directing the repairs of the works by torch-light. He took aim at him with a firelock, and shot him through the head. The garrison lost heart at the fall of their leader, and, giving up the defence of the place, they prepared to devote themselves in the usual Hindoo manner. The women were all committed to the flames, with the body of Jy Mal, and the men then retired to the temples to await the besiegers, who were now mounting the undefended breach. Akber, aware of their desperation, kept up a distant fire, till he had introduced three hundred war-elephants, in order to trample them to death; and these animals, we are told, trod them under their feet like grasshoppers, or, taking them up in their trunks, tossed them into the air, or dashed them against the walls or the pavement. Between the garrison and the townspeople 30,000 persons, it is said, thus perished.

In the course of the following year Akber took the forts of Rintambôr and Câlinjer. But, though he thus employed arms against some of the Rajpût princes, he adopted milder and more politic measures with others. Such was that of forming matrimonial alliances with them. Thus he himself was married to the daughters of the rajahs of Jypûr and Mârwâr, and his eldest son to another princess of the house of Jypûr. This connexion with the imperial family, instead of being looked on as a loss of caste, was regarded as an honour by all the Rajpût princes, except the house of Chitôr or Oudipûr, which even renounced all affinity with the other rajahs on account of it, affecting to view them as degraded by a connexion with the sovereigns of Delhi.

The province of Gûzerât, as we have seen, had been for many years in a state of independence. But now (1572), in consequence of the confusion that prevailed in it, Akber was invited by the minister of the inefficient prince, in whose name the government was carried on, to come and take possession of it. He accepted the invitation; at Patan he was met by the pageant king, who resigned his crown to him, and he thence advanced and laid siege to the sea-port town of Surat. Before it was invested, some of the rebel chiefs who were in it retired from it, with the intention of trying to join the main body of their forces. Akber pursued them with such precipitation, that one day he found himself with only 156 men in presence of a force of at least 1000 men. With the native chivalry of his character he fell on them, and being repulsed, he took his station in a lane between hedges of cactus, where only two horsemen could advance abreast. Here he maintained himself, though he ran imminent risk of his life, fighting like a common soldier, and at last succeeded in driving the enemies off; but his project of preventing their junction with their troops failed. Surat, however, opened its gates, and the whole of Gûzerât submitted.

Akber returned to Agra; but he had not been there a month, when he learned that one of the rebel chiefs, named Husun Mîrza, had re-appeared in Gûzerât, and was besieging the royal governor in Ahmedabâd, the capital of the province. As it was now the rainy season, and it was therefore impossible to march a large army, Akber sent forward a chosen body of 2000 horse, and then himself and 300 of his nobles and officers, mounting on camels, followed them at the rate of eighty miles a day. At Patan he was joined by another detachment, which raised his force to 3000 horse and 300 camels. With this inconsiderable force he advanced to within four miles of Ahmedabâd, where he ordered the imperial drums to beat. This filled the insurgents with such terror, that it was with difficulty their officers restrained them from flight. Husun then leaving 5000 men to watch the town, advanced with 7000 horsemen against the king. Akber, who had now reached the banks of the river on which the town is built, finding himself deceived in his hopes of being joined by the garrison, and seeing that he had only his own troops to depend on, in order to cut off all chance of retreat from his men, boldly crossed the river, and drew them up on the opposite bank. His temerity, as usual, was successful; the enemy was repulsed, and Husun was wounded and made a prisoner. As many contended for the honour of having captured him, Akber asked him who had taken him: "No one," he replied, "it was the curse of ingratitude that overtook me."

During the pursuit Akber remained with about 200 horsemen on an eminence. Suddenly he saw a large body of horse advancing, and on sending to inquire learned that they were the troops left to watch Ahmedabâd. His men began to lose courage and think of retiring; but Akber, ordering the drums to strike up the royal march, charged down upon the enemy, who, thinking that the whole of the royal army must be behind the eminence, turned and fled with precipitation. Their leader fell from his horse and was killed by one of the king's guards; Husun also was assassinated by a Rajpût chief, to whom he had been committed, to avenge a former quarrel; and the two leaders being thus removed the rebellion was at an end.

Akber now (1575) deemed the occasion favourable for re-annexing the wealthy provinces of Bahâr and Bengal to the empire. These had been independent and governed by Afghân princes for some years; but the present king, named Daûd, was of a feeble, vicious character. Akber had obtained a promise of tribute from him; but the unsteady Daûd in a moment of prosperity had re-asserted his independence. Akber marched from Agra in the height of the rainy season, advanced and took Bahâr without opposition. Leaving then the task of conquering Bengal to his generals, he returned to Agra, and they obliged Daûd to retire to Orissa. The whole of Bahâr and Bengal was thus reannexed to the imperial crown (1576), and the last remnant of the Afghân monarchy in Hindûstân was extinguished. But a rebellion, first, of the Mogul chiefs when required to remit the revenues of the province to the court, and then an insurrection of the remaining Afghâns, gave the royal troops occupation for some years; and it was not till 1592 that Bengal was finally reduced to tranquillity.

During this time Akber's brother Hakîm, the governor, or rather ruler, of Câbul, invaded the Punjâb. Akber found it necessary to march in person against him. At his approach Hakim retired, and Akber, following up his success, took possession of Câbul. Hakîm fled to the mountains; but on his making his submission, the magnanimous emperor restored him to his government, and he ever after remained in obedience.

An insurrection followed in Gûzerât, headed by Mozaffer, the former prince of that country, which gave occupation to Akber's generals for a space of four years.

CHAPTER IX.

AKBER—Conquest of Cashmire — The Yûsofzyes — And Roushenîa — Recovery of Candahâr — Invasion of the Deckan—Chând Sultâna—Prince Selîm—Death of Akber —His Character—His Religious System—Hindoo Village-System—The Revenue—The Army—Royal Magnificence.

IN the year 1585 the death of his brother Hakîm made it necessary for Akber to go in person to Câbul. This led to a series of conflicts with the

hardy tribes that dwelt in the mountains north of that region. But Akber's first exploit was an unprovoked attack on and conquest of the paradisal vale of Cashmire.

This region, which is described as a real paradise, is a valley-plain in the heart of the Himalaya mountains, about half way up them, enclosed on all sides by snowy ranges, and enjoying almost a perpetual spring. The plain and the sides of the hills are covered with various brilliant and fragrant flowers, and filled with trees laden with fruits. Copious rivulets descend from the hills to water the plain, and they there form two lakes, on the surface of which may be seen numerous artificial floating gardens. These waters are the origin of the Jelûm, one of the rivers of the Punjâb, which descends from the vale by a deep ravine. Cashmire can only be entered by difficult mountain-passes. The road crosses rocky ridges, winds through narrow defiles, passes along the face of precipices overhanging rapid streams, and the summit of the mountain when reached is often found impassable from the snow.

Cashmire, after having been ruled from time immemorial by a succession of Hindoo princes, fell, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, into the hands of a Mohammedan adventurer, and was thenceforth ruled by a series of Mussulman princes. Dissensions in the reigning family gave Akber the hope of making himself master of the inviting region, and he despatched an army thither from Attock, which he had lately built at the ferry of the Indus. After encountering many difficulties, it at length penetrated through a pass which had been left unguarded; but its supplies had been exhausted, and so many difficulties remained yet to be overcome, that the commanders gladly agreed to a treaty, by which the sovereignty of Akber was acknowledged, but on condition that he should not interfere in the internal concerns of the country. But Akber spurned such limited dominion, and he sent in the next year another army, which reduced the whole country to submission. The king became one of the nobles of the court of Delhi, and was assigned a large estate in Bahâr. Akber paid an immediate visit to his new conquest. He visited it twice more during his reign; and it became the favourite summer residence of his successors.

Cashmire being thus reduced, Akber turned his arms against the tribes that occupied the fertile valleys on the north of the plain of Pêshâwer, and those of the Solimân and Khyber ranges on the south of that plain. The ruling tribe in the former were the Yûsofzyes, who, being driven from the neighbourhood of Candahâr about a century before, had come to these mountains, and reduced the original inhabitants beneath their dominion. The religious sect of the Roushenia, or Enlightened, who rejected the Korân, and taught that nothing existed but God, and who despised and rejected all worship and all religious exercises, prevailed in the southern mountains.

Akber sent two of his best generals against the Yûsofzyes; but by advancing too far into the mountains, they got entangled in the gorges and defiles, and one of the leaders, a Rajpût rajah and great favourite of the emperor, was slain, and the troops of both destroyed; the other escaped alone and on foot. Akber sent another force, under two other generals, who by prudently not entering the mountains, but fortifying positions in various places, and thus preventing the Yûsofzyes from cultivating their portion of the plain, reduced them to submission. One of them, Mar Sing, then proceeded to act against the Roushenîa of the southern hills. He had some partial success; but the next year (1587), while Mar Sing attacked them from the north, Akber sent a body of troops over the Indus to the south of the Khyber range, who took them in the rear, and their leader Jelala was thus completely defeated. He, however, kept up the contest till his death in 1600; and, in effect, the tribes of the mountains round the plain of Pêshâwer have never been completely conquered by any dynasty of India or Câbul.

In consequence of this contest with these mountain tribes, the abode of Akber in these provinces of the Indus was prolonged to a space of fifteen years. It did not however solely engage his attention and his arms, for during that time he established his authority in Sind[4] (1592), and he also recovered Candahâr. For during the confusion which prevailed in the commencement of Akber's reign, Shah Tahmasp had succeeded in regaining that city, of which Humâyun had so treacherously deprived him, and Akber now, by taking advantage of the disturbances in Persia, on the accession of Tahmasp's son Abbas, recovered it without a blow.

The rule of Akber now extended from the frontiers of Persia to the eastern limit of Bengal, from the sea and the Vindhya range to the lofty Himalaya, the most extensive dominion that had been as yet held by any Mohammedan sovereign of India. It was also the most completely subject to the royal authority, for with the exception of the Rana of Oudipûr, and the mountain tribes of Afghanistân, all, Hindoo and Moslem alike, were submissive and faithful subjects or tributaries.

It only now remained for Akber to extend his dominion over the Deckan, and here, as is generally the case in the East, the way was prepared for him by civil dissension. In the year 1595 there were in arms no less than four claimants of the throne of Ahmednugur. One of them called in the aid of the imperial forces; and one army from Gûzerât, led by the emperor's son Morâd, and another from Mâlwa, entered the Deckan and rendezvoused near Ahmednugur, of which city the chief who invited them had been in possession, but while they were advancing he had been obliged to abandon it, and it was now held by the princess Chând Sultâna, or Chând Bîbî, as guardian of her infant nephew. She immediately called on the king of Bejapûr, who was her relation, and on the chiefs of the three rival parties, to lay aside their enmity for a time, and unite against the invaders. They attended to her call; one of the chiefs, an Abyssinian named Nehang, cut his way through the imperial troops and entered Ahmednugur, while the other two joined their forces with the king of Bejapûr, who

[4] "It is mentioned," says Elphinstone, (ii. 261,) "in the Akbernâmeh, that the chief of Sind employed Portuguese soldiers in this war, and had also 200 natives dressed as Europeans. These were, therefore, the first *Sepoys* in India. The same chief is also said to have had a fort, defended by an Arab garrison, the first instance in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed."

was marching to its relief. Meantime, Chând Bîbî defended the town heroically; she directed the works and encouraged the workmen, shunning no exposure to danger. Prince Morâd having run three mines under the ramparts, she countermined two of them, but the third was successful, and effected a large breach in the walls. The storming party advanced, and the soldiers were retiring in dismay, when Chând Bibî in full armour, a naked sword in her hand, and a veil on her face, flew to the breach and checked the assailants. The garrison then hastened to the spot, every kind of missile was employed; the contest lasted till the evening, when the Moguls retired, intending to renew the assault in the morning. But at dawn they beheld the breach repaired so, that without the aid of new mines it could not be mounted. Meantime, the confederated army was approaching, and though the Moguls were superior in numbers, they deemed it more prudent to listen to the terms which Chând Bîbî proposed, which were that the king of Ahmednugur should surrender to the emperor his claims on Berâr, which he had recently conquered (1596).

The parties however were at war again in the course of the year. Chând Bîbî's prime minister formed a plot against her, and called on the Moguls for aid. Morâd, who was still in the Deckan, agreed to give it, and he was joined by the king of Candêsh; on the other hand, the king of Golconda joined the allies of Chând Bîbî. The armies encountered on the banks of the Godâveri, and the engagement lasted for two days. Though the Moguls claimed the victory, they made little effort to follow it up, and Akber saw that his own presence was requisite in the Deckan. On his reaching the Nerbudda (1559), he found that Doulet-abâd and other places had been taken by his troops; and from the banks of the Tapti he sent a force under his son, prince Dâniâl, to invest Ahmednugur, in which Chând Bibî was now besieged by Nehang the Abassinian Chief. Nehong retired at the approach of the Moguls; but while Chând Bîbî, seeing that under the actual state of things in the town defence was hopeless, was negotiating a treaty, the soldiers, instigated by her opponents, burst into the women's apartments, and murdered her. She thus perished, like almost every woman of superior talent in the East, but her death was not unavenged; in a few days a breach being practicable, the Moguls stormed and gave no quarter to the fighting men. The young king was sent a prisoner to the fort of Gwaliôr; but another was set up, and the contest was continued for some years. Akber returned to Agra, leaving prince Dâniâl, who had married a daughter of the king of Bejapûr, viceroy of Berâr and Candêsh, which he had annexed to the empire, and committing the prosecution of the war in the Deckan to his celebrated vizir, the able Abûl Fazl (1601).

The departure of Akber from the Deckan, was caused by the undutiful conduct of his eldest son, prince Selîm. This prince, who was now past thirty years of age, was a man naturally not devoid of talent; but he had impaired his faculties by the immoderate use of wine and opium. Akber, on setting out for the Deckan, had declared him his successor, and made him viceroy of Ajmeer, but Selîm, not content with the prospect of the succession, thought to seize at once on the whole of Hindûstân. He failed in his attempt on Agra, but having made himself master of Bahâr and Oude, he assumed the title of king. Akber wrote to remonstrate with him, warning him of the danger of the course he was pursuing; at the same time assuring him of forgiveness if he returned to his duty. When the emperor returned to Agra, a kind of reconciliation was effected, and Bengal and Orissa were granted to Selîm. Shortly after Abûl Fâzl, who had been recalled from the Deckan, was fallen on, as he was on his way to Gwaliôr, by a Hindoo rajah, and he and his attendants were slain. His head was cut off and sent to Selîm, who was his mortal enemy, and at whose instigation the rajah had acted. Akber was deeply affected by the fate of his minister; he shed abundance of tears, and passed two days and nights without sleep. He either was ignorant or dissembled his knowledge of his son's share in the murder; but he made, though to no purpose, every effort to take vengeance on the rajah.

Selîm soon after (1603) came to court, where his father gave him permission to use the insignia of royalty. He soon, however, relapsed into disobedience, and returning to his residence at Allahabâd [5], gave himself up to debauchery, and to the practice of the most horrid cruelty [6]. He now also exhibited the utmost antipathy to his own son, prince Khusru, a young man of a light mind and a violent temper, and whom he fancied Akber designed for his successor. After some time Selîm returned to court, where he was at first placed in confinement, but was speedily restored to favour.

Akber's second son Morâd had been dead some years; he now received intelligence of the death of his third son, prince Dâniâl. Intemperance, the vice of his family, had also caused the death of this prince. He had pledged his word to his father to abstain from the use of wine, and he was so surrounded by persons belonging to the emperor that he could not openly indulge in it. His resource then was to have wine secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and he thus soon brought his days to a termination. His death greatly affected the feeling heart of the emperor, whose own health, in consequence probably of his domestic afflictions, now began to give way. Intrigues with respect to the succession were instantly set on foot, as there were many persons who thought it for their advantage that Khusru should occupy the throne. Akber, however, having in the most explicit terms declared Selîm his lawful successor, all opposition to him ceased, and at the desire of the dying monarch, Selîm and all the principal Ômrahs assembled in his chamber. He there addressed them, praying them to forgive him any offences he might have committed against them. Selîm in a flood of tears threw himself at his feet; Akber pointing to his favourite scimitar, made signs to him to gird it on him in his presence. He commended to his care the ladies of his harem, and charged him not to neglect his old friends and dependents. Having then repeated the Moslem confession of faith in the

[5] This city, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, was built by Akber.

[6] On one occasion he caused a man to be flayed alive. Akber was horrified when he heard of it. He said he wondered how the son of a man, who could not even see a dead beast flayed without feeling pain, could commit such an act.

presence of a minister of religion, the truly great emperor Akber breathed his last (Oct. 13, 1605), in the fiftieth year of his reign.

Akber was in person strong-built and handsome, and very fair, owing to his northern origin. In his youth he indulged in wine and good living, but afterwards become sober and abstemious. He delighted in the chase, especially where there was hazard and danger, as in that of the tiger and the elephant. He was fond of making long journeys on horseback, and would even sometimes walk thirty or forty miles a day. His valour was chivalrous, like that of Alexander the Great; yet he was not fond of war for its own sake, and carried it on chiefly from an idea that he had a right to restore the limits of the empire. In temper, Akber was mild and magnanimous, humane and generous. He was fond of religious and philosophical disquisitions, and was most perfectly tolerant of all who differed from him in opinion.

Akber was a reformer in religion, in the revenue, and in the army.

The religious views to which Akber seems to have finally come were either pure deism, or a Mohammedanism so modified as to differ little from that system. The way in which he proceeded was to examine and hear the arguments in favour of every form of religion. His assistants in these inquiries were two brothers, named Feizi and Abûl-Fazl, sons of a man who had taught law and divinity at Agra; but who had been obliged to leave that place on account of the freedom of his religious sentiments, which had drawn on him persecution. Feizi was the first Mussulman who applied himself to Hindoo literature. He learned the Sanscrit language, and by himself or by others under his direction, translations were made of the two great epic poems, of one of the Vedas, and of several other works. Akber was also anxious to have versions made from the Greek, and a Portuguese priest, who is called Padre Farâbatûm, was invited to come from Goa, and instruct some youths, who were then to be employed in making translations from the Greek language. Feizi himself was directed to translate the Gospels.

The other brother, Abûl-Fazl, though also a man of letters, and author of the Akbernâmeh, or History of Akber, which is still extant, was a statesman and a general. Akber raised him to the office of vizir, and we have seen his unhappy fate.

Beside his confidential discussions with Feizi and Abûl-Fazl, Akber used to hold meetings on Fridays, which were attended by the learned men of his court, and he often sent for Bramins and for Mohammedan Sûfees, and heard them explain their different tenets. He invited Catholic priests from Goa, and caused them to dispute with the Mohammedan doctors in his presence. He manifested a great respect for Christianity, and it is not unlikely that, had he known it in its purity, he would have embraced it.

The creed of Akber was, as we have stated, a kind of modified deism. He endeavoured to do away with some of the Mohammedan peculiarities, and most of the peculiar obligations of that religion, such as circumcision, fasting, pilgrimage, and public worship he made to be optional. He discouraged the study of the Arabic language, and for the lunar year, the months with Arabic names, and the era of the Hijra, he introduced a solar year, with months bearing Persian names, and commencing from the vernal equinox nearest to his accession. With respect to the Hindoos, his regulations were more of a political cast. He forbade the trial by ordeal, the burning of widows against their will, and marriage before the age of puberty. He allowed Hindoo widows to marry a second time, contrary to the preceding usage. He abolished all taxes on Hindoo pilgrims, as, in his tolerant eyes, every one had a right to serve the Deity in the manner most agreeable to his own views. He also abolished the *Jezeeah*, or poll-tax, which, in all Mohammedan states, is imposed on those whom the Moslems term infidels. It was the aim of Akber to make all his subjects equal, and from the very commencement of his reign he had employed Hindoos and Mussulmans alike in his service.

These innovations of the emperor naturally gave great offence to the bigoted Moslems. His religious system was besides of too pure and spiritual a character to make much progress, and it died away on the death of its founder. It, however, had some effect in promoting the progress of liberal inquiry in India.

In the revenue department of the government, Akber made great improvements in the mode of assessing and collecting the land-tax. As this is intimately connected with the village-system of India, this is perhaps the best place for giving a view of that ancient and celebrated institution.

The property in the soil in India, from the most remote ages, seems not, as in some countries, to have lain in the sovereign, or, as in others, in the occupant; but to have been a joint-possession, a certain portion of the produce belonging to the former and all the remainder to the latter, whose title to his share was as indefeasible as that of the sovereign to *his* portion. But these proprietors did not stand singly; union in the East is of absolute necessity for mutual defence and protection. The land, therefore, was in certain determinate and well-limited proportions, and all the proprietors belonging to it were collected into one town or village, generally about the centre of the land. Each, accordingly, formed a little republic in itself, and the aggregate of these republics formed the state; and whether this last was ruled by a Hindoo or a Mohammedan prince was a matter of comparative unimportance to the village-republic, which had only to render to it its share of the annual produce.

The village collects the revenue it has to pay to the crown and the sums required for local purposes; it maintains its own police, and it administers justice in a variety of cases among its members. For these and for other purposes various officers are required, and the following are therefore to be found in a Hindoo village.

The Headman (called in the greater part of India Patîl), is, as his name denotes, the head of the village, and is its representative in all transactions with the government. He apportions and collects the revenue, lets the lands that happen to have no occupants, and acts in general as a magistrate. The Accountant, or Patwâri, keeps the records, which contain an account of all the lands and their occupants. He also keeps the private accounts of the villagers, and acts in general as a notary. The Watchman, or Pyk, &c., whose duty it is to attend to all the boundaries, both public and private, to

watch the crops, and to act under the headman as chief of police. In the performance of this duty he has the aid of all his family; for all village offices are hereditary in particular families.

Beside these three essential personages in a Hindoo village, there is the money-changer, who is also the silversmith, the priest, the astrologer, (either of which is also the schoolmaster), the smith, carpenter, worker in leather, potter, and barber; and in most villages the tailor, the washerman, physician, musician, &c.; and in the south even the dancing-girl. All of these receive a certain portion of the general produce for their maintenance.

The general term in India for the villagers is Ryots, and the persons who receive the government share of the produce are known by the Persian name of Zemindâr. When the government share of the produce of one or more villages is assigned for the payment of civil or military officers, it is named a *Jagheer*, and we must carefully observe that it is only this portion that the Zemindâr can demand from the villagers.

From this slight view of the village-system, we may now proceed to notice Akber's improvements.

A survey was made of all the cultivable lands in the empire. They were then classed according to their fertility, and one third of the average produce was fixed as the government share. This demand however was regulated by circumstances; land, for example, which had suffered from inundation, &c., paid only two fifths for the first year, and so went on increasing till the fifth year, when it paid the full charge. The share of the state being ascertained, it was then commuted for a money-payment, an average being taken of prices for the preceding nineteen years. But if any one thought this too high, he had his option of paying in kind. The settlement was at first annual, but it was afterwards made for ten years, taking an average of the payments of the preceding ten.

The emperor's agent in this great reform, and from whom it is named, was the rajah Tôdar Mal, an eminent Hindoo, and, according to Abûl Fazl, bigotedly devoted to his religion. But the tolerant Akber saw his merits and heeded not his religious opinions.

Akber divided the empire into fifteen Sûbahs or provinces, twelve in Hindûstân and three in the Deckan, which last were increased to six by his successors. Over each was placed a governor or viceroy, named at first Sipâh Sâlâr, but afterwards Sûbahdâr, with complete civil and military authority[7]. All the officers of the revenue were therefore under him, as also were the Foujdârs or military commanders of districts. An officer named Dêwân, whose business was the superintendence of the finances of the province, was afterwards introduced into the system. He was appointed by the crown, but was under the viceroy.

Instead of the preceding system of granting lands or assignments on the revenue for the payment of the troops, which only led to fraud and oppression, Akber issued regular pay from the treasury, and made previous musters necessary.

Though Akber was simple in his habits, his court was most splendid, and the European travellers who visited the court of his son, actually dazzle us with their accounts of the magnificence which they beheld. On the great festivals of the vernal equinox and of the king's birthday, a rich tent was pitched for the monarch, and the ground around to the extent of two acres was covered with carpets of silk and gold, and hangings of velvet embroidered with gold, and pearls, and precious stones. The king was weighed in golden scales against gold, silver, perfumes, &c., which were afterwards distributed among the spectators. The nobility also displayed all their magnificence, and diamonds and other jewels blazed on every side. Richly caparisoned elephants, lions, tigers, and other wild beasts were led past the throne, where were the king and his nobles "sparkling with diamonds like the firmament," and the procession closed with a large body of cavalry arrayed in cloth of gold.

[7] At a later period, we believe, there was a division of the Sûbahs into smaller districts, over each of which was an officer, named Nabob (properly Nawab), *i. e. deputy*, who was appointed by the Sûbahdâr, and who had the entire civil and military power in his district. Such was the Nabob of the Carnatic, under the Sûbahdâr of the Deckan. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the titles of Sûbahdâr and Nabob were confounded, and we meet with the Nabobs of Oude and Bengal.

CHAPTER X.

JEHÂNGÎR—Prince Khusru—Nûr Jehân—Invasion of the Deckan—Prince Shâh Jehân—Mohâbut Khân—Seizure of the Emperor—Heroism of Nûr Jehân—Death of Jehângîr.

SELÎM on ascending the throne took the title of Jehângîr, *i. e.* Conqueror of the World. He made sundry good regulations; among others, one strictly prohibiting the use of wine, and regulating that of opium. Another was of rather a curious nature. In order that complaints should be certain to reach the royal ear, he caused a chain to be hung from a part of the palace wall within the reach of every one, and communicating with a set of golden bells in his own apartment. The suitor had then only to pull the chain, and the emperor was instantly aware of his presence.

Jehângîr had been about four months on the throne, when one night he was awakened with intelligence that prince Khusru had fled from court with a few attendants, and taken the road to Delhi. He instantly sent a party in pursuit of him, and in the morning he set out in person with all the troops he could collect. The prince, meantime, went on collecting men and plundering the country, and by the time he reached the Punjâb, whither he directed his course, he had drawn together a force of 10,000 men. With these he gave battle at Lahore to the advanced guard of his father's army, but met with a total defeat, and as he was flying to Câbul he was taken, in consequence of the boat in which he was crossing the river Jelûm having gone aground, and he was brought in chains to the emperor. Jehângîr, in whose bosom there was little room for mercy, spared, no doubt, the life of his son, but he exercised his barbarity on his unfortunate adherents, 700 of whom he impaled along the road leading from one of the gates of Lahore, and he caused the prince to be

carried on an elephant along the line, with a mace-bearer calling to him in a mocking tone to receive the salutations of his servants. He was then conducted to his prison, where he passed three days in tears without tasting food. In the spring of the following year (1606), when Jehângir visited Câbul, he ordered the prince's chains to be taken off, and allowed him to walk in a garden within the citadel. But a conspiracy to release him and to assassinate the emperor being detected, no farther indulgence was allowed.

Meantime the emperor's second son, Purvîz, who had been sent against the rana of Oudipûr, had effected an accommodation with that prince; but the war was renewed in the next year. In the Deckan the contest with the Nizâm Shâhî line of princes still continued; and in 1600, Malik Amber, their able minister, recovered Ahmednugur and forced the Moguls to retire.

It was in the year 1611, the sixth year of his reign, that the marriage of the emperor with the celebrated Nûr Jehân, one of the most remarkable women of the East, took place—an event which had a powerful influence on the whole of his subsequent reign.

Ghyas-ud-dîn, the son of a man who had held a high government situation at Teherân, in Persia, having fallen into poverty, resolved to seek his fortune in India. Accompanied by his wife, now great with child, and his two sons, he set out for that country. On the way to Candahâr his wife was delivered of a daughter; but such was the degree of their distress, that they found it necessary to expose the new-born babe. They placed it on the road by which the caravan was to proceed next day. As it passed along, a wealthy merchant observed the babe, and struck with its beauty, he took it up and resolved to rear it. The mother presented herself and became the nurse of her own child, and the merchant thus became acquainted with the family. He relieved their distress, and finding the father and his sons men of ability, he employed them in his business. In India he recommended them to the emperor, Akber, who gave them employments; and they gradually rose by their talents to higher posts.

The infant which had been exposed, and which was named Mhir-un-Nissa, or, Sun of Women[8], grew up a beautiful and accomplished woman. She used to accompany her mother sometimes in her visits to the ladies of Akber's harem, to which she had access, and she there was seen by prince Selîm, who became the captive of her charms. Her mother perceiving it, made the matter known through one of the ladies to Akber, who remonstrated with his son, and at the same time directed that Nûr Jehân should be married off without delay. She was accordingly united to a young Persian named Shîr Afghân Khân, to whom Akber gave a jaghîr in Bengal.

When Selîm came to the throne, he sent his foster-brother, Kûtb-ud-dîn, as viceroy to Bengal, *with directions to procure him the possession of* Nûr Jehan. It was hoped that the matter might be easily arranged with Shîr Khân; but he proved to be a man of honour, and he loved his beautiful wife. Offended at the proposals made to him, he left off wearing arms, to indicate that he was no longer in the royal service; and when the viceroy, on coming to the part of the country where he resided, summoned him to his presence, he carried a concealed dagger in his dress. The result was that he stabbed the viceroy, and was himself cut to pieces by the guards. His property was seized, and Nûr Jehân was sent a prisoner to Delhi. Jehângîr at once made her proposals of marriage; but she rejected with abhorrence the hand of the murderer of her husband. An ordinary despot would on such an occasion have employed violence; but the passion of Jehângîr seems to have been extinguished by her repugnance, and he gave up his suit and placed her among the attendants of his mother.

During the space of about four years, Nûr Jehân remained an unnoticed dweller of the harem. She employed her leisure in painting and needlework, in which she excelled, and her works were sold in order to procure her such elegancies as she desired. The fame of these works, it is said, reached the ears of the emperor, and revived his passion. Nûr Jehân was no longer able to resist the temptations of empire; their marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and she received honours such as never had been possessed by a queen in India, her name even being put on the coin of the realm. Her influence was unbounded; her father was made vizîr, her brothers were advanced to high offices. She moderated the caprice and cruelty of the emperor's character; she made him confine his inebriety to the night and to his private apartments; she increased the magnificence, while she diminished the expenses, of the court[9]. In a word, her influence, in the early years of her power, was productive of almost unmixed good. Her father proved one of the best and most upright ministers that India had ever seen, and his son, who succeeded him, trod in his footprints.

In the year following the emperor's marriage (1612), a great plan for reducing the Deckan was formed. Troops were simultaneously to advance from Gûzerât and Berâr and attack Malik Amber. But the celerity of that chief disconcerted the plan. By desultory attacks of light cavalry, and by cutting off its supplies, he so wearied the army of Gûzerât, that it was obliged to commence its retreat, which soon became a flight, and the other army on coming up, finding Amber's troops flushed with victory, thought it prudent to retire. The imperial arms were more successful in Mewâr, under the guidance of the emperor's favourite son Khurrum. He reduced the rana of Oudipûr to submission, and acting on the generous principles of his grandfather Akber, when the rana had performed his homage he raised him in his arms, and seated him at his side with every mark of kindness and respect. All his territory was restored to him, and his son raised to a high rank among the Ômrahs of Jehângir. This conduct gained Khurrum great reputation, and as he had lately married the daughter of *Asof Khân*, the brother of *Nûr Jehân*, he also possessed the powerful support of the empress.

Prince Khusru was still a prisoner, and any

[8] She was afterwards named Nûr Mahâl, or Light of the Harem; and Nûr Jehân, or Light of the World, by which last name we will henceforth designate her.

[9] She is said, but probably without reason, to have been the inventor of otto of roses.

hopes that prince Purviz might have had were extinguished, when the emperor, on sending Khurrum on a great expedition to the Deckan (1626), gave him the royal title—Shâh Jehân, *i. e.* King of the World. In this expedition Shâh Jehân had the most complete success. Amber, deserted by his officers and his allies, was obliged to submit, and to restore Ahmednugur and all his other conquests. The Deckan then remained tolerably quiet for about four years, when (1621) Amber took up arms again, and recovered nearly the whole of the country. Shâh Jehân was ordered to march against him; but for some unexplained reason, he refused to stir unless his brother Khusru was committed to his custody, and allowed to accompany him. The emperor consented, and Shâh Jehân then set out. Acting with his usual vigour and ability, he brought Amber to action, gave him a defeat, and made him speedily come to terms of accommodation. Meanwhile, the emperor had so severe an attack of asthma, a disease to which he was subject, that his life was deemed to be in imminent danger. Prince Purviz hastened to court, but was instantly ordered back to his government. Just at this time, too, prince Khusru happened to die suddenly, and it is difficult not to suppose that his death was caused by his brother Shâh Jehân, in whose custody he was. Against this, however, it is alleged, that as no other crime stains the life of that prince, we should not be hasty to charge him with one of such magnitude.

At this very time, Shâh Jehân lost the powerful support of the empress. She had married her daughter by her first husband to the emperor's youngest son, Sheriâr, and aware, from the vigorous character of Shâh Jehân, that she never could hope to maintain her influence when he should be on the throne, she resolved to make every effort to alter the succession. Her father, who used to restrain her, was lately dead, and her brother (the father-in-law of Shâh Jehân), who succeeded him, was merely the instrument of her will.

The great object of Nûr Jehân now was to keep the prince at a distance from his father, and as just at this time the Persians had taken Candahâr, the recovery of it was proposed to him as an object worthy of his fame and his talents. He at first assented, but seeing through the designs of the empress and her party, after he had advanced some way he halted, and refused to quit India unless further securities were given him. Orders were then sent to him to send the greater part of his troops to the capital to join prince Sheriâr, to whom the command of the expedition had been transferred; his principal officers also were ordered to leave him, and join prince Sheriâr. The empress, moreover, to be sure of a good general in case of a civil war, summoned to court from his government at Câbul Mohâbut Khân, one of the ablest generals of the time.

Jehângîr, on his return from one of his usual visits to Cashmire, fixed his court at Lahore (1622). Messages passed between him and his son, but as there appeared to be no hopes of a reconciliation, Shâh Jehân put his troops in motion and advanced toward Delhi. The emperor marched from Lahore; an engagement took place between a part of his forces and of those of the prince, after which the latter retired to Mâlwa, followed by the imperial troops. As some of his generals proved faithless, he found it necessary to continue his retreat into the Deckan. He reached Telingana, after having been deserted by most of his troops, whence he proceeded to the sea-port of Masulipatâm, and thence to Bengal, of which province and of Bahâr he made himself master, and he then sent some troops to endeavour to secure the city of Allahabâd.

Meantime prince Purviz and Mohâbut Khân, who had pursued him into the Deckan, were advancing to the relief of Allahabâd. Shâh Jehân crossed the Ganges to engage them; but the people of the country were opposed to him, they would furnish him neither with provisions nor boats; his Bengal levies deserted, and when he gave battle he was defeated, and forced to fly once more to the Deckan. Here he was joined by Malik 'Amber; but while he was engaged in some operations against the fort of Burhanpûr, prince Purviz and Mohâbut Khân reached the Nerbudda. His followers now deserted in greater numbers than ever, and, quite disheartened, he wrote to beg forgiveness of his father. But ere anything could be arranged, extraordinary events occurred in the royal court and camp.

The emperor, after visiting Cashmire for two successive years, resolved to proceed in the third year (1625) to Câbul, where the Roushanías still gave occupation to his troops. As he was on his way thither, the empress, who secretly hated Mohâbut Khân, caused him to be summoned to court, to answer charges of oppression and embezzlement in Bengal. Having made various excuses to no purpose, he at length set out, attended by a body of 5000 faithful Rajpûts. When he approached the camp, he learned that he would not be admitted into the emperor's presence, and seeing that his ruin was resolved on, he determined to play a bold game, and not to be an unresisting victim.

The imperial camp was now (1626) on the left bank of the Jelûm, which was to be crossed by a bridge of boats. Jehângîr intended to send the army over before him, and then to pass the river at his leisure. Mohâbut waited till the army was over, and only the emperor with his attendants and guards remaining. He then sent forward 2000 of his Rajpûts to seize the bridge, and advanced himself with the remainder to the emperor's quarters, which he surrounded. At the head of 200 chosen men he pushed forward to the imperial tent, where he repelled the guards and forced his way in. Jehângîr, on awaking, started up and seized his sword. Seeing Mohâbut, he called on him to tell the meaning of such conduct; the latter prostrated himself, and expressed his regret that it should be only thus that he could gain access to the royal presence. Jehângîr checked his indignation, and as Mohâbut observed that it was now his usual time for appearing in public, and requested therefore that he would mount his horse *and show himself, he tried, under the pretence of* dressing himself, to get into the women's apartments in order to consult Nûr Jehân. But his design was seen through and prevented, and having dressed himself where he was, he mounted one of his own horses. Mohâbut, however, thinking he would be in safer custody on an elephant, prevailed on him to mount one of these animals, on which he placed beside him two armed Rajpûts. In this way he proceeded to the tents of Mohâbut.

Nûr Jehân did not lose her presence of mind on this important occasion. Finding that all access to the emperor was cut off, she put on a disguise, and entering a palankin of the commonest kind proceeded to the bridge. As the orders the soldiers there had received were to allow every one that came to pass over, but none to come from the other side, she met with no obstruction, and reached the royal camp in safety. There she inveighed against her brother and the other chiefs as dastards, who had let their sovereign be made a captive before their eyes; and not confining herself to mere words, she began to make active preparations for attempting his rescue.

In the morning, when all her preparations were complete, she put her troops in motion. At their head appeared the high-spirited Nûr Jehân herself, seated in the howdah of a lofty elephant, with a bow and two quivers full of arrows. As the Rajpûts had burned the bridge, she was forced to attempt to cross at a dangerous ford lower down the stream. But the whole plan miscarried. Owing to the depth of the stream most of the troops had to swim or to wade very deeply; hence their powder was all wetted, and being weighed down by their armour and their saturated garments, they could offer but a feeble resistance to the Rajpûts, who had the advantage of the ground, and who showered arrows, balls, and rockets on them without ceasing. The elephant of Nûr Jehân was the principal object of attack; showers of balls fell round her howdah, one of which wounded the infant daughter of Sheriâr, whom she held in her lap. At length her driver was killed, and her elephant being wounded in the trunk plunged into the deep water, and was carried down the stream. After making many plunges he reached the shore, and her women on coming up found the empress engaged in extracting the arrow, and in binding up the wound of the infant. Seeing that there was now no hope of rescuing her husband by force, she resolved to share his captivity, and trust to fortune and her own resources for his deliverance.

Mohâbut now advanced to Attock, where he made Asof Khân and other leaders prisoners. But his power was still insecure, as it depended on his Rajpûts, who, as Hindoos, were offensive to all the other troops. The emperor, too, schooled by Nûr Jehân, entered on a course of dissimulation in order to deceive him. He affected to rejoice at being freed from his thraldom to Asof Khân, and he even warned him to be on his guard against the plots of Nûr Jehân. By these means he completely blinded Mohâbut, who now thought himself quite secure with respect to the emperor. The object, meantime, of Nûr Jehân was, to get into the army which attended the emperor as many persons as possible who were in her interest. As they now had reached Câbul, it was deemed necessary to increase the royal guard on account of the Afghâns; and as her partisans came and offered their services, many of them were admitted into it. The emperor being now allowed to go hunting on an elephant, but still guarded by Rajpûts, a quarrel one day took place between them and a party of the Ahdis, as a portion of the royal guards were named, in which many of the latter were slain. Mohâbut, on being applied to for redress, gave an evasive answer. The whole body of the Ahdis then fell on some of the Rajpûts, killed several, and drove others to the hills, where they were seized and made slaves by the inhabitants, and Mohâbut himself was obliged to seek refuge in the imperial tent. Next day the ringleaders were punished; but the power of Mohâbut had received a shock from which it could hardly recover.

Nûr Jehân now saw that the time for action was arrived. Her agents collected men at various points, and they came into the camp in parties of two and three, as if seeking for service. When she had them thus at hand, she made Jehângîr propose a muster of the troops of all the Jaghirdars; and when she herself, as such, was required to furnish her contingent, she affected great indignation at being thus treated as an ordinary subject. She asserted, however, that it should do her no discredit, and she made the men she had ready join it, as if to make it up to its full complement. When Jehângîr was proceeding to review it, he advised Mohâbut, out of regard to his safety, not to accompany him; and the latter, no longer able to command, was obliged to consent. When Jehângîr reached the centre of the line, the troops closed in on him, and cut off the Rajpût horse who attended him, and as they were joined by their confederates, the person of the king was now in complete safety. Mohâbut retired to some distance with his troops, and Nûr Jehân, as her brother was in his hands, was obliged to come to terms with him. She stipulated, however, that he should give his services against Shâh Jehân, whom she was resolved to crush.

This prince had advanced from the Deckan as far as Ajmîr with only 1000 men. Here one of his principal supporters died, and one half of his men having quitted him, he retired to Sind with the remainder. The state of his health alone prevented him from seeking refuge in Persia, when suddenly the aspect of his affairs began to brighten. He heard of the death of his brother Purvîz, and further learned that Mohâbut, instead of pursuing him, was himself pursued by the troops of the emperor, with whom he had had a rupture. He therefore hastened to the Deckan, and he there was joined by Mohâbut and his troops.

The emperor returned to Lahore, and thence set out on his annual visit to Cashmire. While there he had a severe fit of the asthma, to which he was subject. As his life was considered to be in danger, it was resolved to remove him to Lahore, but he sank under the fatigues of the journey, and expired before he had gone a third of the way (1627).

In the reign of Jehângîr (1616) Sir Thomas Roe came to India, as ambassador from James I. of England to the Mogul court. He remained there for two years, being treated with much attention, and admitted to the emperor's private drinking-parties. It is chiefly from his narrative that we derive our knowledge of the splendour of the court of Delhi under the monarchs of the house of Timûr.

Jehângîr issued an edict against the use of tobacco, which had been lately introduced into the east from America. It will be recollected that his British contemporary also had a strong aversion to that plant.

CHAPTER XI.

SHÂH JEHÂN—Nûr Jehân—Magnificence of Shâh Jehân—Khân Jehân Lôdi—War in the Deckan—Câbul and Balkh—Aurungzîb—Sons of the Emperor—Illness of Shâh Jehân—War among his Sons—The Emperor dethroned by Aurungzîb—Confinement of Prince Morâd—Magnificence of Shâh Jehân.

THE death of Jehângîr was the end of the power of Nûr Jehân. Her brother Asof, who sent to summon his son-in-law, Shâh Jehân, from the Deckan, placed her in confinement when she attempted to support the cause of Shehriâr; but, when all was settled, she was given her liberty, assigned an income equal to 250,000*l.* a year, and treated with all becoming respect. Though she survived nearly twenty years, she never again meddled in politics.

Asof Khân marched for Lahore, where Shehriâr had seized the royal treasure, and gained over the troops. Shehriâr gave him battle, and, being defeated, he took refuge in the citadel; but he was given up by the garrison, and he and two of his cousins who had joined him were put to death by order of Shâh Jehân.

High honours were bestowed on Asof Khân and on Mohâbut, and rich gifts were distributed among his friends and adherents by the munificent monarch. Feeling himself firmly seated on his throne, he now gave loose to his taste for magnificent buildings and costly entertainments. We are told that, to celebrate the first anniversary of his accession, he caused a suite of tents to be erected in Cashmire, which it took two months to raise. At the entertainment which he gave in them, besides being, as was usual, weighed against precious metals which were then distributed among those present, he had vessels filled with jewels waved round his head, and their contents poured over his person (which was supposed to avert misfortune), and these also distributed among the guests. The whole expenses of the festival are said to have exceeded a million and a half of our money.

The Deckan first gave occupation to the arms of Shâh Jehân. An Afghân, named Khân Jehân Lôdi, who had risen to high military command in the imperial service, and who was commanding in the Deckan at the time of the death of Jehângîr, thought that he might now venture to aspire to independence. With this view he made peace with the Nizâm Shâhi prince of Ahmednugur, and gave up to him the late Mogul conquests in the Deckan. Deeming, however, that this course was premature, he yielded obedience to Shâh Jehân, and came, when summoned, to the court at Agra. Here he received either true or false information that designs were harboured against him, and he left the city openly at the head of his 2000 Afghâns. He was pursued by the royal troops, but he effected his retreat into Gondwana, whence he proceeded to the territory about Ahmednugur. Shâh Jehân resolved to take the field in person; but one of the generals whom he sent in advance having defeated the army of the Nizâm Shâhi king, Khân Jehân was forced to fly from the Deckan. He made his way to Bundelcund, but he was there cut off and slain, and his head sent to the emperor (1630).

The death of Khân Jehân did not end the war in the Deckan, which unfortunate country was also visited with all the horrors of famine, in consequence of the failure of the periodical rains during two successive years, followed as usual by a pestilence. The war was carried on against the kings of Ahmednugur and Bejapûr; but it is needless to enter into the details, as our readers must by this time be tolerably familiar with the course of Indian warfare—the changing of sides, the artifice, the treachery, the ravages, that always form parts of it. Suffice it to say, that the emperor was obliged to return to the Deckan (1635), where, during a stay of nearly two years, he reduced the Mohammedan kings of Bejapûr and Golconda to submission, and put a complete end to the kingdom of Ahmednugur (1637).

The sixteen following years of the reign of Shâh Jehân were occupied by military transactions in Câbul and its vicinity. In 1637, Ali Merdân Khân, the governor of Candahâr, in order to escape from the tyranny of his sovereign the king of Persia, gave that place up to Shâh Jehân, and came to reside in Delhi. As he was a man of considerable talents, his reception was most honourable; he was successively made governor of Cashmire and Câbul, and employed on various occasions both in peace and war. The public works which he executed, particularly the canal at Delhi named from him, proved his skill and judgment, and excited general admiration.

Circumstances, apparently favourable, having induced Shâh Jehan to assert the claims of his family to the territory of Balkh, which had been seized by the Uzbegs, an army, led by Ali Merdân, entered that country (1644). The approach, however, of winter forced him to retire without having effected any thing, and the next year an expedition was sent thither under a Rajpût rajah, in whose army were a body of 14,000 men of his own caste. These, though natives of such a sultry region as India, bore the snows and storms of the Hindû Cûsh with the utmost fortitude; they hewed down timber, formed works, and repelled the repeated attacks of the Uzbegs; but still the conquest of the country seemed as remote as ever. Shâh Jehân then came in person to Câbul (1645), and he sent a large army under his youngest son Morâd, with Ali Merdân for his director, to Balkh. This expedition proved successful, and the whole of the country submitted. But next year, when the emperor had returned to Delhi, and Morâd, quitting his command without leave, had repaired thither also, the whole of it was overrun by the Uzbegs from beyond the Oxus. Morâd was in consequence put in disgrace, the command was transferred to prince Aurungzîb the emperor's third son, and Shâh Jehân himself returned to Câbul. The prince had some success at first, but he was finally obliged to shut himself up in the city of Balkh. The emperor, having now become aware of the folly of wasting the resources of his empire in the prosecution of so visionary a conquest, made over his rights to one of the contending Uzbeg princes, who had taken refuge at his court. Aurungzîb was directed to deliver up to this prince such places as he still held, and to lead his troops back to Câbul. He obeyed, and commenced his retreat through the passes of the Hindû Cûsh just as the winter had set in; and between the snows and the attacks of the mountain tribes his forces suffered so much, that they were happy to escape with the loss of their baggage and horses.

The Shâh of Persia now led an expedition in person against Candahâr (1648), and by judiciously selecting the winter season, when the communication with India was cut off by the snow, he forced it to open its gates before Aurungzîb, who was sent to its defence, could arrive. The prince made an attempt to recover it, but failed, and, when in the following year he renewed the attempt with a greater force, he was equally unsuccessful. The emperor's eldest son, Dârâ Shekô, then prevailed on his father to let *him* attempt the recovery of Candahâr. He set out with a force much superior to any that had yet been employed (1653), but, with all the efforts of skill and courage that were made, the resistance of the Persian garrison could not be overcome. The siege was raised and Candahâr was lost to the Mogul empire for ever.

Two years of tranquillity ensued, during which Shâh Jehân, having completed a revenue survey of his possessions in the Deckan, which had been going on for twenty years, extended to that country the system of collection, devised by Tôdar Mal in the reign of his grandfather. During this period also died the vizir Saâd Ullah Khân, celebrated as the most able and upright minister that had ever been seen in India.

Aurungzîb had soon an opportunity of again appearing in the Deckan. Meer Jumla, the minister of the king of Golconda, having had a quarrel with his master, sought the protection of the emperor, who, at the desire of Aurungzîb accorded it, and sent a haughty message to the king of Golconda, and, when that prince refused obedience, Aurungzîb was directed to employ force against him. Stratagem being more to the prince's taste than force, he set forth with a small body of troops, under the pretext of conveying his son Mohammed to Bengal, where he was to marry his cousin, the daughter of prince Shujâh, the governor of that province. As the way from Aurungabâd [1] thither is by Masulipatâm, he thus came within a short distance of Hyderabâd, the capital of Golconda, and while the king was preparing an entertainment for him, he made so sudden an advance on the town, that the king had only time to fly to the hill-fort of Golconda. The town was plundered and partly burnt; troops which Aurungzîb had ready for the purpose advanced, and the king was finally obliged to submit to such terms as the victor was pleased to impose (1656). Immediately after, Aurungzîb found a pretext for invading Bejapûr, and he would speedily have made a conquest of that kingdom, if more important matters had not drawn his attention elsewhere.

Shâh Jehân was now advanced in years. He had four sons, Dârâ Shekô, Shujâh, Aurungzîb, and Morâd. The first of these was a man of many estimable qualities, brave, liberal, frank, and generous, but impetuous, self-willed, and overbearing. Shujâh was devoted to wine and pleasure, but not devoid of talent. Morâd was dull in intellect, and a sensualist. Aurungzîb differed from them all. His temper was mild, his heart cold, he was cautious and suspicious, a great dissembler, artful and acute; at the same time he was handsome in person, brave, and affable. Above all, he was (though many suspected his sincerity) zealously devoted to the Mussulman creed, and he carefully practised all the external duties of religion. At one time he strongly professed an intention of quitting the world, and becoming a fakîr, *i. e.* devotee.

Shâh Jehân had of late devolved much of his regal duties on Dârâ, as heir-apparent. A disease of the kidneys at this time having brought him to the brink of the grave, though Dârâ did all in his power to keep his condition a secret, his brothers were accurately informed of it. Shujâh, who was governor of Bengal, instantly assumed the royal title, put his troops in motion, and advanced into Bahâr on his way to Agra. Morâd in like manner assumed independence in Gûzerât. The crafty Aurungzîb, though he refused obedience to the orders of Dârâ, did not assume royalty himself; but he resolved to make the stupid Morâd the ladder of his ambition. He wrote to him, congratulating him on his accession to the crown, at the same time declaring his own intention of renouncing the world, and retiring to Mecca. He would previously, however, he said, unite with him against the impious Dârâ [2], and join him to oppose the infidel rajah Jeswunt Sing, who it was understood had been sent against them. They should then, he added, together seek the presence of their father, free him from undue influence, and try to procure the pardon of their erring brother. Coarse and palpable as this artifice was, it sufficed to deceive Morâd (1657).

Meantime, Shâh Jehân had been able to resume the government, and the conduct of his other sons only served to increase his confidence in Dârâ. He wrote to Shujâh, enjoining him to return to his government immediately; but that prince, pretending to regard this as merely the order of Dârâ, continued to advance. The imperial troops, led by prince Solimân, the son of Dârâ, then gave him battle, and a defeat near Benâres forced him to return to Bengal. Meantime, Aurungzîb had joined Morâd in Mâlwa, and near Ujên they engaged and defeated the rajah Jeswunt Sing, whose brave Rajpûts were ill supported by the other troops. The victory was chiefly ascribed to the gallantry of Morâd. Aurungzîb at the time of their junction, had taken an oath of fidelity to this prince, and he all along acknowledged him and treated him as his superior, though the direction of all measures really lay with himself.

As the two princes continued to advance, the emperor, who had set out for Delhi, returned to Agra, and prepared to take the field in person, in the hopes of effecting an accommodation. He was, however, dissuaded from this course, from which no good seemed likely to result, and the impetuous Dârâ, without waiting for the troops of prince Solimân to join him from Benâres, set out, contrary to the injunctions of his father, to engage the rebels. The armies met within a day's march of Agra. The Rajpûts and a body of Uzbeg cavalry in the army of Dârâ distinguished themselves by their daring intrepidity, and Dârâ himself exhibited the utmost gallantry. Morâd displayed his accustomed heroism; the howdah of his elephant, which was long preserved as a curiosity, was stuck so full of the arrows of the Uzbegs as to resemble a porcupine, and, when his elephant was giving way before them, he

[1] The ancient town of Gurka, a few miles from Douletabâd, had thus been named by Aurungzîb after himself.

[2] Dârâ held his grandfather's religious opinions.

ordered his feet to be chained. Aurungzîb exhibited his usual intrepidity and coolness. He urged his elephant wherever there appeared the greatest danger, crying to his troops, that "God was with them, and they had no other refuge or retreat." An event common in Indian warfare decided the battle. A rocket struck Dârâ's elephant, which growing unmanageable, he was obliged to descend and mount a horse. His troops fancied he was slain, a panic spread among them, they gave way, and speedily the whole army was in flight. Dârâ fled to Agra, but, ashamed to appear before his father, he continued his course for Delhi (1658).

Aurungzîb, as soon as the victory was gained, threw himself on his knees and returned thanks to Heaven. He then sought the presence of Morâd, and congratulated him on his acquisition of a kingdom. On the third day after the battle they appeared before Agra, which offered no resistance. Aurungzîb continued sending messages to his father with the greatest professions of duty, pleading necessity for what he had done. Finding at length that the emperor was not to be drawn from the side of Dârâ, he sent his son Mohammed to take possession of the citadel in which he resided, and to prevent all communication between him and his friends. Thus ended the reign of Shâh Jehân. He survived his deposition seven years, during which time he was treated with attention and respect; for Aurungzîb was never wantonly cruel, and his conscience probably reproached him for what he had done.

Aurungzîb, having now no further use for Morâd, got rid of him without much ceremony. As they were on their march against Dârâ, he invited him one day to supper. The wine circulated freely, Aurungzîb himself drinking of it, contrary to his usual practice. Morâd became, as usual, intoxicated, and while he was in that condition his arms were removed and chains were laid on him. He was then placed on an elephant and conveyed a prisoner to Delhi; meanwhile, three other elephants were sent off in different directions to mislead his friends as to his place of confinement. He was afterwards transferred to Gwaliôr, the state prison of those days.

In this manner was terminated the reign of Shâh Jehân, who, though inferior to Bâber and Akber, was one of the best sovereigns that India has ever possessed. At no time under the Mussulman dominion, was the country in so flourishing a state. It was filled with noble and prosperous cities; the police in general was good, justice was fairly administered, and internal tranquillity preserved. Still we must measure all these advantages by the Asiatic standard, and not expect the same degree of perfection as in modern Europe. India under Shâh Jehân could not vie in these respects with the France and England of the present day; but it was far beyond Spain and Portugal, at any period, in political perfection.

The magnificence of Shâh Jehân exceeded any thing that had ever been witnessed in India, or perhaps in the East. His court and all relating to it exhibited the extreme of splendour. The celebrated peacock throne which he constructed is said to have cost nearly six and a half millions sterling. It derived its name from an artificial peacock, in which all the natural hues of the plumage were imitated in precious stones.

Shâh Jehân built the new city of Delhi, in which the royal palace and the mosque named the Jumna Musjed are two of the most splendid edifices of the East. But his most magnificent work was the Tâj Mahal, a mausoleum erected for his queen at Agra. It is composed of white marble, richly adorned with mosaics of costly stone, and for elegance of design, correctness of taste, and value of material, is perhaps without a rival. It is gratifying to observe, that no oppression was employed to procure the means of erecting such stately structures, as the ordinary revenues of the empire proved fully sufficient to defray all the expenses; and when Shâh Jehân ceased to reign the treasury contained a large quantity of money, beside plate and jewels.

CHAPTER XII.

AURUNGZÎB or ALUMGÎR I.—Fate of Dârâ—Of Shujâh—Of Solimân—Death of Meer Jumla—The Marattas—Mâlajee—Sêvajee—Progress of his Power—Aurungzîb's Treatment of him—His Regulations—*Chout*—The Sâdhs.

AURUNGZÎB, on mounting the throne, assumed the title of Âlumgîr, or Conqueror of the World. His first operations were against Dârâ, who was now at Lahore; but on the approach of Aurungzîb he fled thence toward Sind. His son Solimân, being deserted by his troops, sought a refuge with the rajah of Sirinugur, in the north of India, by whom he was placed in confinement. Shujâh, therefore, only remained to contest the throne.

The advance of this prince recalled Aurungzîb from the pursuit of Dârâ. Shujâh, having crossed the Ganges, was met by Aurungzîb; but they remained three days in presence of each other, neither willing to begin the action. On the fourth day, when Aurungzîb had drawn out his troops as usual before daybreak, he was surprised by a great uproar in his rear. This was caused by rajah Jeswunt Sing, who was now in his service, but who had secretly agreed with Shujâh that they should make a simultaneous attack, front and rear, on the army of Aurungzîb. But, though this attack produced great terror and confusion, it proved a failure, as Shujâh did not advance till after the sun was risen. Jeswunt, finding himself not supported, and fearing to have the whole army on him, drew off his troops and retired to some distance, and when he found that the battle, as was the case, had gone against Shujâh, he marched with all speed for his own country. Shujâh, after his defeat, retired to Bengal, pursued by an army under prince Mohammed and Meer Jumla (1659).

Dârâ meantime had made his way to Gûzerât, where, the governor having declared in his favour, he became master of the province. He proposed to form a junction with Jeswunt Sing; but the crafty Aurungzîb had succeeded in winning back that rajah to his side, and when Dârâ came within fifty miles of his residence he sent to tell him that he could not venture to join him. Dârâ, finding him immovable, advanced with his own troops into Ajmîr. He there fortified a position on the hills, and awaited the assault of Aurungzîb, who soon arrived from Agra. After cannonading it for

three days, the emperor ordered a general assault. The governor of Gûzerât was slain, and his fall so disheartened Dârâ that he fled, and all his troops dispersed.

Eight days and nights of toilsome marching under a sultry sky, harassed by the incessant attacks of the savage tribes named Côlis, brought Dârâ and the few that adhered to him to Ahmedabâd, the gates of which he found closed against him. He turned thence and made his way to Cutch, with the intention of seeking refuge with the Persians in Candahâr. He reached the district of Jûn, to the east of Sind, the chief of which, an Afghân, who had been under great obligations to him, received him with all demonstrations of kindness; but his only intention was to betray him, and watching his opportunity he made him a prisoner and conveyed him to Delhi.

Dârâ was led into Delhi mounted on an inferior elephant and in chains. He was conducted through the principal streets. The people vented their grief in tears and groans; but next day, when his betrayer the chief of Jûn appeared, they assailed him with tiles and stones, and his life was only saved by the vigorous interposition of the police. A few days after, a mock commission of members of the council and of lawyers sat on the case of Dârâ, and he was condemned to death as an apostate from the Mohammedan faith. Aurungzîb, with seeming reluctance, gave orders for the execution of the sentence. The executioners found Dârâ and his son cooking some lentils, the only food they would venture to touch for fear of being poisoned. Dârâ, guessing their purpose, snatched up the knife he had been using and defended himself manfully till he fell overpowered by numbers. His head was cut off and carried to Aurungzîb, his body was exposed to the public gaze on an elephant. Aurungzîb ordered the head to be placed on a platter, and washed and wiped in his presence. When he had thus assured himself that it was the real head of Dârâ, he began to weep and lament, and then ordered it to be placed in the tomb of Humâyun. Dârâ's son was sent a prisoner to Gwaliôr.

Meantime, operations were carried on against Shujâh; but prince Mohammed, displeased at seeing himself merely a puppet in the hands of Meer Jumla, went over to his uncle, who gave him his daughter in marriage. Soon after, however, he again deserted and returned to Meer Jumla's camp, where, by his father's orders, he was made a prisoner and sent to Gwaliôr. Meer Jumla then pressed on Shujâh and forced him to retreat to Dacca, whence he fled and sought refuge with the king of Aracân. He and his family perished in that country, but the circumstances of their fate are unknown (1660).

About this time the rajah of Sirinugur was induced to deliver up Dârâ's son Solimân. Like his unfortunate father, he was paraded through the city in chains on an elephant, and then brought before the emperor. His gallant presence moved many to tears, and his uncle himself affected to be moved. Solimân's only request was, that he might be beheaded at once, and not be subjected to the lingering torture of the *poosta*[3]. Aurungzîb bade him not to fear, adding, that he was cautious, not cruel. Solimân also was sent to Gwaliôr. Some months after, Morâd was discovered in an attempt to make his escape from that fortress, where he also had been placed; and Aurungzîb having instigated the son of a man whom Morâd had put to death in Gûzerât to prosecute him for murder, a sentence of death was issued against him, and he was executed in prison.

The whole imperial family being now dead or in prison, Aurungzîb's only object of apprehension was his own general, Meer Jumla, who was commanding in Bengal. To give him occupation, he suggested to him the conquest of the kingdom of Assam, which lies to the east of that province in an extensive valley through which the river Burrampooter flows. Meer Jumla accordingly set out from Dacca (1662), conveyed his troops up the river in boats, and speedily reduced the country. He wrote in high terms to the emperor, announcing his conquest and his intention of advancing and opening the way to China. But the rainy season came on, supplies could not be procured, and the natives assailed his camp on all sides. This was succeeded by a pestilence among the troops, and the boastful general was obliged to order a retreat. He died before he reached Dacca, worn out by toil and disease (1663). The emperor gave his rank and honours to his son Ameen. "*You*," said he to him, "*you* have lost a father, and *I* have lost the greatest and the most dangerous of my friends."

A severe fit of illness now came to convince Aurungzîb of the uncertainty of both his life and his power. Various intrigues were immediately formed; some would restore Shâh Jehân, others secure the succession for the emperor's second son Moazzim, others for his third son Akber. But the courage and the constancy of Aurungzîb triumphed over all their machinations and awed them all to obedience. He then set out for Cashmire, in order fully to re-establish his health.

It was during the time of his residence in Cashmire that war first broke out between the Moguls and the Marattas, a people of the Deckan, who were destined to perform so important a part in the future history of India.

The country of the Marattas, commencing at the chain of mountains south of the Nerbudda, extended southwards to the parallel of Goa; the sea bounded it on the west; it was limited on the east by the river Wurda. A portion of the western Ghâts thus runs along it from north to south; the narrow tract between them and the sea is named the Côncan. The people are of the Hindoo religion, and all of low caste, as it is termed; but they probably are not of the Hindoo race[4]. In appearance and disposition they differ from the people of Hindûstân and from most of the other inhabitants of the Deckan. They are low in stature and mean in appearance; active, persevering, and crafty, never for an instant losing sight of their interest. Unlike the other peoples of India, they had no rajahs; their chiefs were merely hereditary

[3] The *poosta*, as Bernier, quoted by Mill, says, was bruised poppies, steeped in water for a night. A large cup-full of this infusion was given the first thing in the morning, at Gwaliôr, to the prince on whom it was intended to operate, and he got no food till he had swallowed it. Its effect was to make him gradually lose his strength and intellect, growing heavy and stupid, and thus dying by degrees. According to Bernier, Solimân did get this fatal beverage.

[4] See above, p. 3

heads of villages or of larger districts. Their name does not occur in the Mohammedan histories till toward the end of the fifteenth century. About the middle of the sixteenth the king of the adjoining realm of Bejapoor began to employ the Maratta instead of the Persian language in his finances, and he enlisted many of them in his army, where they soon displayed their aptitude as light cavalry. The other kings also employed them; but it was not until the time of Malik Amber that they began at length to be of importance in the Deckan.

The principal man among the Marattas, at this time, was a chief, named Jadoo Râo, who claimed for himself a Rajpût descent, though probably without reason. There was serving under him a Maratta of respectable family, named Mâlojee Bôsla, and on occasion of some great Hindoo festival he went to Jadoo's house accompanied by his son Shahjee, a boy of five years of age. During the merriment, Jadoo took up on his knees Shahjee and his own daughter, a child three years old, and said, laughing, "They are a fine couple, and ought to be man and wife." Mâlojee instantly started up, and called the company to witness that the daughter of Jadoo was betrothed to his son. The pride of the chief was offended, and a quarrel was the result. Fortune, however, soon smiled on Mâlojee; he rose to power under the Ahmednugur government, and obtained a jagheer, of which the chief place was Poonah, and Jadoo no longer refused to give his daughter to Shahjee.

Shahjee also distinguished himself. He entered the service of the king of Bejapoor, and he obtained a large jagheer in Mysore. As he still held that of Poonah, he took his eldest son with him to Mysore, leaving at Poonah his second son Sevajee under the charge of a Bramin, named Dadajee, who had the management of the jagheer. As the young Sevajee grew up, he displayed a character of great spirit and energy, and at sixteen he was beyond the control of Dadajee. His chief associates were his father's horse-soldiers and the people of the neighbouring Ghâts, and by constant hunting in them he became intimately acquainted with all the passes and defiles of these mountains; and he was strongly suspected of being concerned in many robberies committed in the Côncan. His love of adventure was further increased by the popular ballads of the country, to which he used to listen with delight.

On the death of the Bramin, Sevajee took possession of the jagheer of Poonah, and ceased to make remittances to his father. He soon felt himself sufficiently strong to rebel against the king of Bejapoor, and he made himself master of the northern Côncan. The king immediately threw Shahjee into prison as a hostage for his son, and he was told that the door of his dungeon would be built up if Sevajee did not submit within a limited period. Sevajee then immediately entered the service of Shâh Jehân, and through that monarch's influence Shahjee was set at liberty. In 1655, when Aurungzîb was sent to the Deckan, and was acting against the king of Golconda, Sevajee was so audacious as to plunder the Mogul provinces; but, when he saw the prince more successful than he had anticipated, he sued for pardon, and was forgiven. When Aurungzîb quitted the Deckan to obtain the throne (1658), Sevajee prosecuted the contest with the king of Bejapoor, whom he finally obliged to make peace with him on advantageous terms (1662). He now maintained an army of 50,000 horse and 7000 foot.

Sevajee began once more to ravage the possessions of the Moguls, and Shâista Khân, who commanded for the empéror in the Deckan, marched against him, defeated his troops, and took possession of Poonah. He took up his quarters in the house in which Sevajee had been reared, and the latter, who was in the adjacent hill-fort of Singhar, resolved to endeavour to derive advantage from his knowledge of the localities. Leaving Singhar one night after dark, and posting parties along the road to support him if needful, he, with twenty-five of his men, joined a marriage procession, and thus entered the town. He made direct for the house, and entered it by a back-door. Shâista had barely time to escape by letting himself down from his bedroom window, and he lost two of his fingers by a cut of a sword made at him as he descended. His son and his attendants were cut to pieces. Sevajee retired unmolested, and he ascended in triumph to Singhar amid the blaze of torches. To this day, the Marattas tell of this exploit of Sevajee's with exultation.

Sevajee had now ascertained that it was as light cavalry that the Marattas could be employed to most advantage, and, acting on this persuasion, he placed himself at the head of 4000 horsemen, and made a dash for the wealthy sea-port of Surat. His project was completely successful, the town was defenceless, and he plundered it for six days. His attempts on the factories of the Europeans were repelled; but he carried off an ample booty in security. He even aspired to form a maritime power; he fitted out vessels, with which he captured the Mogul ships trading from Surat and other ports; and on one occasion he embarked with 4000 men, and landed and plundered Barcelôr in Canâra, a wealthy sea-port belonging to Bejapoor.

The attack on Surat (which was regarded as a place of some sanctity, as it was there the pilgrims embarked for Mecca), and the capture of some vessels laden with pilgrims, roused the indignation of the bigoted Aurungzîb. His ire was further inflamed, when Sevajee, on the death of his father, assumed the title of rajah, and began to coin money —the mark of independent sovereignty.

A Mogul army took the field against him, and siege was laid to his two principal forts. Feeling it more for his interest to submit than to persist in a resistance which would probably be hopeless, he opened a negotiation with the imperial commander, and then, quitting his troops, went with a few attendants to his camp. He was received with much distinction, and a treaty was concluded. Of thirty-two forts which he held, he agreed to surrender twenty with their territory; the remaining twelve with his other possessions he was to hold as a jagheer, and his son Sambajee, a boy only five years old, was to receive the rank of a commander of 5000 in the imperial service. Sevajee was also to have a kind of per-centage on the revenue of each district under Bejapoor. The emperor wrote a letter confirming all these terms except the last, which was not mentioned. Sevajee then joined the imperial army in its operations against Bejapoor, and then, by special invitation, went to wait on the emperor at Delhi (1665).

Aurungzib, though an able and a subtle man, was

not a wise monarch. Instead of seeking to attach to himself a man of Sevajee's talents and character by honours and attention, he tried to humble him by making him feel his supposed insignificance. Accordingly, when he was about to enter Delhi, an officer of inferior rank was sent to meet him. In the imperial presence, when he had made his obeisance and offered his presents, no further notice was taken of him, and he was placed among the officers of the third rank. Unable to control his feelings, he stepped back and fell down in a swoon. When he recovered, he called on them to take his life as they had taken away his honour, and retired without taking leave or receiving the usual dress of honour. The emperor, who was not prepared for this spirited conduct, ordered him to be closely watched. Sevajee, whose only thoughts were now how to make his escape, began by asking permission to send away his Marattas, as the climate of Delhi, he said, did not agree with them. This was readily granted, as it seemed to leave him quite at the emperor's mercy. He next took to his bed, pretending sickness, and by means of the Hindoo physicians who attended him he kept up a communication with those whom he had sent away. He also adopted the practice of sending large quantities of provisions and sweetmeats to the devotees of both religions; and when his guards had thus become accustomed to the passage of large baskets, he one night, leaving a servant to occupy his bed, got into one himself, and placed his son in another, and thus passed out unperceived. A horse was prepared, which he mounted, taking his son behind him, and then made his way to Muttra. Leaving his son there with a friend, he shaved off his hair and whiskers, and assumed the disguise of a Hindoo devotee, and, after wandering about for the space of nine months, he at length contrived to reach the Deckan (1666). In this country the imperial arms had not been successful against Bejapoor, and the consequence was, that Sevajee not merely obtained forgiveness and peace from the emperor, but even another jagheer, and his title of rajah was confirmed. He then turned his arms against the kings of Golconda and Bejapoor, and forced them to agree to pay him an annual tribute.

A period of tranquillity succeeded, during which Sevajee formed civil and military regulations for his dominions. The collecting and managing of the revenues was committed exclusively to Bramins, and measures were devised to preserve the cultivators from oppression, and the government from fraud. The army was raised and paid by the prince; the pay was high, but all plunder was to belong to the state. The officers were in regular gradation, from heads of ten up to heads of five thousand. These held no jagheers, but, like their men, received pay from the government.

The object of Aurungzîb in giving such favourable terms to Sevajee had been to throw him off his guard, and thus to get him once more into his power. But the Maratta was too wary to be thus caught, and the emperor was obliged to declare open war against him; a measure of which Sevajee speedily made him repent. He surprised the fort of Singhar, plundered Surat once more, and spread his ravages over the province of Candêsh. It is on this occasion that we first hear of the *Chout*, afterwards so famous in Maratta history. This, like the well-known *Blackmail* of the Scottish Highlanders, was a tribute paid for forbearance; it was a fourth part of the revenues of a country, and as long as it was regularly paid, that country was free from Maratta depredations. Additional forces were now sent into the Deckan against Sevajee, who at length (1672) ventured to give battle to a Mogul army, and defeated it. This was the first regular engagement ever fought between the Moguls and the Marattas, and its unexpected success had the usual effect of elevating the courage of the one party and depressing that of the other. The war now languished for some years, as Aurungzib had ample employment elsewhere.

A war with the north-eastern tribes of the Afghâns first occupied him. This lasted for two years, and ended in the unsatisfactory manner in which contests with these tribes usually terminated. When this was concluded a religious insurrection called his troops to the field (1676). There was a sect named Sâdhs or Satnamees, a kind of Hindoo quakers, as they have been termed. They worshipped only one God, enjoined the practice of truth, self-denial, temperance, and continence, and prohibited the use of opium and spirituous liquors. As one of these men was engaged in the cultivation of his land not far from Delhi, a dispute arose between him and the Peon or man who looked after the government share of the crop. Each party was joined by his friends, and the revenue-officers had the worst of it. The people of the country joined the Sâdhs; troops were sent against them, but they were routed, and the Mohammedans began to fancy that magic arts rendered them invincible. They even reported that the Sâdhs were led by a woman mounted on an enchanted wooden horse. The Rajpoot Zemindars, near Delhi, now began to join the insurgents, and Aurungzib found it necessary to send a considerable force against them; to counteract their magic arts, he directed his soldiers to wear prayers and amulets on their persons. In the engagement which ensued, the insurgents were totally routed.

CHAPTER XIII.

AURUNGZÎB continued—Aurungzib's Bigotry—Further Progress of Sevajee—His Death—Sambajee—Aurungzîb in the Deckan—End of the Kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapûr—Capture and Death of Sambajee—Rajah Râm—Difference of the Mogul and the Maratta Troops—Siege of Gingee—Aurungzîb's Change of Operations—His Partial Success—His Death and Character.

THE attentive reader must have observed the absence of illiberality and intolerance by which the Mohammedan monarchs of India, especially the house of Timûr, had been so honourably distinguished. They had constantly intermarried with the Hindoo royal families, and the Rajpoot rajahs had held high commands in their armies. But Aurungzib, who was bigoted and narrow-minded, was of course intolerant, and even from the beginning of his reign he gave proofs of this unkingly spirit. Thus, instead of the solar year, which had deen in use in India from the time of Akber, he directed the Mohammedan lunar year

to be employed, because the former was, he said, the invention of idolaters, and he persisted in it, heedless of all remonstrances and of its disagreement with the course of the seasons. He made sundry other changes, all indicative of his aversion to the Hindoos and their religion. At the present time he went still further, and he revived the tax named the Jezeeah, which Akber had abolished, and levied it with the utmost rigour. The imposition of it now caused great murmurs and complaints in Delhi, but the people were awed into submission. It, however, completely alienated the Rajpoots from the throne, and in the Deckan it made every Hindoo an open or secret partizan of the Maratta chief, who was the zealous upholder of the Hindoo creed (1677).

Shortly after the imposition of the Jezeeah, rajah Jeswunt Sing, who was commanding beyond the Indus, died, and his widow, with her two children, set out on her return home. As she did so without having applied for permission, and even forced the passage of the Indus, Aurungzib resolved to seize her children, and surrounded her camp with soldiers for the purpose. The Rajpoot leader, Durga Dâs, having obtained leave to send the women and children home, the ranee and her children were placed among them in disguise. One of her female attendants remained in the camp to personate her, and her sons were personated in like manner by children of their own age. Aurungzib, whose suspicions were speedily awakened, sent off instant orders for the ranee and her children to be brought into the citadel. The Rajpoots, to give the real ranee time to escape, refused compliance ; troops were sent against them, they defended themselves long and obstinately, till the greater part of them were slain ; the supposed ranee and her children were then seized, but the real ranee had reached Jodpoor, and was in safety.

This insult to the family of such a man as Jeswunt Sing, together with the imposition of the Jezeeah, made the Rajpoot rajahs resolve to unite in defence of their rights. Their chief was the Rana of Oudipoor [5]. Aurungzib marched in person against him, and forced him to submission ; but he had hardly returned to the capital, when he learned that the Rana had violated the treaty. Troops were now collected from all sides, and the Rana was forced to seek shelter in the Aravalli mountains, while his country was ravaged in the most fearful manner, Aurungzib's orders being to spare nothing, but to make the Rajpoots feel all the horrors of war. The Rajpoots, however, did not suffer without revenge ; they cut off convoys, made night-attacks, and frequently gained important advantages. Durga Dâs was even able to seduce, by promise of the crown, the emperor's youngest son Akber from his allegiance, and that prince was soon at the head of 70,000 men, on his march for Ajmeer, where his father was encamped with not more than a thousand. But the sagacious emperor soon saw reason to suppose that the greater part of Akber's troops had not revolted willingly, and he quickly induced them to return to their allegiance. The Rajpoots then, fearing to engage the whole Mogul army, retired, and Akber was forced to fly to the protection of the Marattas (1681).

[5] The title Rana was peculiar to this rajah. Ranee (above) is a princess.

The war with the Rajpoots was continued to the mutual injury of both parties, and Aurungzib was glad to bring it to a close by a treaty honourable to the Rana of Oudipoor, and in which no mention was made of the Jezeeah. But the former amity and confidence was never restored, and war prevailed more or less between them during the remainder of the reign of Aurungzib.

We now return to Sevajee. The death of the king of Bejapoor (1672), and the weakness and confusion that thence arose in that state, facilitated the progress of his arms, and in the course of the two following years he reduced the remainder of the Côncan and a large tract above the Ghâts. He then (1674) had himself crowned again with great solemnity and magnificence, and he changed the Persian titles of his officers into Sanscrit ones. At the same time, to counteract the Moslem bigotry of Aurungzib, he manifested the utmost zeal for the Hindoo religion and all its observances.

In the following year (1675), he ventured for the first time to cross the Nerbudda, and plunder the Mogul territory beyond it. Supposing then that he had thus struck terror into the Moguls, which would keep them quiet, he thought he might venture on an act he had long meditated, namely, the recovery of his father's jagheer in Mysore, which was now held by his younger brother, Vêncajee. With this view he formed an alliance with the king of Golconda, and then set out with an army of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot (1676). He passed the river Kistna at Cudupah, and, proceeding by Madras on the sea-coast, appeared before the strong hill-fort of Gingee, which was surrendered to him. He then besieged and took the fort of Vellore, and afterwards that of Arni and others. He had thus recovered the whole of the jagheer, when he was called off to aid his ally against the Moguls and the king of Bejapoor. It was, meantime, arranged that Vêncajee should hold the jagheer, paying half the revenue to Sevajee, who, as the king of Golconda had come to an arrangement with the Moguls, proceeded homewards, and reached his capital after an absence of eighteen months (1678).

Next year (1679) the king of Bejapoor became the object of the attack of the Moguls under their ablest general, Dileer ; and, the capital being hard pressed, the government found it necessary to call in the aid of Sevajee. He agreed to give it ; but, not thinking himself strong enough to attack the besieging army, he sought to make a division by invading and ravaging with unusual severity the Mogul territories. In one of these expeditions he was near being cut off, and escaped with great difficulty. He then, as the town was pressed very hard, began to cut off the supplies of the besiegers, and did it so effectually, that Dileer found it necessary to raise the siege. Sevajee's reward for this aid was an increase of territory, and the cession of the royal rights over his jagheer in the Mysore. What his ulterior projects might have been is unknown, for death carried him off in the following year (1680), in the fifty-third year of his age.

Like every founder of empire, Sevajee was a man of great talent, activity, and energy. In these qualities none of his successors ever equalled him. Beginning his career, in effect, as a captain of banditti, he formed a state which became the greatest Hindoo power that modern times have witnessed. This he effected, in a great measure, by taking

proper advantage of the errors into which bigotry and over-refined policy led Aurungzîb. It is to Sevajee's credit, that he never was wantonly cruel, and that he always sought to mitigate the horrors of war by humane regulations.

Sambajee was a prisoner at the time of his father's death, and, as the violence of his temper was dreaded, ready credence was given to a report that Sevajee had appointed another of his sons, named Rajah Râm, a boy only ten years old, to succeed. Sambajee, however, gained the troops to his side, and he entered Râighar as the sovereign. He put the mother of Rajah Râm to a cruel and lingering death, imprisoned that prince and the Bramin ministers of state, and cut off the heads of others, who were not of that privileged class. He resigned himself altogether to the indulgence of his vicious inclinations, giving his confidence and the conduct of his affairs to Caloosha, a Bramin from Hindûstân, who gained his influence over him by the smoothness of his manners and the encouragement he gave to the prince's vices. He dissipated the treasures left by his father, and then exasperated the people by raising the taxes. The troops, left in arrears, appropriated the plunder made in expeditions, and the regular troops of Sevajee thus became the rapacious bands which the Marattas continued to be all through their history.

While Sambajee was thus relaxing the Maratta power, the emperor Aurungzîb, having formed a treaty with the Rana of Oudipoor, entered the Deckan with the intention of reducing the whole of it beneath his dominion (1683). He halted for some time at Burhampoor, engaged in financial arrangements, above all, in enforcing the collection of the impolitic Jezeeah, and thence advanced to Aurungabâd, whence (1684) he sent prince Moazzim with a large army to ravage the Côncan from one end to the other; and though the prince encountered no opposition, yet, from the nature of the country, he lost all his horses and bullocks, and his men suffered severely from scarcity of supplies, and when he afterwards emerged from it, and encamped above the Ghâts, most of them perished by an epidemic disease. The emperor now prepared to assail Bejapoor; he himself proceeded to Ahmednugur, while prince Moazzim was to advance from the west, and Âzim, his other son, with a large army, from the east. But Moazzim was now too weak to advance, Âzim was in consequence forced to retire, and meantime Sambajee ravaged the country in the emperor's rear, and took and burned Burhampoor.

Giving up for the present his designs against Bejapoor, Aurungzîb now directed the whole of his force against the king of Golconda (1686). This prince had appointed to the office of prime minister an able Bramin, named MudnaPunt,—a thing which gave great offence to the bigoted Mussulmans, and on the approach of the imperial army, Ibrahîm Khân, the commander-in-chief, deserted with the greater part of his troops. Mudna Punt was killed in a tumult; the king was obliged to fly to the hill-fort of Golconda, and Hyderabâd was taken and plundered. Peace was then granted to the king on his paying a large quantity of money. The troops were next led against Bejapoor, which surrendered after a blockade, and that kingdom ceased to exist. Aurungzîb then treacherously broke the peace with the king of Golconda, having previously purchased his ministers and seduced his troops. The king held out in his fort for seven months, and then surrendered, and thus that monarchy also was terminated. The emperor finally seized on Shahjee's jagheer in the Mysore, and extended his dominion to the extremity of the peninsula. But the strength which he thus acquired was only apparent, and the commencement of the decline of the empire, as we shall see, really dates from this period.

During all this time Sambajee remained inactive, sunk in sloth and debauchery. While he was with a small party enjoying himself at one of his favourite residences in the Côncan, one of the Mogul commanders made a sudden march with a select body of troops, surrounded the house, found Sambajee in a state of intoxication, and made prisoners both him and Calûsha, who was wounded in his defence. They were sent to the emperor, and as Sambajee, when invited to become a Mussulman, replied in insulting and, in the ears of Aurungzîb, impious language, he was put to death, contrary to the emperor's usual practice, with circumstances of studied cruelty. Calûsha suffered with him (1689).

The Maratta chiefs, on the death of Sambajee, acknowledged his infant son Sâho as their rajah, appointing his uncle Rajah Râm to be regent. A Mogul army then came and laid siege to Râighar, and, treachery having made them masters of it, the infant rajah fell into their hands (1690). It was then resolved by the chiefs that Rajah Râm, as the last of the family, should retire to the strong fortress of Gingee in the Carnatic. He made his way thither in disguise, and when there he assumed the title of rajah. Aurungzîb despatched Zulficâr Khân, one of his ablest officers, with an army to reduce that fort and thus terminate the war; but that general not finding his force sufficient called for reinforcements, which could not be sent at that time. He therefore employed his troops in levying contributions on Tanjore and other countries to the south.

It was now that the war between the Moguls and the Marattas really commenced. Rajah Râm sent two chiefs named Santagee and Danajee to make divisions in the Maratta country. To every chief permission was given to levy *chout* and to plunder wherever he could; numbers of the soldiers who had been employed by the Bejapoor and Golconda governments joined the Marattas, and the Deckan from one end to the other was filled with rapines, burnings, and destruction of every kind and form.

Nothing could be more opposite than the appearance of the Mogul and Maratta horsemen. The former were mounted on large heavy horses with capacious saddles and ample housings richly ornamented. They wore wadded coats, over which they had plate or chain armour. They had little or no discipline; their camp was of huge extent; they were attended by their women and domestics, and an immense body of traders and market-people followed the camp. The Marattas, on the contrary, were small, active, hardy men, mounted on the horses of their country, small and active like themselves. Their usual food was a cake of millet, with perhaps an onion. They were lightly clad; their arms were a sword and matchlock, or a bamboo spear about fourteen feet long, which they managed with great dexterity. Their horses were admirably trained; their saddle was a pad with a

blanket folded over it. The Maratta slept on the ground, with his spear stuck beside him, and the bridle of his horse tied to his arm, so that, on the slightest alarm, he could spring to horse. It was the Maratta practice never to stand a charge of the heavy Mogul cavalry, but to break and disperse before them. But when, wearied with the fruitless chase, the assailants were returning with their horses exhausted, the Marattas were on them on all sides, cutting off stragglers, breaking into their line, and harassing them in every possible manner. It was their especial delight to cut off convoys; for here plunder, the object next to their heart, was to be obtained, and if they found that treasure was being conveyed nothing could exceed their perseverance and energy. They then surrounded the escort in such numbers that they forced it to halt, and by cutting off all communications and supplies they speedily made it surrender. The men were then stripped of their horses and other property, and dismissed; the chiefs were kept till a ransom was paid.

Santajee and Donajee, by throwing themselves between the royal army and Hindûstân, and thus cutting off its supplies, seemed likely to endanger its existence. Aurungzîb therefore resolved to bring the war to as speedy a close as possible. With this view he sent another army, under his son prince Câmbakhsh, against Gingee. Zulficâr, disgusted at being placed under the command of the prince, listened to the overtures of the besieged; the prince, on his side, equally disgusted at the real command being with Zulficâr, entered into communication with Danajee, who had entered the Carnatic with a body of 20,000 horse, and was greatly impeding the operations of the besiegers. The consequence of the dissension between the imperial generals was, that they were obliged to give up the siege and retire to Vandiwash to await the orders of the emperor (1697).

The war now assumed a desultory character. At length Zulficâr, finding that he must either reduce Gingee or be removed from his command with disgrace, began to act with vigour, and ere long that fortress was taken. He had however previously given Rajah Râm the opportunity of making his escape (1698).

Dissensions had now broken out among the Marattas. Danajee, whose side was taken by the rajah, quarrelled with Santajee; and as the latter was unpopular with his troops, on account of his efforts to maintain discipline, a conspiracy was organized in his camp, and he was fallen on and slain. Rajah Râm, who had fixed his residence at Sattâra, now took the field himself at the head of the largest Maratta army that had yet been assembled, and ravaged the whole north of the Deckan. Aurungzîb, on his side, changed his plan of operations. Hitherto he had used to remain stationary himself, and send detachments in different directions; now he resolved to divide his whole army into two portions, and while he himself at the head of one should attack the Marstta fortresses in succession, the other under Zulficâr was to engage their armies wherever they appeared in the field. In pursuance of this plan he quitted Birmapûrî, where he had resided for some years, and led his forces against Sattâra (1700), which surrendered after a siege of some months; during which time Rajah Râm died, and his widow, Târa Bâi, assumed the regency for her son Sevajee. This, however, made no change in the war, and Aurungzîb went on taking forts, and in the course of four or five years he became master of all the principal ones, the defence of many of which had been desperate. Still the war was as far from its termination as ever. Zulficâr's troops were gradually worn out with toils and casualties, the Marattas seemed to multiply daily, and, having made a desert of the Deckan, they spread their ravages into Mâlwa and Gûzerât. They gradually began to retake their forts; they hung about the emperor's army, intercepted its supplies, cut off detachments, and made it unsafe for any one to stir a yard from the camp. If the troops were led against them, they vanished; and, when perhaps wearied and worn out with marching in a wrong direction they returned to camp, they heard of some distant town being taken and burned by the Marattas. The finances also had fallen into disorder, and the emperor could not pay his troops with his accustomed regularity. The war too continued with the Rajpûts, and it was also necessary to employ troops against the Jâts, a native people near Agra. Under these circumstances Aurungzîb proposed an accommodation to the Marattas; but their terms, as they knew his situation, were exorbitant. He then led his troops to Ahmednugur, still harassed by the foe, and in that city, whence twenty years before he had set forth elate with hope to the conquest of the Deckan, he breathed his last, in the eighty-ninth year of his age (1707), and the fiftieth of his reign.

With all Aurungzîb's talents, it was in his reign that the decline of the power of the house of Timûr, which afterwards advanced so rapidly, really commenced. Though this must have occurred in the ordinary course of affairs, much of it may be ascribed to Aurungzîb's personal character. Thus his religious bigotry and intolerance alienated the Hindoos at the very time that the Marattas, a native power, were rising into importance; and hence his overthrow of the Mohammedan states of the Deckan did not add to his power. Then the natural coldness of his heart and his suspicious character put an end to all attachment on the part of his ministers and officers, and even of his children, and little zeal was displayed in his service. Even, however, had he been an Akber, we doubt if the Mogul empire could have been upheld; the power of the Marattas on one side, and the turn which affairs took in Persia and Câbul on the other, must have wrought its downfal, in spite of valour or wisdom in the sovereign.

It is Aurungzîb, and not Bâber or Akber, that is the object of admiration to the Mussulmans of India. His courage, his ability, and his craft, which they regard as wisdom, are the themes of their praises; but they are perplexed to find that, despite of them, his reign was a tissue of ill success, and that the empire dates its decline from it.

Aurungzîb, of whom numerous letters are extant, never expresses the slightest remorse for his treatment of his father. But he may have felt it, and he was haunted with the idea of a similar fate awaiting himself. He dreaded death and the judgment to come, confessed that he had committed numerous crimes, but sought to justify them with the flimsy excuse that it had been all for the benefit of his children. He concludes his last letter to

prince Âzim with these words : "Come what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Farewell, farewell, farewell."

CHAPTER XIV.

BAHÂDUR SHÂH—Origin of the Sîkhs—JEHÂNDÂR SHÂH—The Syuds—FUROKHSÎR—War in the Deckan—Against the Sîkhs—MOHAMMED SHÂH—Asof Jâh—Fall of the Syuds—The Marattas—Bâlajee Wiswanât—Bajee Râo—Invasion of Hindûstân by the Marattas.

BY his last will Aurungzîb directed that his empire should be divided among his three sons ; but, regardless of it, Azîm, the second son, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India. Moazzim, who was in Câbul, assumed as the elder the crown, taking the title of Bahâdur Shâh, and the two brothers prepared to assert their claims by force of arms. A bloody battle was fought to the south of Agra, in which Azîm and his two elder sons were slain, and his youngest, an infant, made prisoner. Bahâdur then marched into the Deckan, where prince Câmbakhsh refused to submit to him, and in a battle near Hyderabâd that prince was defeated and slain. In order then to sow dissensions among the Marattas, the emperor released Sâho the rightful rajah, and promised to make peace with him on favourable terms if he should succeed in making good his title. The Marattas, as was anticipated, split into two parties, and as that of Sâho seemed soon to be the stronger, Dâûd Khân Panni, a Patan, who as Zulficâr's deputy was left to govern the Deckan, concluded a treaty with him, by which it was agreed that the *chout* should be paid him, but not be collected by the Marattas themselves.

As war was now to ensue with a power which had lately arisen in the Punjâb, Bahâdur resolved to bring the war with the Rajpûts to a close. He therefore conceded all their demands, and peace was concluded (1709).

This new power was the religious sect of the Sîkhs[6], who have since become of such importance in the history of India. This sect commenced about the end of the fifteenth century ; its founder was a man of the name of Nânik, who taught, as others before him had done, that all religious forms were indifferent, and that the Moslem and the Hindoo were alike in the sight of God. To this doctrine, the latter would of course assent, but the fanatic Moslems would not admit of such enlarged charity, and its teacher received the crown of martyrdom at their hands (1606). This impolitic cruelty converted the Sîkhs from quiet religionists into enthusiastic warriors. They took up arms under his son, Har Govind ; but the government proved too strong for them, and they were expelled from their seats in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and forced to take refuge in the mountains to the north. Here they remained, still at enmity with the Moslems, till the year 1675, when their chief, Guru Govind, the grandson of Har Govind, conceived the idea of forming them into a great religious and military republic.

[6] This is by some written Seiks. We believe the correct pronunciation to be as our word *seek*.

To effect his purpose he abolished all distinction of caste and of religion. Mussulman and Hindoo of high or low caste were admitted alike. A peculiar dress was to distinguish the Sîkh, his clothes were to be blue; he was to allow the hair of his head and of all parts of his body to grow unchecked. He was to be a soldier from his entrance into the society, and always to carry steel about his person. While the usual ceremonies and usages of religion were abolished and new ones substituted, Hindooism was not totally renounced ; Bramins were to be held in honour, and the flesh of kine was not to be eaten.

But still the Sîkhs were unable to resist the imperial arms. They were hunted down and massacred, their forts were taken, and even Guru himself, it is said, was obliged to take service with the Moguls for a subsistence. The cruelties that were exercised on them, however, only served to give strength to their fanaticism. Under a chief named Bandu, of a more ferocious character than Guru Govind, they burst from their mountains, and overran the east of the Punjâb, destroying and massacring in the most savage manner wherever they came. They penetrated as far as Seharanpoor, to the east of the Jumna, and then fixed themselves in the country between the Sutlej and the mountains, whence they soon spread their ravages as far as Delhi on the one side, and as Lahore on the other. It was these last depredations that caused the emperor Bahâdur to march in person against them. He speedily routed them, and drove them back to their hills, and having blockaded Bandu in a fortress, he hoped to end the war by his capture. But he contrived to escape in a sally, one of his followers having personated him in order to attract the attention of the enemy. The emperor returned to Lahore, where he died shortly after, in the fifth year of his reign (1712) ; for he was an old man when he came to the throne.

On the death of Bahâdur, there was, of course, as we may say, a contest for the crown. As his eldest son, Jehândâr Shâh, was a man of no capacity, the troops and nobility in general were in favour of the second son, Azeem. But Zulficâr, judging it more for his advantage to have a puppet on the throne, declared for Jehândâr, and Azeem was defeated and slain. Zulficâr was immediately made vizîr, and he treated with the utmost arrogance and disdain the feeble prince whom he served, who had indeed forfeited all title to respect by promoting to high offices the low-born relatives of his favourite mistress, who had been a public dancer.

Jehândâr had put to death all the princes of the blood who were in his power. But Furokhsîr, the son of Azeem, who was in Bengal, threw himself on the protection of two able men, Syuds, or descendants of the prophet, one of whom, Hussun Ally, was governor of Bahâr, and the other, Abdallah, governor of Allahabâd. With their aid he repelled a force that was sent against him, and then advanced to the vicinity of Agra, where he was encountered by Jehândâr and Zulficâr at the head of 70,000 men. The battle was long and bloody, and Hussun was even left for dead on the field. But the victory finally remained with Furokhsîr, and Jehândâr fled in disguise to Delhi, whither Zulficâr led the remains of the troops. Zulficâr's father, Assad Khân, had meantime made the wretched emperor a prisoner, and when Furokhsîr approached

the city he and his son went forth to meet him, and delivered up to him their late master. Jehândâr was put to death, Zulficâr shared his fate; the life of Assad was spared (1713).

The elevation of Furokhsîr was of necessity attended by that of the Syuds, his protectors. Abdallah, the elder brother, was made vizîr, and Hussun, Ameer-ul-Ômrah, or commander-in-chief. They thought, as the king's character was mean and feeble, that all power would be theirs, while he would content himself with wealth and pleasure. But he had a favourite, to whom he gave the title of Meer Jumla, and both were alike jealous of the Syuds, and resolved to destroy them if possible.

Their first project was to separate, and thus weaken them. Accordingly Hussun was directed to march against Ajeet Sing, the rajah of Mârwâr, to whom, at the same time, a secret message was sent, directing him to make an obstinate resistance and protract the war. But the rajah looked to his own interest, and when Hussun offered him fair and honourable terms he accepted them. One of the conditions was that he should give his daughter in marriage to the emperor; the last matrimonial alliance between the house of Timûr and the Rajpût rajahs. Hussun then returned to the capital, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out between the Syuds and the king; the monarch, however, was soon forced to submit, and to put the gates of his palace into the hands of their troops. It was then arranged that Meer Jumla should go as governor to Bahâr, and Hussun to the Deckan, whither he was to lead his army without delay.

The daughter of Ajeet Sing had been by this time conducted to the capital. She was lodged in the palace of Hussun, who celebrated her nuptials with the king with unusual magnificence; he then set out for the Deckan, threatening, if any further attempt were made against his brother's authority, to be back with his army in three weeks from the day he should have heard of it.

The plan adopted by the court now was secretly to employ Dâûd Khân, the Patan, against Hussun. He was directed to stir up the Marattas and others, and, while affecting to co-operate with Hussun, to effect his destruction. But this circuitous course did not suit the bold, daring character of Dâûd. He proceeded openly against Hussun, and met him boldly in the field. The impetuosity of his charge bore down all opposition, Hussun's troops were flying in all directions, when Dâûd, heading a charge of 300 Patans armed with battle-axes, was shot by a ball through the head. His fall, of course, decided the fortune of the day, and Hussun then proceeded to act against the Marattas. They adopted their usual tactics; and, finding that he could effect nothing serious against them, and that his presence was required at Delhi, he made a treaty with Sâho, one of the conditions of which was that he was to levy *chout* over the whole of the Deckan. He was in addition to have the *sirdêsmuki*, or a tenth of the remainder of the revenue, and in return he was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees, to furnish 15,000 horse, and to answer for the tranquillity of the country. The emperor refused to ratify this treaty, and this served to bring affairs between him and the Syuds to a crisis (1717).

During this time, the Sîkhs had renewed their ravages. An able general was sent against them, and they were beaten in all quarters. Bandu and a great number of them were made prisoners. Some were put to death on the spot, but the chief and upwards of 700 others were led to Delhi, where they were paraded through the streets and then beheaded, at the rate of one hundred a day, when they refused to renounce their religion. Bandu, arrayed in a robe of cloth of gold, with a red turban on his head, was exhibited in an iron cage. The heads of his followers were borne around him on pikes. He was given a dagger and ordered to stab his infant son; on his refusal, the child was slain, and its heart flung in his face. He was then torn to pieces with red-hot pincers. He died praising God, who had raised him up as a scourge to the iniquities of the age. The remaining Sîkhs were hunted like wild beasts, but still the sect survived, and, as we shall see, finally attained to empire.

During the absence of Hussun, his brother the vizîr, being of indolent, luxurious habits, had committed the duties of his office to an Hindoo deputy, whose strictness caused dissatisfaction, and he was in imminent danger from the plots of the king, and of Meer Jumla, who had returned to court. He therefore assembled his adherents, and prepared to stand on his defence. They feared to attack him, and Meer Jumla was obliged to retire to his native province of Multân. But the king immediately formed another plot with rajah Jy Sing and some other leaders of importance. This brought Hussun to Delhi, attended by a body of 10,000 Marattas, and he took possession of the city, and put Furokhsîr to death (1719).

Two young princes, whom the Syuds successively placed on the throne, having died in the course of a few months, they fixed on a third, who was of a sounder constitution, and whose mother, by whom he had been reared, was a woman of talent. He ascended the throne by the title of Mohammed Shâh.

The power of the Syuds gave occasion to much discontent among the nobles, and insurrections took place. These, however, they suppressed; but there was one person whom they had offended, and whose talents made him formidable. This was Cheen Kilich Khân (afterwards named Asof Jâh, as we shall henceforth call him), the son of Ghâzi-ud-dîn, of a Toorkee family, one of Aurungzîb's favourite officers. He had been made viceroy of the Deckan on the accession of Furokhsir, but had been removed to make room for Hussun. He had notwithstanding taken the side of the Syuds in the late transactions; but to his mortification he was now only appointed to the government of Mâlwa. He dissembled his anger, and, having at length drawn together a sufficient number of troops, he raised the standard of revolt, crossed the Nerbudda, and entered the Deckan (1720), where he speedily established his authority, and defeated the troops sent against him by the Syuds. The intelligence of his success caused great consternation to the Syuds; but the emperor, who, tutored by his mother, had as yet carried himself fairly toward them, was secretly rejoiced at it, and he entered into a plot with some of his leading nobles for the overthrow of their power. It was agreed between the brothers, that Abdallah should as heretofore remain behind, while Hussun, taking the emperor and some of the suspected nobles with him, should lead an army into the Deckan.

Hussun accordingly marched from Agra ; but he had hardly set out when a ferocious Calmuck, hired for the purpose, assassinated him in his palankeen. His death caused great commotion in the camp. His adherents, many of whom were Syuds, took arms to avenge it ; they were opposed by the party of the conspirators and the supporters of the king, and were finally overcome. When the news reached Delhi, Abdallah placed another prince on the throne, and, assembling an army, advanced to engage that of Mohammed Shâh. He was, however, defeated and made a prisoner ; but his life was spared, as he was of the lineage of the Prophet.

Mohammed, being now his own master, bestowed the office of vizir on Asof Jâh, who, however, being engaged with the affairs of the Deckan, did not come to court immediately. On his arrival (1722), he found the emperor wholly devoted to pleasure, a mere puppet in the hands of his mistress and his favourites. Little harmony was therefore to be expected ; the vizîr was disgusted with such conduct, while the emperor sought no higher gratification than to see his favourites ridicule the old-fashioned dress and formal manners of the vizîr. Toward the end of the following year Asof Jâh resigned his office and set out for the Deckan. The emperor parted with him on terms of great cordiality, but he sent secret orders to Mobârez Khân, the governor of Hyderabâd, to endeavour to destroy him and then to take his government. He obeyed, collected an army, and gave Asof battle ; but he met only with defeat and death, and his head, as that of a rebel, was sent to court by the victor. Asof then fixed his seat in Hyderabâd, and, though he sent from time to time presents to the emperor, he in other respects acted as an independent prince. His chief care now was to secure himself against the Marattas.

The Maratta state at this period had assumed a degree of form and consistency such as it had not as yet possessed. This was owing to the Bramin Bâlajee Wiswanât, the pêshwa or prime minister of rajah Sâho. As a mean toward the future extension of the Maratta power, Bâlajee was careful to keep up the claim of *chout* and *sirdêsmuki*, and in the case of the former he claimed, though he did not enforce it, a fourth, not merely of the actual revenue, but of that fixed by Todar Mal and Malik Amber. It was also part of his plan to parcel out these imposts to different Maratta chiefs, taking care that none should have so much in any one district as might make him too powerful and independent.

The office of pêshwa became hereditary in the family of Bâlajee. The other great office in the state, and which balanced that of the pêshwa, was that of the Pirtî Nidhî, or Delegate of the Rajah. Bâlajee was succeeded by his son Bâjee Râo, the ablest man after Sevajee that the Marattas have possessed. One of his first acts was to urge the rajah to offensive operations against the Moguls in Hindûstân. "Let us strike," cried he, "the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." The rajah gave a willing consent, and Bâjee Râo forthwith ravaged Mâlwa and forced the governor of Gûzerât to consent to the payment of *chout* (1725).

By this time Asof Jâh thought himself sufficiently secure in the Deckan to endeavour to set limits to the Maratta power. Having failed in an attempt to get the *chout* and *sirdêsmuki* of the district round Hyderabâd commuted for a fixed sum, he affected to doubt whether he was to pay it to Sâho or to his rival Samba, who still held the southern part of the Maratta country. The rajah and his pêshwa were highly offended, and the latter invaded Asof's territories (1727), and laid siege to Burhâmpoor. But when Asof and Samba came to its relief he suddenly drew off his forces, and rushed on and ravaged Gûzerât, where the *chout* had not been paid, and then, returning to the Deckan, cut off Asof's supplies in the usual manner, and forced him to renounce his alliance with Samba, and to make some further concessions. Shortly after, Samba was surprised and defeated, and forced to acknowledge Sâho's supremacy. Asof Jâh and Bâjee Râo at length deemed it would be more for their mutual interest to be at peace than at enmity, and they entered into a secret compact of mutual support.

Bâjee Râo now directed his efforts against Mâlwa and Gûzerât, where he was chiefly opposed by the Rajpût rajahs, to whom the court of Delhi had granted the government of these provinces, and his success was such, that at length (1736) he felt himself strong enough to demand as a jaghîr Mâlwa and all the country south of the river Chumbul, with the holy cities Muttra, Allahabâd, and Benâres. The emperor, however, was not brought low enough yet to concede so much, and Asof Jâh, who was growing alarmed at the rapid progress made by the Marattas, resolved to march to the aid of his liege lord. Meanwhile Bâjee Râo had arrived within forty miles of Agra, while a portion of his light troops, under Malhâr Râo Holkar, were ravaging the country beyond the Jumna. Sâdut Khân, however, the governor of Oude, marched against them and drove them back. As fame magnified this check into a great victory, Bâjee Râo, to efface its effects, passing the Mogul army sent under the vizîr to oppose him, made forced marches and suddenly appeared before the gates of Delhi. As his object was only to intimidate, he did little mischief, and on hearing that the vizîr, joined by Sâdut Khân, was advancing against him, he drew off his forces and retired to the Deckan (1737). Asof Jâh soon after arrived at Delhi, where he was made commander-in-chief, with the fullest powers, and the government of Mâlwa and Gûzerât was conferred on his son Ghâzi-ud-dîn.

Bâjee Râo having recrossed the Nerbudda at the head of 80,000 horse, Asof Jâh advanced to engage him. But, cautious from age, and relying on his artillery, instead of trying to bring on a pitched battle at once, he resolved to await an attack in a strong position near Bôpâl. The consequence was that the country round was laid waste, his supplies and detachments were cut off, and at the end of about a month he was obliged to commence a retreat, harassed by the persevering foe, and finally to enter into a treaty with the pêshwa, ceding the country south of the Chumbul, and promising to use all his influence with the emperor to induce him to confirm the cession, and to pay in addition fifty lacs of rupees to the Marattas.

But ere these matters could be arranged another storm burst over the ill-fated Indian empire from the point whence such calamities have invariably come—the north-west frontier, along the vale of the Câbul.

CHAPTER XV.

Persia—Conquest of it by Mahmûd the Afghân—Nâdir Shâh—His Invasion of India—Massacre and Plunder of Delhi—Death of Bâjee Râo—Bâlajee Râo—The Rohillas—Invasion of India by Ahmed Dûranee—Ahmed Shâh—The Marattas in Hindûstân—Ghâzi-ud-dîn—Alumgîr II.—Plunder of Delhi by Ahmed Dûranee—Conquest of the Punjâb by the Marattas—Power of the Marattas—Attempt to make themselves Masters of all India—Battle of Pânîpat, and Ruin of the Maratta Power.

The Suffavee dynasty had now occupied the throne of Persia for more than two centuries; it had, consequently, like every other Oriental dynasty, sunk and lost all energy beneath the degrading influence of absolute power. In the reign of Hussun Khan (1722), the Ghiljys, a tribe of the Afghâns who inhabited the country about Candahâr, and who had some years before made themselves masters of that city, led by an enterprising chief named Mahmûd, resolved to attempt the overthrow of the Persian power, with which for some years they had been at war. At the head of only 25,000 hardy warriors, Mahmûd marched from Candahâr, and directed his course for Isfahân, the Persian capital. In the vicinity of that city he encountered the Persian army, of far superior number, splendidly equipped, and well supplied with artillery. But victory was on the side of the warriors of the mountains, and the wealthy and luxurious city with 200,000 inhabitants was invested. Though the Afghâns were now only 20,000 in number, by their activity and vigilance they were enabled to repel all sallies, and cut off all supplies, and, after sustaining the horrors of famine for six months, the town was forced to surrender. The king came forth at the head of his nobles, and placed the crown on the head of the conqueror.

After a reign of little more than two years, Mahmûd died raging mad, and was succeeded by his nephew named Ashreff (1724). This able prince defended his dominions with success against the Ottoman Turks and the Russians; but he failed in his contest with the Persians led by the greatest man that modern Persia has produced.

A son of Shah Hussun, named Tamasp, had fled from Isfahân, and taken refuge with the tribe of Kajar on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Here he was joined by a predatory chief named Nâdir, a native of Khorasân, whose daring exploits had rendered him famous in the country. Nâdir, attaching his fortunes to the royal cause, took the name of Tamasp Coolee, or servant of Tamasp, and, under his able guidance, the troops of Persia finally succeeded in driving the Ghiljyes out of the country (1729). Having carried on wars with success in various quarters, Nâdir finally felt himself sufficiently strong to depose Tamasp, and place the diadem on his own brows. This he did with great solemnity in a general assembly of his army and of all the great officers of the realm on the plain of Môghân (1736).

Nâdir now resolved to avenge on the Ghiljyes the evils they had inflicted on Persia, and to restore Candahâr to the empire. After sustaining a long siege, that city surrendered (1738), and his conquest of the Ghiljye territory brought him now into contact with the dominions of the emperors of India, who, as we may have observed, had always possessed the region through which the river Câbul flows. Aware of the distracted state of the Indian government, he took advantage of its tardy recognition of his title, and, making it and some other matters a cause of quarrel, he seized the city of Câbul, and marched for the Indus. Meeting with little or no opposition, he advanced toward the Jumna, and at length, within one hundred miles of Delhi, he encountered the army of Mohammed Shâh (1739).

The troops of India would have been in no case a match for the hardy warriors led by Nâdir; but the jealousy which prevailed between Asof Jâh and Sâdut Khân contributed still further to enfeeble them. They were therefore easily overcome in the engagement which ensued, and Mohammed was obliged to enter the camp of Nâdir, and accompany him to Delhi. In that city the Persian troops, whose discipline was high, conducted themselves with much propriety, until, upon a report of Nâdir's death, the inhabitants rose and killed about 700 of them. Nâdir then, after making fruitless efforts to appease the tumult, and having been himself assailed with missiles as he rode through the city for that purpose, gave orders for a general massacre. The butchery lasted from sunrise till late in the afternoon, when he issued orders for it to cease. The number of the slain is variously stated from 150,000 to 8000, but that of 30,000 seems nearer to, though perhaps under the truth.

But it was money, not blood, that Nâdir sought in India, and the work of pillage now began. Every thing of value belonging to the crown was seized, torture was employed to make the nobles and the inferior inhabitants discover their wealth; the governors of provinces were forced to yield contributions, and Nâdir at length, having obtained all the wealth that he thought India could bestow, quitted Delhi after a residence of fifty-eight days, taking with him a treasure estimated at upwards of thirty millions sterling. He formed a treaty with Mohammed, whom he replaced on the throne, by which all the provinces west of the Indus were ceded to Persia; and this treaty put a final end to the rule of the house of Timûr in Afghanistân.

The state of misery and distress in the capital and the empire may easily be conceived, and it might have been expected that the Marattas would have taken advantage of it to extend their power in Hindûstan. But Bâjee Râo preferred resuming operations in the Deckan, where he engaged in hostilities with Nâsir Jung, the son and deputy of Asof Jâh. He met, however, with a more vigorous opposition than he had anticipated, and was glad to come to an accommodation with his opponent. He then set out on his return to Hindûstân, and had reached the Nerbudda when death surprised him (1740).

His successor in the office of pêshwa was his son Bâlajee Râo, who was also a man of considerable ability. But he had potent rivals and enemies to contend with, and it required all his address to overcome their intrigues. The most formidable of these rivals was Ragujee Bôsla, who had the charge of collecting the chout in Berâr and the forest-country to the east of it, which rendered him in fact nearly the sovereign of that region. He even attempted to collect the chout to the north of the Nerbudda, but Bâlajee marched in person into

that country; and while he was there, and was preparing to insist on the execution of the treaty concluded with his father by Asof Jâh, Ragujee invaded Bengal. The emperor, in his alarm, offered to Bâlajee the cession of Mâlwa, on condition of his aiding him against Ragujee. The offer was gladly accepted; the pêshwa forthwith marched through Bahâr and reached Moorshedabâd, the capital of Bengal, in time to protect it against Ragujee, whom he routed and drove out of the province. He then returned to Sattâra (1743), against which he found Ragujee in full march; and so strong was the confederacy that had been formed against the pêshwa, that he deemed it advisable to detach Ragujee from it by conceding to him the right of levying tribute in Bahâr and Bengal. Ragujee's attempts on Bengal were finally concluded by the cession of Cuttac, the southern part of Orissa, and the annual payment of twelve lacs of rupees as the chout of Bengal (1751).

The deaths of Asof Jâh and of Rajah Sâho occurred during this period. The former returned to the Deckan to suppress the rebellion of his son, Nâsir Jung, and he died there in the year 1748[7]; Saho's death occurred in the following year. A series of intrigues for the succession followed; but the pêshwa succeeded in placing a prince, named Rajah Râm, on the throne. He was then engaged in hostilities with the successor of Asof Jâh, who was aided by the French; but we shall defer our account of these transactions.

The most remarkable event in Hindûstân at this time was the rise of the Rohillas, a people destined to act a conspicuous part in the future history. Numbers of the Afghâns of the district of Rôh (whence they were called Rohillas) had been in the imperial service. There was among them a man named Ally Mohammed, who was said to have been a Hindoo, and who had been adopted by a Rohilla soldier. He entered the army as a common soldier, and, being a man of talent and energy, he rose, like so many men of the same character, to some rank and influence. He obtained the management of some jagheers; he gradually increased his possessions and took more and more of the Afghâns into his pay and service, and at length he felt himself strong enough to refuse remitting the income of the lands he held to Delhi. He defeated the troops sent against him, and eventually became master of the country between the Ganges and Oude, henceforth named Rohilcund. The emperor at length took the field against him in person, and he was then obliged to submit and content himself with the government of Sirhind (1745).

The north-west frontier was destined to send more plunderers in on India. Nâdir Shâh having become abhorred for his tyranny by the Persians, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was assassinated in his tent near Meshîd (1747). Ahmed Khân, the chief of the Afghâns of the Abdâlee tribe[8], who were in his service, having made a fruitless effort to avenge him, retired with his men into his own country; and his influence was such, that within a short time he was declared king at Candahâr, and his dominions extended from the Indus to the frontiers of Persia. Knowing the weakness and the wealth of India, where he had been with Nâdir, he resolved to attempt conquest in it, and, passing the Indus with only 12,000 men, he took Lahore and advanced to the Sutlej. Here an army under the vizir and prince Ahmed was prepared to oppose him; but he crossed the river where there was no ford, got into their rear, and took the town of Sirhind, where their stores and baggage lay. He then assailed the entrenched camp of the Indians; but, being repulsed in several attacks, he repassed the river and marched homewards (1748).

Within a month after the battle of Sirhind the emperor Mohammed died, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed Shâh.

The late vizîr had been killed by a cannon-ball at Sirhind, and the office was now vacant. Ahmed offered it to Asof Jâh, and on his declining it he gave it to Sufder Jung, the son of Sâdut Khân the viceroy of Oude. As Ahmed Dûranee was at this time engaged in the western part of his dominions, the vizir, Ally Mohammed being now dead, thought the occasion good for making an attempt to destroy his neighbours the Rohillas. He committed the charge of the war to the Afghân chief of Furrockabâd, but, this general happening to fall in battle, the vizîr endeavoured to derive advantage from that event, by depriving his widow of the greater part of her territory. The people, however, rose and called in the Rohillas; the vizîr was obliged to take the field against them; his numerous but ill-disciplined troops yielded an easy victory to the enemy, and the Rohillas soon appeared before the walls of both Lucknow and Allahabâd (1750).

The vizîr saw now no resource but to call in the Marattas. He applied to the two chiefs Holkar and Scindia, to whom the pêshwa had given settlements in Mâlwa, and the promise of a large subsidy induced them to lead their forces to his aid; he also was joined by the rajah of the Jâts. At the head of this combined force, he defeated the Rohillas, and drove them to the lower ranges of the Himalaya. As he permitted the Marattas to levy their subsidy from the conquered territory, it was many years before the country recovered from the effects of their ravages (1751).

When the vizîr returned to Delhi, he found that Ahmed Dûranee had again invaded the Punjâb, which had been ceded to him by the emperor on his demand; he also found that his own influence with the emperor and his mother had been engrossed by a favourite eunuch. This difficulty he easily removed by inviting the favourite to a banquet, at which he caused him to be assassinated. But this only raised up to him a more formidable opponent in the person of Shuhab-ud-dîn[9], the grandson of Asof Jâh, a young man of great energy and ability, whom he had himself patronised and raised to the rank of Ameer-ul-Ômrah, with the title of Ghâzi-ud-dîn. This young man readily joined the emperor against his benefactor. A civil war was carried on for six months in the streets of Delhi, when

[7] When he was first made viceroy of the Deckan (above, p. 43), the title of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, *i. e.* Regulator of the State, had been conferred on him; and this has been the title of his descendants down to the present day.

[8] The original seats of the Abdâlees were the mountains of Ghôr, but they were now settled principally about Herât. Ahmed, from some unexplained motive, changed their name to Dûranees, by which name they are known in Indian history.

[9] His father, Ghâzi-ud-dîn (see p. 44), died in 1753, at Aurungobâd, by poison it was said, when on his march against his brother, Salabut Jung.

the vizîr, learning that a body of Marattas was coming to the aid of his opponents, consented to make peace, and retire to Oude. Ghâzi-ud-dîn then turned his arms against the Jâts, and, while he was thus engaged, the emperor, who was grown quite weary of his arrogance and insolence, withdrew, under the pretence of hunting, with what troops he had about him, in order to try to effect his emancipation, but Ghâzi-ud-din soon sent the Marattas after him, who made him a prisoner. He forthwith repaired to the imperial camp, where he deposed the emperor, and put out the eyes of both himself and his mother. He then placed on the throne a prince of the blood royal, under the title of Âlumgîr II. (1754.)

The ambitious and active Ghâzi-ud-dîn soon after tried to recover the Punjâb from the Dûranees; but he resolved to proceed by stratagem, not by force. The widow of the late governor ruled it in the name of her young son, and the vizîr, advancing to Lahore under the pretext of espousing her daughter, to whom he was betrothed, surprised the town, and made the regent a prisoner in her bed. Ahmed Shâh, as soon as he heard of this treacherous deed, put himself at the head of his army, and speedily appeared within twenty miles of Delhi. Here Ghâzi-ud-dîn, by means of the late regent of the Punjâb, with whom he had been reconciled, obtained his own pardon. But Ahmed required money, and Delhi became a scene of plunder and massacre, as in the time of Nadîr; for, though Ahmed was not ferocious like him, he was not so well able to restrain his troops, by whom a massacre still more wanton and barbarous was perpetrated on the Hindoo pilgrims at Muttra. The hot weather, which the Afghâns cannot endure, coming on, and causing mortality among them, Ahmed led his troops home. He espoused a princess of the house of Timûr, and at the request of the feeble emperor, as a protection to him against the vizîr, he made an able Rohilla chief, named Najeeb-ud-doula, commander of the forces at Delhi (1757).

Ghâzi-ud-dîn, who was then at Furrockabâd, set all the regulations of Ahmed Shâh at nought; but, not feeling himself alone sufficiently strong, he called in the never-failing aid of the Marattas. He was joined by a force under the pêshwa's brother, Ragoba, and taking possession of Delhi, he laid siege to the fortified palace. It held out for a month, at the end of which time the emperor (Najeeb-ud-doula having previously made his escape from it) opened the gates, and received Ghâzi-ud-dîn as his vizîr. Ragoba then was induced, by the intelligence he received of the state of the Punjâb, to attempt the conquest of it. He met with no opposition, the Dûranees retiring over the Indus at his approach; and, leaving a Maratta governor, he returned to the Deckan (1758).

Shuja-ud-doula, son of Sufder Jung, of Oude, and the other Mohammedan princes of India, seeing the great increase of the Maratta power, now combined for their mutual protection. The Marattas immediately invaded and ravaged Rohilcund in their usual manner; but Shuja-ud-doula fell suddenly on them, and drove them with great loss over the Ganges, and, as they heard that Ahmed Shâh was on his march, they proposed a peace, to which the confederates agreed. The Dûranee Shâh, who had been engaged in reducing the Belooches in the southern part of his dominions, marched up the Indus to Pêshâwar, and then crossed it, and keeping to the mountains, as it was the rainy season, advanced till he reached the other side of the Jumna. He there fell on a body of the Marattas, commanded by Scindia, which he cut to pieces, their leader being among the slain. Another division, under Holkar, as it was making southwards was overtaken by the Dûranee troops sent in pursuit of it, and utterly destroyed (1759).

At this time Ghâzi-ud-dîn, fearing the vengeance of his royal master should Ahmed Shâh be victorious, issued his orders for the murder of that unhappy monarch, and placed another prince of the family on the throne; but his puppet was never acknowledged. Shâh Alum, the heir, was at this time in Bengal, where we shall meet him in the progress of our narrative.

The Maratta power was now at its height; nearly all India, from Himalaya to Cape Comorin, was either directly subject to it or paid it tribute. The pêshwa, who was its real head, had brought it to a degree of order such as it had never previously known. Its army, instead of consisting of mere marauding bands, now contained a large body of well-mounted and well-paid cavalry, and a force of 10,000 infantry, disciplined by those who had served with the Europeans on the coast of Coromandel. It also possessed, for the first time, a large train of artillery. The pride and self-confidence which this force produced was only stimulated to exertion by the account of the disasters of Scindia and Holkar, and it was resolved to make a strenuous effort for the complete empire of India.

The command of the Maratta army was given to Sedasheo Râo, the pêshwa's cousin, thence called the Bhâo, *i. e.* Brother. He was accompanied by Wiswas Râo, the pêshwa's son and heir, and by all the great Bramin and Maratta chiefs. He advanced to Delhi, which had a small Dûranee garrison; the Marattas entered by a neglected bastion, and the citadel yielded to the power of their artillery. The Bhâo plundered the palace and every public edifice of all their ornaments; he seized the splendid throne, and stripped off the silver ceiling from the hall of audience. He was going to proclaim Wiswas Râo emperor of India, but he was induced to delay it till he should have driven the Dûranees out of the land (1760).

It was the advice of the prudent old rajah of the Jâts, that the Marattas should leave their infantry and artillery in his country, and carry on the war in the usual Maratta fashion with their cavalry, and the climate would then, he said, soon force the Dûranees to retire. But the Bhâo spurned at this counsel, and resolved on regular warfare. Ahmed Shâh was at this time encamped on the frontiers of Oude, arranging matters with Shuja-ud-doula and his other allies; and as soon as the rains permitted he put his troops in motion, and advanced toward Delhi. A bold and rapid passage of the Jumna which he made inspired the Marattas with such respect for his prowess, that to be out of his reach they retired to Pânîpat, and there they formed an intrenched camp, defended by their numerous artillery. The Bhâo's force consisted of 55,000 regular and 15,000 irregular cavalry, with 15,000 disciplined infantry. He had 200 guns, and numerous wall-pieces, and a large supply of rockets, which were much used in Indian warfare. The whole number within his lines, in-

clusive of the soldiers and their followers, is stated at 200,000 persons. The army of Ahmed Shâh was composed of 40,000 Afghâns and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and 38,000 Indian infantry, of which the Rohillas were the only effective portion. He had about thirty pieces of cannon, and a good many wall-pieces.

The Shâh encamped in the neighbourhood of the Marattas, whose lines he did not venture to attack. Meantime, a body of about 12,000 Maratta cavalry had advanced from the lower Jumna and was cutting off his supplies, and great distress began to be felt in his camp; but an active detachment came up with the freebooters and cut them to pieces, and the Maratta camp was now in its turn straitened for provisions, as the enemy had got the command of the open country. Constant skirmishes took place, and the Marattas made some fruitless attacks on the Dûranee lines. Ahmed's allies were urgent with him to bring matters to issue by a general action; but his reply was, "This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me." He used also to say to them, "Do you sleep; I will take care that no harm befalls you." In effect, he was indefatigable; he omitted no precaution, and he was on horseback nearly the whole day.

At length the Bhâo, having endeavoured in vain to effect a peace through the mediation of Shuja-ud-doula, resolved to conquer or perish in the field, rather than see his whole army die of starvation; and ere daybreak on the morning of the 6th of January, 1761, the whole Maratta army, placing their artillery in front, advanced to assail the hostile lines. Ahmed Shâh, having had timely information, drew his troops up in front of his camp. The action began by the discharge of the Maratta cannon, which however did no mischief, as the balls went over the enemies' heads. Their disciplined infantry then advanced with charged bayonets on the Rohillas who were on the right, and routed them with great slaughter, and then took the centre in flank, which was at the same time assailed in front by the Bhâo and Wiswas Râo with the flower of the Maratta cavalry. Ahmed, seeing the peril of his centre, brought up the reserve, but the advantage still was on the side of the Marattas. He then rallied all his men and made his whole line advance, and directed one division to wheel and take them in flank. This manœuvre was successful. "All at once, as if by enchantment," says the writer who was present, "the whole Maratta army turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead." No quarter was given, the pursuit continued for fifteen or twenty miles, the peasantry cut off those that escaped the soldiers, and the whole number of the slain is said to have been 200,000. The Bhâo himself and Wiswat Râo were among the dead, and every chief of note was either slain or wounded. The pêshwa did not survive the shock which the tidings of this great defeat gave him. Dissensions broke out among the Maratta chiefs, and it was some time before the Maratta power became again formidable.

Ahmed Dûranee, after his victory, went on to Delhi, whence, after a short stay, he returned to his own country, and never again concerned himself with the affairs of India. These now began to assume a new character; for the people from the far West, into whose hands the empire was destined to come next, had just at this time begun to establish themselves in Bengal. To relate the formation of their empire is now our task.

PART II.

BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Early trade to India—Discovery of the Monsoons—Portuguese Discoveries—Passage of Cape of Good Hope—Voyage of Vasco da Gama—Voyage of Cabral—Second Voyage of Gama—Of the Albuquerques—Soarez—Almeida—Albuquerque—Conquest of Goa—Of Malacca—Extent of Portuguese Empire in the East—Defence of Diu—Of Goa—Voyages of the Dutch—Their Trade and Settlements—The French.

From the most distant ages, as we have seen, the products of India were conveyed to the West; but the course was chiefly a land one, from the coast of Arabia Felix, or the head of the Persian Gulf, and the trade was almost entirely in the hands of the Phœnicians. At length, when Alexander the Great had built the city named from himself in Egypt, and that country formed an independent kingdom, under the Ptolemies, the Indian trade began to take a new direction, and vessels leaving the vicinity of the modern Suez proceeded down the Red Sea, along the coast of Arabia, whence they sometimes sailed across the mouth of the Persian Gulf to the Indus, and thence round Cutch and Gûzerât to the mouth of the Nerbudda, and then occasionally along the coast of Malabar. When they had obtained their cargoes, they returned by the same circuitous route, and the commodities, being conveyed by land to Alexandria, were thence distributed over the West. This, however, was not the common course, for the ships of Egypt in general went no further than the coast of Arabia, where they purchased the goods which Arabian or Indian vessels had brought thither by the route above described.

It seems strange that, in this long-continued intercourse with India, the phenomenon of the Monsoons, and their applicability to the purposes of trade, should never have engaged the thoughts of any of the navigators. It was not till about the middle of the first century of our era, that a mariner named Hippalus, observing the regularity with which the one blows for six months, from the south-west, and the other for an equal period, from the north-east, drew the natural conclusion, that if a vessel were to sail with the former, from the mouth of the Red Sea, she must be carried to some point on the coast of India, and that the other then would bring her back to the place from which she had started. He had the courage to put his theory into practice, and the event fully justified his anticipations. The Indian trade now took a new course; but Alexandria continued to be its great emporium. Political changes had no effect on it. The Roman empire was succeeded by that of the Khalifehs, and this by that of the Mamlooks; but still it was from Alexandria that the spices of the East were dispersed to the West, the great agents being the Italian traders, especially the Venetians, of whose wealth and power it was the main support.

In the fifteenth century, the profits of the eastern trade being manifestly so great, other nations began to long for a share in it, and to meditate on the possibility of making a direct passage to India. The writings of the ancients, which were now becoming better known, informed men of the opinion which had prevailed of the possibility of circumnavigating Africa; and the knowledge of the globular form of the earth, joined with the notion of India being the most distant region of the East, led to the inference, that by steering boldly across the Atlantic one would be sure to reach the coast of India. This last, as is well known, was the idea of Columbus, and it led to the discovery of America. The former idea gradually unfolded itself to the Portuguese, whose situation at the western extremity of Europe, and their familiarity with the sea, and enmity with the Moors of Africa, led them to explore the western coast of that continent. Don Henry, one of the sons of John I. by an English princess, has the honour of being the originator of Portuguese discovery. While governor of Ceuta, he had learned much from the Moors respecting the African nations to the south. This confirmed him in the idea he had conceived of pushing discovery southwards, for he had already sent out vessels which had succeeded in doubling Cape Non, the previous limit of southern navigation, and coming in view of Cape Bojador. On his return from Ceuta, Don Henry fixed his abode at Sagrez, near Cape St. Vincent, where he would always have the ocean in view; and to the end of his life (in 1463) he kept his thoughts directed on the one object of African discovery. In 1418, he sent out a vessel which was to attempt to double Cape Bojador. The attempt proved a failure, in consequence of a storm; but the island of Porto Santo was discoverd, as that of Madeira was in a future voyage. It was not till 1433 that Cape Bojador was passed, and as the sea beyond that promontory, contrary to expectation, was found to be calm and tranquil, the progress of southern discovery was rapid. After the death of Don Henry it languished a little; but it had struck root too deeply ever to cease. It was speedily resumed, the river Congo and the Gold Coast were discovered, and in 1471 the Portuguese monarch, Don John II., assumed the title of Lord of Guinea. This prince, being now convinced that there must be a termination of the African continent, resolved to make every effort to reach it, and thus to open a route to India. In 1486, he sent out three vessels, under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, to make the attempt. Leaving the Congo, Diaz proceeded southwards along the coast, till a tempest came on which drove him out to sea in a southern direction. At the end of thirteen days the tempest ceased, and they then steered

eastwards in order to recover the land. But to their amazement, after proceeding for some days, they still saw nothing before them but a wide ocean. They then steered northwards, and soon fell in with the land. They had in effect, without being aware of it, passed the Cape in quest of which they had sailed. At the desire of Diaz they went on eastwards till they reached what is now named the Great Fish River. As they were returning, to their great joy and surprise they discerned the long-sought promontory, to which Diaz gave the name of Cabo Tormentoso, or Stormy Cape, but which appellation the king changed to that of Cape of Good Hope, its present name.

Circumstances prevented the king from following up this discovery of a route to India, and it was not till the reign of his successor, Emmanuel, that the project was resumed. In 1497, Vasco da Gama, a gentleman of the royal household, sailed from the Tagus with a squadron of three ships, with orders to make every effort to reach the coast of India; and after a voyage of less than eleven months he arrived at Calicut on the coast of Malabar. The particulars of this voyage require not to be narrated, they are so generally known; and it has had the good fortune to have been sung in enduring strains by the muse of the renowned but hapless Luis de Camoens.

As Gama was proceeding along the east coast of Africa, he found Mozambique, Quiloa, Melinda, and all the other towns inhabited by Mohammedans, or as the Portuguese called them, Moors[1]; and as there happened to be in them some traders or others from the north coast of Africa, who knew the Portuguese as the hereditary enemies of their race and creed, they exerted themselves to stir up the hostility of the natives against them. In this they succeeded every where but at Melinda, whose prince, on the contrary, became the steady friend of the strangers, and supplied them with a pilot, who carried them to Calicut. Here also Gama found the trade principally in the hands of the Moors, that is, the traders of Arabia and Egypt, who naturally sought to prevent the commercial rivalry of the Europeans, and to destroy them if possible. The sovereign himself, called the Samorim, a Hindoo in faith, looking only to the benefit of his subjects, was inclined to favour the strangers, who had a faithful friend in a Moor of Tunis, named Monzaide who was settled at Calicut; but the Moors bribed to their side the Cutwal, or prime minister of the Samorim, and through him the prince himself, and plans were formed for the destruction of the Portuguese; but Gama, having had timely information from Monzaide, frustrated them, and set sail on his return to Europe. He arrived in the port of Lisbon on the 29th of August, 1499, after an absence of nearly two years and two months.

[1] Hence we find our writers calling the Mohammedans of India, Moors. The Portuguese called the original nations of India *Gentios*, i.e Gentiles, and hence our Gentoos. From the Portuguese *tanque* (from *stagnum*), a pond, we have made *tank*, as from *casta* a race, *caste*. They were also in the habit of putting their nasal tone (*m*) at the end of words terminating in a vowel, and this we have changed into *n*. Thus they call Cape Kumâri Comarim, our Comarin, Samori Samorim, &c. As their *x* sounds like our *sh*, we meet with *Abex* for Habesh, or Abyssinia, *Muxadabad* for Moorshedabad, &c. They called the princes of Quiloa, and other towns on the coast of Africa, *Xeques*, i.e. Sheikhs.

The court of Portugal resolved to lose no time in taking advantage of this brilliant discovery, and early in the following year a fleet of thirteen ships, carrying twelve hundred men, under the command of Alvarez Cabral, sailed from the Tagus. The circumstance of eight Franciscan friars being put on board, and the admiral being instructed to waste with fire and sword every country that would not listen to their preaching, shows that religious fanaticism, even more than the spirit of commerce, actuated the councils of the Lusitanian monarch.

By keeping out to sea in order to avoid the coast of Africa, Cabral had the good fortune to discover Brazil in South America. In his passage round the Cape of Good Hope he encountered fearful tempests, in which he lost four of his ships, on board of one of which was the intrepid Diaz, who first had passed that formidable promontory. Cabral reached Calicut with only six ships; but this force, and the account of the power of Portugal given by some Hindoos whom Gama had carried away and Cabral had brought back, induced the Samorim to treat him with respect, and he was allowed to establish a factory in Calicut. The Moors, though they at first affected to be friendly disposed, soon began to thwart the Portuguese, and through their influence the native merchants delayed supplying them with the goods for which they had contracted. The Samorim, when applied to, in a fit of impatience bade them to seize the cargo of one of the Moorish ships, but at the same time to pay its full value. Correa, the Portuguese factor, a warm, impetuous man, and urged on by his pretended friends among the Moors, pressed Cabral to execute this project, and the Moors, to draw him on, began ostentatiously to lade a large vessel with the choicest spices, taking care to let the Portuguese know the time appointed for her departure. Cabral, contrary to his better judgment, yielded to the instances of Correa and of his men, and, sending his boats, began to transfer her cargo to his own ships. The Moors ran instantly to the king, crying that the Christians had now shown themselves to be what they always said they were, mere pirates. He gave them permission to redress themselves; and, joined by a number of the Nairs, as the military class is called in Malabar, they made an attack on the Portuguese factory. Correa and fifty men were slain, the rest escaped by jumping into the sea and swimming to the ships. Cabral seized ten Moorish ships and burned them after he had taken out their cargoes; and then, getting in close to shore, he cannonaded the city till he had set it on fire in several places. He then weighed anchor, and, proceeding southwards, came to Cochin, the largest city on the coast after Calicut.

It has always been the fortune of the colonizers or conquerors of new countries to find allies ready to their hand, in consequence of the tyranny or oppression of the predominant power among the natives. Thus the Spaniards, in their invasion of Mexico, found zealous allies in the Tlascalans; and now the king of Cochin, an oppressed vassal of the Samorim, became the warm friend of the Portuguese. Cabral, having supplied himself here with pepper, did not make any long stay, but went on to Cananor, where he was also well received, and then proceeded on his homeward voyage. Before he arrived an additional squadron of three ships had

been sent out to reinforce him, under John da Nova, who, finding a letter at San Blas on the coast of Africa relating what had occurred and advising him to proceed direct to Cochin, made sail at once to that port. While there, he defeated a large fleet sent against him by the Samorim. On his homeward voyage, he discovered the island of St. Helena, as he had fallen in with Ascension Isle as he was going out.

In Portugal Cabral's expedition, owing to the loss of life and of shipping in it, was in general regarded as a failure, and people began to think that it was a hazardous thing for a small kingdom like Portugal to engage in hostilities, at the other end of the world, with a powerful monarch like the Samorim. But the king, like most monarchs, was bent on conquest and extent of empire ; the pope had lately by a bull divided as it were the world between him and the king of Spain, giving to the one all the countries to be discovered east, to the other those west of a certain line, his infallibility not perceiving that they thus must meet at last ; finally, he reflected that he had allies in the princes of Cochin and Cananor, and might gain others. He therefore assumed the title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, India, and Persia," and sent out a fleet of fifteen sail, under Vasco da Gama, to Cochin and Cananor, and another of five vessels, under Vicente Sodra, to cruize against the Moors at the mouth of the Red Sea (1512).

Those who have formed their idea of the character of Vasco da Gama from the poem of Camoens, or even from the narrative of his first voyage, will be shocked by the account of the barbarities of which he now was guilty. Having taken a large Moorish ship off the coast of Arabia, he first plundered it, and then, shutting the crew up in the hold, set it on fire. When he came before Calicut, and had opened negotiations, he placed on the deck fifty persons whom he had taken out of the vessels which he had captured, and, with an hour-glass in his hand, told the Samorim's envoy, that if he did not receive satisfaction before the sand had run, he would put them all to death ; and, as the reply did not arrive within the limited time, he performed his threat, and then cutting off the hands and feet of his victims sent them on shore. He left Calicut, but was induced by an artful Bramin to return in a single ship ; by which rash act he narrowly escaped being captured. Having cruized about for some time, and taken some valuable ships, he returned to Portugal. As soon as he was gone, the Samorim prepared to take vengeance on the king of Cochin. He invaded his territory at the head of a large army, and, on his refusal to give up the Portuguese and abandon their alliance, made a furious assault on his capital, took it, and forced him to seek refuge in the adjacent sacred islet of Vipeen.

Three separate expeditions now sailed from Portugal (1503), under the brothers Alfonso and Francis Albuquerque and Antonio Saldanha. Francis Albuquerque, who arrived first, having met on the coast of Arabia the remainder of the squadron of Sodra, who had perished in a storm, proceeded to Vipeen and relieved the king of Cochin, who was now reduced to extremity. He then, being joined by his brother, carried on the war against the Samorim, whom he forced to purchase peace by the delivery of a large quantity of pepper, and by opening his port to the Portuguese commerce. But the capture of one of his ships by the Portuguese broke this peace, and, after a vain attempt to intimidate him, the Albuquerques sailed for Europe, leaving Duarte Pacheco with a few hundred men for the defence of Cochin.

The Samorim now resolved to make every effort to reduce the king of Cochin, and it is asserted that the army he assembled for this purpose numbered 50,000 men. Two Milanese, who had deserted to him, taught him, we are told, to cast brass cannon and other European arts of war. The defence of the town was committed to Pacheco, for the natives lost all courage ; and seldom have more skill and energy been displayed than during this siege. All the attacks of the enemy were gallantly repelled, and the Samorim at last, having lost a great part of his force by war and sickness, found it necessary to raise the siege and retire. The defence of Cochin, by demonstrating to the Portuguese their great superiority in arms over the Indians, tended greatly to foster their lust of conquest.

Pacheco was succeeded by Lope Soarez, to whom the Samorim sent very advantageous offers of peace. Soarez sailed to Calicut, and all was proceeding satisfactorily, till he made a demand of the surrender of the two Milanese. At this the negotiator paused, requiring time to consult the Samorim ; but the haughty Soarez would hear of no delay, and instantly began to cannonade the town. He then, at the desire of the king of Cochin, destroyed the town of Cranganor, after which he returned to Portugal.

The views of the Portuguese monarch gradually extending, the title of Viceroy of India, with a suitable establishment military and ecclesiastic, was conferred on Francis Almeida, who replaced Soarez (1505). Shortly after his arrival, he received a splendid embassy from the Hindoo king of Bejâyanugur, offering his daughter in marriage to the prince of Portugal ; and, though the offer was not accepted, a courteous and friendly answer was returned.

The Mamlûk sultan of Egypt, incensed at the daring conduct of the Portuguese, and the losses sustained by his subjects, resolved, in conjunction with the Moslem king of Gûzerât, to make a vigorous effort to extirpate them. An Egyptian fleet of twelve sail was accordingly joined by that of the king of Gûzerât, under his ablest general, Âiâz Sultânee (1508), and a furious attack was made by the combined force on a part of the Portuguese fleet, commanded by the viceroy's son Lorenzo, off the port of Chaul, to the south of Bombay. After sustaining a fight for two successive days, the Portuguese put to sea and escaped ; but, the ship of Lorenzo Almeida having got entangled in some fishing-stakes, he refused to leave her, and perished fighting gallantly. On this occasion, the courteous Âiâz wrote a letter of consolation to the viceroy.

While Almeida was preparing to take vengeance for his son, Alfonso Albuquerque came out with a fleet and a commission to supersede him. Albuquerque had first proceeded to the coast of Arabia, where he reduced Muscat and other towns, and then sailed up the Persian Gulf, and made the prince of the wealthy isle of Ormuz consent to pay

tribute. When he came to Cochin and showed his commission, Almeida, supported by his principal officers, refused obedience to it, at least till he should have avenged the death of his son. Albuquerque urged, but in vain, that the royal orders were imperative. Almeida sailed with a fleet of nineteen ships to attack the fleets of Egypt and Gûzerât. On his way he made an unprovoked assault on the city of Dabul in the Côncan, plundered and burned the town, and massacred the inhabitants without distinction. He found the confederates lying at the isle of Diu, on the southern coast of Gûzerât. Âiâz proposed to await the attack in the harbour; but the Egyptian admiral would not consent, and in the action which ensued victory remained with the Portuguese. Âiâz then sent proposals of peace, but Almeida insisted on the Egyptian admiral being delivered up to him. To this demand, Âiâz refused to yield, but offered to restore his Christian captives; and Almeida was obliged to be content with these terms. He then departed, and when he came to Cananor, with the ferocity then characteristic of the Portuguese in India, he massacred all his prisoners. It was with great difficulty that he was induced to resign his office. He finally sailed for Europe, and he fell in a scuffle with the natives in Saldanha bay, on the coast of Africa.

Hitherto the Portuguese had made no attempt to acquire territory in India, being content with being masters of the sea and having factories in the cities of the coast. But Albuquerque, a man of lofty and aspiring views, resolved to be the founder of a Portuguese empire in the East. His first attempt was on Calicut (1510); but, after performing prodigies of valour, the Portuguese were beaten off with great loss, and Albuquerque himself was carried to his ships stunned with blows, and left for dead. When he had recovered, acting under the advice of Timoza, one of those pirates with which that coast was so long infested, he proceeded to attack Goa, a town in an island of the coast belonging to the kingdom of Bêjapûr. The town surrendered on terms of security to commerce and private property, which were faithfully adhered to by Albuquerque, who now assumed the state of a sovereign prince. But the king of Bêjapûr, having collected a large army, was preparing to recover Goa, and as he succeeded in passing his troops over into the island by night, Albuquerque found it necessary to evacuate the town, and get on board his ships. He retired to Cananor, but soon after, when the king of Bêjapûr was engaged in a war with the rajah of Bejâyanugur, he made another attack and obtained possession of the town, which he strongly fortified, and made the chief seat of the Portuguese power in the East.

The aspiring mind of Albuquerque was now directed to a far more distant conquest. The city of Malacca, situated in the peninsula of that name, was the great emporium of the trade between India and China and the eastern isles; and Albuquerque, using as a pretext some ill-treatment which an officer sent on discovery by Almeida was said to have received there, sailed thither with a force of 800 Portuguese and 600 native troops, and he succeeded in taking the town, where the booty acquired is said to have been immense; but it was all lost in a storm which the fleet encountered off the coast of Sumatra. The Portuguese retained possession of Malacca, which became one of their principal settlements (1511).

The port of Aden in Arabia, which would give him the command of the Red Sea, next drew the attention of Albuquerque; but two attempts which he made on that town proved failures. He then resumed his plans on Ormuz, and sailing thither with a force of 1500 European, and 600 native troops, he reduced its sovereign to submission, and Ormuz also became a Portuguese possession.

Albuquerque had thus founded an empire for his sovereign; but neglect and ingratitude were the only rewards the monarchs of Portugal in those days bestowed on their distinguished subjects. As Albuquerque was returning to Goa, broken in health, he learned that his enemy Soarez was come out as his successor, that officers hostile to him were appointed to the command of the ships and forts; and all this had been done without sending him even a letter. He was at first inclined to give ear to those who counselled him to maintain his power by force; but he immediately repelled the thought. He refused to take nourishment, dictated a brief but manly and pathetic letter to his worthless sovereign, and breathed his last within sight of Goa (1515).

Albuquerque was doubtless a man of considerable talent and energy, and is, perhaps, not altogether without claim to the title of Great bestowed on him by his countrymen. It was certainly a splendid conception to make a small nation of the West like Portugal mistress of the seas and of the commerce of the eastern regions; and this conception was in fact realised, for, in all their conflicts with the native powers, the Portuguese invariably came off victorious, and their empire continued to exist for an entire century. It was neither the arms of the monarchs of the East, nor the inferior abilities of Albuquerque's successors, that caused its downfal, but the decline of Portugal itself, and the appearance in the eastern seas of the other nations of Europe, whose side was almost always taken by the native powers, who abhorred the Portuguese for their religious fanaticism and their barbarous cruelty, in both of which detestable qualities they fully equalled their kinsmen of Spain.

The Portuguese dominion, according to the magnificent language of their historians, extended from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontiers of China, along a coast 12,000 miles in extent. But this only means that they had forts and factories at various points of this range of coast; for they prudently refrained from the acquisition of territory. They had various settlements on the east coast of Africa, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, Goa and other places in India; they were also on the Ganges in Bengal; they had factories in Ceylon, they possessed Malacca, and their forts commanded Ternate, Tidore, and the other Spice Islands, which, by the way, were the scenes of their greatest atrocities; and finally, the emperor of China, for their services against a pirate, allowed them to settle on the peninsular of Macao, near the city of Canton. They also discovered and opened a trade with the islands of Japan, from which, however, their religious bigotry at length caused their expulsion, and a massacre of their native converts. Of this extensive empire all that they retain, and only by sufferance, at the present day is Mozambique, Goa, and Macao!

The most remarkable events in Portuguese history in the East, after the time of Albuquerque,

are the defence of Diu and of Goa against the native powers, each of which we will briefly narrate.

Bahâdur Shâh, king of Gûzerât, when forced to seek refuge in Diu [2], had allowed the Portuguese to build a factory there, on condition of their aiding him with 500 men in the recovery of his kingdom. When he had succeeded and came to Diu (1536), he found that they were surrounding their factory with a wall, and apparently converting it into a fortification. He remonstrated with Nuno da Cunha, the viceroy, who was there with a fleet, and matters seemed likely to be amicably arranged, when Cunha, having feigned sickness when invited to visit the king, the latter, to remove all suspicion, went on board the viceroy's ship with a few attendants. Observing while there some whisperings and signs passing between the viceroy and his people, he took alarm and quitted the ship in haste. As he was going on shore, an affray, accidental or designed, took place, and he threw himself out of his boat into the sea, where he was stunned by the blow of an oar, and then run through with a halbert. Each side charged the other with treachery, and each probably without reason.

Bahâdur's successor resolved to take vengeance on the Portuguese, and a large fleet and army from Egypt, now in the hands of the Ottomans, came to his aid (1538). Silveira, the commandant of the fort, had only 600 men, and many of them sickly; yet he repelled all the attacks of the enemy. After the loss of a prodigious number of men, they made one final assault at midnight, and forced their way into a part of the fort, but were repelled by almost incredible efforts of valour, after which the Turkish admiral gave over the siege and went home. He doubtless was not aware, that there were at the time only forty men fit for service in the garrison. The heroism of the Portuguese women in this siege is celebrated by their historians, particularly that of Anna Fernandez, the wife of a physician.

In 1545, the king of Gûzerât made another attack on the fort, which was defended by John Mascarenhas with only 200 men. A reinforcement of 400 men having come, they insisted on being led out against the enemy, but they were driven back with great loss. At length the viceroy, the celebrated John de Castro, arrived with a large force, and he attacked the enemy in their entrenchments, routed them with great loss, and, entering the city of Diu pell-mell with them, filled it with bloodshed and massacre. On his return to Goa, he entered the city in triumph, crowned with laurel, and dragging after him the royal standard of Gûzerât, music sounding all the while, and the streets ringing with acclamations.

In 1570, the Adil Shâh of Bêjapûr, and the Nizâm Shâh of Ahmednugur, formed an alliance for the purpose of driving the Christians from India. The former led his forces, estimated at 100,000 men, against Goa; the latter invested Chaul near Bombay. Goa was defended by the viceroy Luis de Ataide, who had only 700 soldiers and 1300 monks and armed slaves; yet he would not detain the homeward-bound ships, by which he might have added 400 men to his force. All the attempts of the enemy to pass over into the island failed, and the Portuguese often made attacks on their quarters, in which they displayed their usual courage, and their usual barbarity. When the siege had lasted two months, a reinforcement of 1500 men came from the Moluccas, and the Moslems, after one more vigorous attempt, in which they forced their way into the island, but were driven out of it with great slaughter, ceased to act on the offensive. Âdil Shah, however, remained in his position some months longer, and then retired, having lost 12,000 men.

Chaul was defended against the army of Nizâm Shâh by an officer named Luis d'Andreda, and a garrison of 2000 men. But, as it was not seated in an island like Goa, the defence of it was far more difficult. During a month the enemy battered it with seventy pieces of cannon, and then made a general assault, and penetrated into the town at different points, but they were every where driven back. When the siege had lasted about six months, an unavailing attempt was made at accommodation, and Nizâm Shâh, having tried one more furious assault, and being repulsed, drew off his troops. He shortly after formed an alliance with the Portuguese.

The Portuguese dominion in the East was thus maintained throughout the sixteenth century. But, meantime, Portugal itself had fallen under the dominion of Philip II. of Spain (1580), and the Dutch, who were also subjects of this monarch, and who used hitherto to purchase the products of the East at Lisbon, and distribute them over the north of Europe, having been driven into rebellion by Philip's tyranny, were in consequence excluded from all the ports in his dominions. They resolved therefore to try to make their way to the East direct, but they feared the naval power of Spain in the Atlantic and the eastern seas. It was at that time a prevalent notion, that the northern extremities of both continents were circumnavigable, and the Dutch were therefore induced to attempt the passage by the north of Europe and Asia; but, after three successive failures, they saw themselves obliged to abandon this project, and became convinced that, if India was to be reached, it could only be by the south.

In the year 1596, a company of Dutch merchants sent out a squadron of four well-armed vessels, under the command of Cornelius Houtman, who, during a long residence at Lisbon, had collected the necessary information; and after a somewhat tedious navigation, they reached the port of Bantam in the island of Java. On the return of this fleet, as the practicability of establishing a trade with the East was now established, the original company was increased; and, in 1599, a fleet of eight vessels was sent out, under the joint command of Houtman and Van Neck. They visited the coasts of Java and Sumatra, and Van Neck then returned to Amsterdam with four of the vessels richly laden with spices. The trade proved so lucrative, that new companies were formed every year, and new squadrons sent out. Even so early as the year 1600, forty Dutch vessels went round the Cape. The profits on their trade to the East is said to have averaged about thirty-seven per cent.

The Dutch at first avoided, as far as possible, all contact with the Portuguese, and carefully abstained from visiting the places where they had

[2] See above, p. 19.

settlements. But gradually, as they became confident of their own strength and learned how their rivals were detested by the natives, they began to abandon this pacific policy. They commenced with aiding the natives to surprise the Portuguese fort at Acheen in Sumatra, and then seized some of their settlements in the Moluccas. In 1605, having reinforced their fleet in the East with nineteen vessels, carrying 2000 veteran soldiers, they attacked and reduced all the remaining Portuguese settlements in the Moluccas, and thus made themselves masters of the entire trade of the eastern seas. They then made an attempt on Malacca, but met with a repulse, and afterwards aided the natives of Ceylon against the Portuguese; but it was not until the year 1656, and after a siege of seven months, that they succeeded in reducing their chief settlement, Columbo, and expelling them totally from that island. They had already (1640) reduced Malacca, after an obstinate resistance. Having thus established their empire over the isles of the eastern seas, they built, as a capital, at Jacatra, on the north-western coast of the isle of Java, a town which they named Batavia. Unlike the Portuguese, they were not anxious to form establishments on the continent of India, contenting themselves with the lucrative commerce of the isles, to which they added that of Japan, from which the Portuguese had been driven by the native government.

The French also, in the commencement of the seventeenth century, made some feeble attempts to obtain a share in the lucrative trade to the East, and they established an East Indian company; but their merchants were wanting in the requisite spirit of enterprise, and it was long before they were able to effect a settlement in India.

CHAPTER II.

Early Voyages of the English—Land-trade—Travels of Fitch—First Company Established—Voyage of Lancaster—Of Middleton—Of Sharpey—Second Voyage of Middleton—Of Hippon and Floris—Nature of the English Trade—Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe—Rivalry between the Dutch and English—Depression of the Portuguese—Massacre of Amboyna.

It is not to be supposed that so enterprising a people as the English should have remained inactive spectators of the attempts of the Dutch to obtain a share in the commerce of the East. On the contrary, they were the very first people in Europe who had resolved to follow the Portuguese thither. So early as the reign of Henry VIII., on the representations of Robert Thorne, a merchant settled at Seville, of the advantages to be derived from the trade to the East, it was resolved to make an attempt to share in it. Owing to the respect then entertained for the papal bulls, and to the rights supposed to be conferred by discovery, Thorne advised to try the north-west passage; and accordingly two voyages were undertaken in that direction, of course without success, in the reign of Henry. The first of these was as early as the year 1527.

In the reign of Edward VI. a squadron, under Sir Hugh Willoughby, was sent out to try to discover a north-east passage. But it met with nothing but disasters. Willoughby's ship being driven on the coast of Lapland, he and his crew perished by the climate. Chancellor, the second in command, was more fortunate; for he reached the port of Archangel in Russia, and he became the means of opening a trade with that country to the English merchants. Some further attempts were made to discover a north-east passage; and, on their proving failures, the north-west course was again resumed. Six efforts were made in the course of a few years, three of the expeditions being commanded by Martin Frobisher, and the others by John Davis, who gave his name to the strait which he discovered.

There being now little hope of making a way to India by the north, the English resolved no longer to respect the pretensions of the Portuguese, but to go thither by the Cape of Good Hope. Already (1577) Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and when in the Eastern ocean, he had visited the isles of Ternate and Tidore and other of the Spice Islands, and also Java, in all of which he had met with the most friendly reception from the natives and the greatest encouragement to trade. Drake's success inflamed the spirit of adventure then so strong; and in 1586, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of a good family and estate in Suffolk, fitted out a squadron of three ships at his own expense, in order to perform a voyage similar to that of Drake, and to collect all the information requisite for a trade to the East. Like Drake, he passed through the Straits of Magellan, and committed devastation on the coast of Spanish America. He visited the Philippine and Ladrone Islands, then the Moluccas, and finally Java; and he every where found the Spanish and Portuguese detested, and the people willing to trade with the English. The capture of some of the Portuguese Indiamen about this time, and the information obtained from the papers found on board of them, and a narrative published by one Stevens who had sailed with the Portuguese to India, made the English nation more fully aware of the value of the Indian trade and more anxious to share in it.

Attempts had even been made to obtain the products of the East by a land-trade. A company, named the Levant Company, had been formed to purchase them on the coast of Asia Minor, whither they had been brought by native caravans. A Russia company had also been established after the discovery of Archangel, and in 1558, Antony Jenkinson, one of their agents, went from Moscow down the Volga into the Caspian Sea, and visited Persia and Bokhara. He repeated this journey seven times, and the trade thus established was such that, we are told, there were three English agents resident at Casveen in Persia, in the year 1563.

The Levant Company also thought that they might import directly from India through the Persian Gulf, and then overland to Aleppo and the coast. Accordingly John Newbury and Ralph Fitch, two of the partners in that company, and some others, departed in 1583, furnished with letters from Queen Elizabeth to the emperor Akber and the emperor of China. They took the suitable goods with them, and proceeded by Bagdad and

Bussora to Ormuz. Here they were thrown into prison by the Portuguese, and then transmitted to Goa, where they were still confined; and, though at length released, they were so plundered and otherwise ill-used, that they fled from the town (1585). They went first to Bêlgâm, thence to Bêjapûr and Golconda, and then through Candêsh and Mâlwa to Agra, where one of them, Leader, a jeweller, remained in the service of the emperor. Thence they, or at least Fitch, the narrator, proceeded to Allahabâd and Benâres, and went even to the confines of Bootân, north of Bengal. They visited the Portuguese settlement on the Hooghly, Orissa, and other places, Pegu, and Malacca, and thence proceeded to Cochin, Goa, and Ormuz, whence Fitch returned to England, in 1591, and published an account of his travels.

From Fitch's account it was quite clear that no steady trade could be carried on with India by this route; and, moreover, none of these circuitous modes of trading with the East would content the ardent spirit of British commerce. Accordingly, in 1589, divers merchants had presented a memorial to the Lords of Council, praying permission to send three ships and three pinnaces to India, in order to open a trade with those places in which the Portuguese had no settlements. The fate of this memorial is not known; but in 1591, three ships, under Captain Raymond, sailed for India. Ere, however, they reached the Cape, they had to send home one with the sick, Raymond's own vessel was lost in a tempest, and James Lancaster, in the third, having privateered for some time in the Indian seas against the Portuguese, and taken a good many ships, was wrecked, on his return, in the West Indies, and came home in a French privateer.

The boldness and success of the Dutch in 1595 excited the emulation of the English merchants. In 1599, a company was formed, with a stock of about 30,000*l.*, in 101 shares, of from 100*l.* to 3000*l.*, with a committee of fifteen to manage its affairs. The *adventurers*, as the shareholders were named, applied to the queen for a warrant, engaging to abstain from all places possessed by Spain or Portugal. But the court, afraid of embroiling itself with Spain, hesitated, and the charter was not obtained till the following year. The court proposed that the chief command should be given to Sir Edward Michelbourne; the committee replied, that they were resolved not to employ any *gentleman* in any place of charge, as the very suspicion of such a thing would drive away a great number of the adventurers. The court gave way, and the chief command was given to Captain Lancaster.

The charter now granted constituted the adventurers a body politic, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." Their plan of management was by a chairman, and a committee of twenty-four, to be annually chosen. They were to trade to all places beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan not already possessed by states in amity with her Majesty. The charter, like all at the time, was exclusive, but the company had the power of granting licenses to trade to other British subjects. The charter was granted for fifteen years, but might be revoked at any time, if not found advantageous to the country, on giving a notice of two years.

As many of the shareholders had not paid up, those who had were invited to be at the whole expense, and to share the whole profits of the voyage. A sum of 68,000*l.* was thus raised, and on the 2nd of May, 1601, Lancaster sailed from Torbay with four ships and a pinnace, the largest being of 600 tons, with a crew of 200 men. He was furnished with letters from the queen to the sovereigns of the different places to which he might come. The first port he came to in the East was Acheen, in Sumatra, where he formed a treaty of amity and commerce, and obtained permission to build a factory. Taking in there a cargo of pepper, he sailed for the Moluccas, but having captured a large Portuguese vessel in the straits of Malacca, and thus got all the goods he required, he sailed to Bantam, and having delivered his letters to the king, and left there some agents, he made sail for England, where he arrived in September, 1603.

In the following year the company sent out four ships, under Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Middleton. They sailed to Bantam, where, while two remained to take in cargoes and one went to the Banda isles, Middleton himself sailed to the Moluccas. He there found a furious war raging between the kings of Ternate and Tidore, the former aided by the Dutch, the latter by the Portuguese. He also found that the Dutch were likely to prove determined enemies of the English in these regions, as they represented them to the king of Ternate as being nothing better than pirates. This voyage proved very profitable to the adventurers, but they were now threatened with a formidable rivalry; for the crown granted a license at this very time (1604) to Sir Edward Michelbourne and others, to trade to Cathaya, China, Japan, &c. This, however, proved to be more a piratical than a trading voyage; for Michelbourne took and plundered Japanese and Chinese, as well as Portuguese vessels, without making any attempts to trade.

In 1607, the company sent out three ships under Captains Keeling, Hawkins, and D. Middleton. They found the Dutch now busily engaged in reducing the native princes in the Moluccas, whence they had expelled the Portuguese, and they were refused by them permission to trade at Banda.

Hitherto the English Company had confined their commerce to the islands exclusively; but now, on being informed by their factors at Bantam and elsewhere that an advantageous trade might be carried on by conveying thither the calicoes and other cloths of India, they resolved to try to open a trade with the port of Surat in Cambay. In 1607, two large ships under Captain Sharpey were sent out for this purpose, but they separated in a storm off the Cape, and never rejoined, and Sharpey's own ship was wrecked and lost in the Gulf of Cambay. The other reached Sumatra, where she laid in a cargo; but she also was lost, on her return, on the coast of France, and only about 200 tons of pepper were saved.

In 1609, Sir Henry Middleton sailed with three ships, one named the "Trade's Increase," of 1000 tons. His destination was the Red Sea and Surat. On entering the former, he proceeded to the port of Mocha, but while matters seemed to be going on favourably he was treacherously made a prisoner, and conveyed to Sana in the interior. Having contrived to effect his escape, he rejoined his ships and sailed for Surat. On coming to the

mouth of the Tapti, on which that city stands, he found there a Portuguese squadron, whose commander informed him, that unless he had a letter of license from the king of Spain or the viceroy of India, he could not permit him to enter the port. Sir Henry replied that he came with letters and presents from his own sovereign to the great Mogul, who was no vassal to the Portuguese, and that he considered that he had as good a right as they to enter the port. The Portuguese then began to prevent the supply of provisions to them from the town; and as this caused much distress to the English, who had been so long at sea, and the authorities of the town had secretly signified to Sir Henry that they were perfectly willing to trade with him if it were not for fear of the Portuguese, he resolved to enter the harbour in spite of them. Leaving, then, his large ship out at sea, he advanced with the smaller ones to the mouth of the river. The Portuguese made a great deal of noise and bravado, but did not venture to attack. At length two of their barks rowed out to attack a boat which was taking soundings, but they were driven off and one of them was captured. The English vessels then anchored in the river, and all the future attempts of the Portuguese were repelled with loss.

A trade was now opened with the town; but the English agent, Downton, complains bitterly of the native merchants, who, he says, required a profit of fifty per cent. on what they sold, and would hardly allow the value of the freight on what they bought. But the English seem at this time to have had strange notions of commerce. Instead of allowing the native merchants to select such articles as were suited to their trade, they insisted on their taking all the articles which they had on board, especially a great quantity of lead for which the native merchants could hardly get any sale. At length the principal merchant agreed to take the lead; but as, by the custom of the country, he could annul the bargain by giving twenty-four hours' notice, Sir Henry, to prevent this, put the governor and some others who happened to be on board under arrest till the Indian goods should have been delivered. He thus succeeded in getting rid of his lead and laying in a cargo; but it was soon after signified to him that the English should have no factory at Surat, and they were obliged to retire from it without even having had time to collect their debts. Sir Henry then proceeded to Dabul, but he found he could effect nothing there. He then returned to Mocha, and exacted some further satisfaction for his seizure. He stopped every vessel he met, and made her agree to an exchange of goods, himself dictating the terms. Having thus gotten all he wanted, he stood for Bantam, whence he sent Downton home in one of the ships, intending to follow himself in the Trade's Increase, but he shortly after fell sick and died.

The Company also resolved to make trial of the Coromandel coast, and in 1611, Captain Hippon, accompanied by a Dutchman named Floris, as factor, sailed thither in a single vessel. Having reached Pulicat on that coast, where they hoped to establish a traffic, they were waited on by the president of the Dutch settlements there, who informed them that the Dutch had obtained a *Kaul* from the king of Narsinga[3], prohibiting all other Europeans from trading there without their permission. Hippon replied in high terms; but he deemed it prudent to leave that port, and proceeded to Masulipatam, where they were near coming to the use of *foul means*, as they term it, with the governor. They thence went to Bantam and Patany, where the captain died, and thence to Siam. They then came back to Masulipatam, where matters went on more smoothly than the time before. Floris makes a remark which proves the tendency of traders to glut every market that opens to them. He says, that when he was in Siam four years before the demand for goods was such, that it seemed to him as if all the world could not supply it, while now it was difficult to effect sales at all.

A fleet of three ships sent out also in 1611, under Captain John Saris, visited the Moluccas, and thence proceeded to the port of Finando in Japan. They were well received, and the captain and others were taken to court; but their prospects of establishing a factory were not realized.

In January, 1613, the English obtained their first settlement on the continent of India, and what human wisdom could ever have foreseen the consequences! The emperor Jehângîr gave them permission to establish factories at Surat, Gogeh, Cambâi, and Ahmedabâd in Gûzerât. They were to pay a duty of three and a half per cent., and in return were assured of protection.

The average profits on the capital invested in the eight voyages made in those ten years (omitting Sharpey's) had been 171 per cent. But we must not look upon these as the legitimate returns of trade. Most of these voyages were piratic as much as commercial, ships when met were plundered, or the goods were taken out of them at the captors' price, and merchants were forced to buy what they did not want, and pay what the sellers demanded. In the succeeding four years, when the trade became more regular, the profits fell to 87½ per cent., which we may observe still far exceeded those of the Dutch.

In the former of these periods, as we may have observed, the trade to the East was carried on rather by a regulated than a joint-stock company. Each voyage was a separate adventure, and those engaged in it managed it as they pleased, and on their own account, subject to the control of the company. As this left but little power in the hands of the directors, or perhaps as they really deemed it not the best mode, they exerted themselves to have it changed; and in 1612 it was resolved that the trade should be carried on only by a joint-stock, that is, that the shareholders were to place their money in the hands of the governor and directors, to be managed by them for the general interest, and the profits to be divided according to the shares. The fall in profits under the new arrangement certainly seems to speak in favour of the former system, but we have, we think, accounted for the difference.

For some years the agent of the company at the court of the Mogul had been Captain Hawkins[4], who had gone thither from Surat, and been received with great favour, but owing to the inconstancy of Jehângîr, and the manœuvres of those who were under the influence of the Portuguese, his exertions were fruitless, and he left it toward the

[3] So they called the rajah of Bejâyanugur.

[4] One of those who sailed in 1607.

end of 1611, and returned to England. In 1615, however, Sir Thomas Roe arrived at Surat, as ambassador from king James I. to the Mogul court, and at Ajmir he was introduced to the emperor. He was treated with the utmost attention and respect, and for some time had good hopes of success, but the same artifices were used against him as against Hawkins. At length he succeeded in obtaining a sort of treaty, promising the English permission to establish factories in Surat, Sind, Bengal, and all other parts of the Mogul dominions.

Sir Thomas Roe, who was a man of sense and experience, bestowed some wholesome advice on the Company. He first advises them not to think of having forts, as being a needless expense, and apt to engage them in war, and shows that the Portuguese and Dutch had injured themselves by seeking to have them. "If the emperor," says he, "would offer me ten, I would not accept of one." He further counsels them not to be desirous of having an ambassador at the Mogul court, as 1500 rupees a year spent on two Mogul agents would "serve them better than ten ambassadors," whose rank would be only an impediment. He likewise tells them, that they must suit their goods better to the market than they were in the habit of doing. Finally (and this, as we shall hereafter see, was the most important part), he strongly urges them to give up the practice of giving their servants small salaries and allowing them to trade privately on their own account; for "all your loss," says he, "is not in the goods brought home." His advice is strictly to prohibit private trade, but to give their servants "great wages to their content, and then," he adds, "you know what you part from. But then you must make good choice of your servants and use fewer."

The Company at this time also got tolerably accurate information from their agents as to the various markets and best kinds of investments. They were told that Surat was the best place to get cotton-cloths, but that only China goods, spices, and money, would be taken there; these cloths might be sold, and gold, camphor, and benjamin be obtained at Acheen and Jambee in Sumatra, and pepper at Bantam and Jacatra in Java. They might also be sold in Siam for gold and silver, and for deer-skins, which last would answer the Japan market, where, besides, English cloth, silks, lead, &c., might be sold, and silver, copper, and iron, be obtained in return. Diamonds, bezoar-stones, and gold might be had in Borneo, but they did not much recommend that island on account of the treachery of the natives. The cotton-cloths could also be sold at Macassar in the isle of Celebes, and the best rice be had in return. Finally, the same goods might be sold in the Banda isles, and mace and nutmegs be procured in return, *if the obstruction of European rivals were removed.*

To explain these last words, we must observe that the Dutch and English were nearly at war in the East. Cupidity and a spirit of aggression seem to be inherent in republics. Thus ancient Athens and Rome thought of nothing but conquest and plunder; the United Provinces were, and the United States are, the most rapacious and unscrupulous of traders, and the same tendency is to be observed in Great Britain, as it departs from its monarchic and aristocratic character. The Dutch, when they first visited the East, were obliged to keep this spirit a little in restraint with respect to the English, to whom they looked for aid in their still existing struggle with Spain. But when, in 1609, that power had acknowledged their independence, they began to act with less of reserve, and when, in 1617, the English took possession of Pularoon and Rosengin, two of the Banda Islands, the Dutch attacked their forts, and, failing to take them, they seized two ships bound for these stations, and refused to give them up unless the English renounced all claim to the Spice Islands. We are not, however, to suppose that the Dutch were in this conscious of acting wrong. It was a general principle, and recognized by all the commercial states of Europe at the time, that discovery and occupancy of any new country gave a right of sovereignty; the natives, if any, being, it would seem, as heathens, incapable of dominion. Accordingly the Dutch Company, in a memorial addressed to king James I. stated, that at their own risk and cost they had expelled the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, and established a treaty with the natives, by which they were to have the exclusive trade of these islands, on the condition of protecting them against the Portuguese, and that the agents of the English Company had endeavoured to interfere with these well-established rights, and even to excite the natives against them. To this the English replied, by enumerating the injuries done them by the Dutch, in places where the latter had no factories, and by showing that the Dutch never had occupied the two islands of which they had taken possession[5].

In order to put an end to the rivalries and hostilities between the two Companies in the East, a treaty was concluded at London, on the 17th of July, 1619, in which it was stipulated, that there should be a mutual amnesty and restitution of ships and property; that the pepper trade of Java should be equally divided, that the English should have a free trade at Pullicat, on paying half the expenses of the garrison, and a third of that of the Moluccas and Banda Islands, on the same condition. Each was to keep ten ships of war in the East for mutual protection, and to endeavour to reduce the exactions of the native powers. A council, named the Council of Defence, and composed of four members of each company, was to sit at Jacatra, and attend to the execution of this treaty, which was to be in force for twenty years.

But this treaty availed little, for the Dutch were the stronger party in the East. They were willing to restore any ships they had taken of late, but not the goods or stores taken by individuals, as they said the Company could only be responsible for its own acts; but they would not admit the same reasoning on the side of the English. They excluded them from their share in the pepper trade, unless they paid for certain fortifications, &c.: they maintained that they had the right of sovereignty wherever they had forts, and that, if the English resided there, it must be under the Dutch laws.

[5] Mr. Mill, always ready to put his countrymen in the wrong, says that these islands formed part of a cluster of which the Dutch had seized the principal, "and with the security of which the presence of the English in any of the rest could as little be reconciled, as the security of Great Britain could be reconciled with the dominion of the French in Ireland." We do not see the analogy, for Ireland has surely been occupied by the English.

They finally required the English to pay their share of the expenses they had incurred in building forts in the Spice Islands. The English objected that a large part of this expense had been unnecessary, and that they had only bound themselves for the future expenses. The Dutch, in fine, carried matters with so high a hand, that the English members of the Council of Defence at length wrote home to say that the trade must be abandoned, unless measures were adopted in Europe to check the oppressive proceedings of the Dutch. Finally, the tragedy at Amboyna, which we shall presently relate, brought affairs to a crisis between the two parties.

Meantime, on the other side of India, the English were gaining on the Portuguese, to whom they were superior in every conflict on the sea. In 1620, two English ships which sailed to the port of Jasques, in Persia, found it blockaded by a Portuguese fleet. They went back to Surat, and, being there joined by two other ships, they forced their way into the port. The Portuguese, having refitted at Ormuz, returned to seek for revenge; but, though greatly superior in strength, they met with a complete defeat. This victory served to convince the Persians of the naval superiority of the English, and in 1622 a joint attack by the English naval and Persian land forces was proposed and effected, and the city and castle were taken. The English got half the plunder, and they were also granted half the customs of the opposite port of Gombroon, which became their principal station in the Persian Gulf.

The facts of the massacre of Amboyna (as it is rather improperly termed) were as follows. The Dutch had in that island a fort, in which there were about 200 men, while eighteen English were residing in a house in the town for purposes of trade. The Dutch, conceiving some suspicion of one of their Japanese soldiers, put him to the torture, and made him confess that he and others of his nation had conspired to seize the fortress. Others were then arrested and tortured. An English surgeon, named Price, who was confined in the fort for intoxication, was then told that his countrymen were also in the plot, and, on his denying it, he too was racked, and made to confess whatever was desired. A message was then sent to Captain Towerson and the other members of the English factory, requesting them to visit the governor. On their coming, they were arrested, and when they denied all knowledge of the plot they were put to the torture, and, of course, they confessed every thing. When released from the rack, they denied all that they had confessed when under it; but that mild persuader was again employed, and they again confessed. The issue was, that Towerson and nine others were condemned to death, and the rest were pardoned. The condemned received the sacrament from the hands of Dutch ministers, fervently protesting their innocence, and their heads were stricken off with a sword. A black pall was by way of distinction provided for the captain, and the price of it was actually charged to the English Company. Nine Japanese and one Portuguese were executed at the same time (1623).

In England the account of these executions was received with horror and indignation. The Company, to increase it, had a large picture painted, in which the sufferings of the victims were represented in the most exaggerated manner, and numerous pamphlets on the subject appeared every day. The Dutch merchants in London found it even necessary to apply to the government for protection from the excited populace. A commission of inquiry was appointed by the king, and in its report it recommended that an order should be issued for seizing the Dutch East India ships, till satisfaction should have been obtained. The Dutch government, when applied to, coolly replied, that they had sent out orders to allow the English to retire from the Dutch settlements without paying any duties, that they might build forts, but not within less than thirty miles of a Dutch fort; but that all legal and judicial powers should be in the hands of the Dutch, in such places as acknowledged their authority, and that such were the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna. The Company caused their servants to withdraw from the Dutch settlements, and so the matter rested for the present; but it never ceased to rankle in the public mind.

When we consider the unscrupulous character of traders when free from restraint, it will appear far more probable that the conspiracy was a mere pretext for getting rid of the English, than that eighteen men should have hoped to master 200; some weight is also to be attached to the declarations of dying men. But, on the other hand, before such wanton and fiendish barbarity is laid to the charge of the Dutch, we must suppose the possibility of their having acted in error, and viewed the case through the discoloured medium of commercial jealousy. They may have persuaded themselves that there was a conspiracy, and that they had a right to punish those engaged in it; but, under all extenuating circumstances, their conduct was barbarous and inhuman.

CHAPTER III.

Courten's Association—Settlement at Madras—At Balasore—Union of Companies—Defence of the factory at Surat—Disobedience of their Servants—Conflict with the Native Powers, and Abandonment of Bengal—Rival Company—Union of the Two Companies—Organization of the Company at Home and in India—Privileges obtained in Bengal.

THE affairs of the Company were not by any means in a prosperous state at this time. The private trade of their servants was very injurious to them, and the Dutch undersold them every where. In 1635, an event occurred, which they deemed would be their utter ruin. An association, headed by Sir William Courten, obtained from the crown permission to trade to India, under the pretext that the Company had done nothing for the good of the nation. They never ceased to petition the crown, but to no purpose. Courten's adventures were successful, his licence was renewed for five years, and it was directed that his association should not trade to any places where the Company had factories, nor the Company to where they had establishments. At length, on the Company's engaging to raise a new joint-stock, so as to carry on the trade on a sufficient scale, Courten's licence was withdrawn. But still the affairs of the Com-

pany languished, and the war which ensued between King Charles and the Parliament indisposed men from engaging their money in distant trade.

In the year 1639, the Company got their first permanent settlement on the coast of Coromandel. They had already a station at Armegaon, but, not finding it convenient, they obtained permission from the rajah of Chandragheri to erect a fort at Madraspatam, which they named Fort St. George.

As early as 1620, an attempt was made to establish a factory at Patna in Bahâr; and in 1624 permission was given to the English to trade to the port of Piplee in Midnapore of Bengal. At length, when Shâh Jehân was in the Deckan, one of his daughters happened to be severely burnt; and, as the English surgeons were in high repute in India, one named Boughton was sent for from Surat. He succeeded in curing the princess, and, by the favour which he acquired by this and other cures, he had influence enough to obtain the privilege of free trade to Bengal for the English. A factory was therefore established at the port of Balasore (1642).

When the power of England fell into the vigorous hands of Cromwell, a war ensued with the Dutch, which, though highly advantageous to the English in Europe, was almost ruinous to the Company in India. At the conclusion of the peace in 1654, the Dutch engaged to make compensation for the affair of Amboyna, and a joint commission was appointed for the purpose. Each party made immense claims, and it ended in a sum of 85,000*l.* being awarded to be paid to the English Company by the Dutch. A sum of 3615*l.* was awarded to the representatives of those who had suffered at Amboyna, all the satisfaction ever given for that massacre.

There was at this time awful confusion in the affairs of the Company. A union had been effected between the original body and Courten's association, now called the Assada Merchants, from their settlement on an island of that name. The stock of the former was joint-stock, while that of the latter and of some other proprietors was called the *united joint-stock*. The former wished to keep the trade on its original footing; the latter, who are called the Merchant Adventurers, required that the company should be an open one, like the Turkey, Russia, and Levant Companies. The Council of State, however, decided in favour of joint-stock management, and the two bodies were then united by a charter (1658).

In 1661, King Charles II. enlarged the powers of the Company considerably, by a charter which empowered them to make peace and war with any prince or people not being Christian, and to seize unlicensed persons within their limits and send them to England. By these last are meant what the Company called *interlopers*, that is, private English traders, who visited India on their own account, in defiance of the Company's monopoly. When the island of Bombay was given to that same monarch, as part of the dower of the princess Catherine of Portugal, he transferred it to the Company (1668) at an annual rent of 10*l.* in gold. We may here also notice, that the servants of the Company had impressed the natives with a favourable idea of their valour, by their gallant defence of the factory of Surat, when Sevajee, the Maratta, attacked that town in 1664 and 1670. On the former occasion, the people of the quarter in which the factory stood were profuse in their terms of gratitude for the protection which they had thus experienced, and the governor presented Sir G. Oxenden, the chief of the factory, with a dress of honour; and, on his report to Aurungzib, a remission of duties was granted to the Company.

An instance of disobedience on the part of one of their servants occurred also about this time. With all their efforts, they had not been able to put down the private trading of these men, though they rigidly punished it. Sir Edward Winter, the chief of the factory of Madras, being strongly suspected of it, was recalled in 1665; but when his successor came out he had the audacity to cast him into prison, under the pretext of his having used disloyal language; and he held the government till 1668, when a command of the king to him to resign came out. He then retired, and took refuge with the Dutch at Masulipatam. Mr. Mill on this occasion candidly observes that, all things considered, the Company's servants have been at all times more obedient than was reasonably to have been expected.

In 1664, the great Colbert formed the French East India Company. The English Company were of course alarmed; but when (1672) a French fleet of twelve ships came to Surat, the inconsiderate way in which they traded soon convinced the Company's agents that they had little to apprehend from their rivalry.

In consequence of a civil war between the king of Bantam and his son, the English, who had probably taken the side of the former, were expelled by the latter, when victorious, from that place. All their efforts to effect a return proved abortive, and the Dutch, who not improbably were at the bottom of the affair, remained omnipotent in Java.

The Presidency, which had hitherto been at Bantam, was now transferred to Fort St. George.

The number of the interlopers was now continually on the increase, and they were even making efforts to obtain permanent settlements on the coasts of the Deckan. The Company therefore, not content with the powers which they already possessed for protecting their monopoly, sought and obtained powers of admiralty jurisdiction, to enable them to seize and condemn their ships. Their servants thus possessed nearly unlimited power over all British subjects in the East, and much injustice was of course perpetrated in the case of the interlopers, whose own conduct, however, was not by any means irreprehensible, for many of them made trade but the pretext for piracy.

Nothing, as experience at all times has shown, is so unpalatable to the Company's servants as retrenchment. It being found at this time impossible to make the revenues of Bombay equal the expenditure, the expedient of reducing the latter was adopted. Forthwith Captain Keigwin, the commandant of the garrison, joined by the soldiers and people, renounced the authority of the Company and proclaimed that of the king (1683). All efforts to induce them to submit proved unavailing, till a royal command was obtained. Keigwin then surrendered on condition of a free pardon for himself and his adherents. In order to prevent the recurrence of such an event, the seat of government was removed from Surat to Bombay, and in 1687 it was made a regency, with unlimited power over the

rest of the Company's settlements; Madras at the same time was made a corporation, with a mayor and aldermen. A couple of years later, Tegnapatam, to the south of Madras, was purchased from a native prince and fortified, and named Fort St. David.

In Bengal, which was destined to be the great seat of the British power, the avarice and oppression of the Sûbahdâr Shaista Khân weighed so heavy on the Company, that in 1686 they came to the resolution of seeking redress by force of arms. Ten armed vessels, carrying six companies of infantry, who were to be commanded by the members of the council, came out with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong, and to carry on hostilities against the Nabob and the Mogul, till reparation had been made for all the losses sustained. But the ships did not arrive together in the Ganges, accident led to a premature commencement of hostilities at the town of Hooghly, whence, after defeating the native troops, and cannonading the town, they retired, as it was an open place, to Chutanuttee (not far from Calcutta), where, when attacked by the Nabob, they made a gallant defence, under the command of the agent Charnock. They also took the fort of Tanna and isle of Injallee, and burnt the town of Balasore with forty sail of shipping. In return, their factories at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered. In the following year an accommodation was effected and they returned to Hooghly, and Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, came to Bengal to try to effect the re-establishment of the other factories. But, meantime, a ship of war and frigate, under Captain Heath, came from Europe with warlike instructions. Heath forthwith plundered Balasore, and, having failed in an attempt on Chittagong, he took the Company's servants and effects on board and sailed for Madras, and thus Bengal was for the present abandoned. Aurungzib, in a rage, seized the factory at Surat, and his fleet attacked and nearly reduced Bombay. The factories at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam were also seized, and the emperor declared his determination of driving the English out of his dominions. Mutual interest, however, effected an accommodation, the Company made the most abject submissions, and the emperor was aware of the value of the English trade. The factory at Surat was restored, and the fleet ordered away from Bombay (1687).

During these transactions, the French were engaged in fortifying Pondicherry, a place between Madras and Fort St. David, where they had obtained an establishment.

The directors now saw or thought they saw the necessity of the acquisition of territory, and becoming, as they termed it, "a nation in India [6]." In their instructions to their agents, they praise the conduct of the wise Dutch, who in all their despatches, have ten times as much on the subject of government and revenue as on that of trade.

During the whole of the seventeenth century, the progress of the English nation in the acquisition of wealth had been remarkable. Men's notions of freedom had also expanded, and they could not see the justice of excluding the whole nation from India, because the crown in a despotic period had thought fit to give the monopoly of the trade thither to a particular association. Various attempts, as we have seen, were made to have this monopoly dissolved, but in vain. After the Revolution, as was to be expected, these efforts were renewed with greater vigour, and applications were made to parliament on the subject, and in 1690 a committee of the House of Commons recommended that a new company should be established. The Company, however, as it seems had always been their custom [5], bribed largely, and in 1693 the crown renewed their charter for twenty-one years. This charter, however, the Commons disallowed. The system of bribing individuals being found now to be unavailing, both parties resolved to try that of bribing the nation itself. The Company offered to lend the government 700,000*l.* at four per cent., their rivals proffered a loan of 2,000,000*l.* at eight per cent., if they got the monopoly free from the joint-stock obligation. The arguments of both parties being heard, parliament decided in favour of the highest bidders, who were incorporated as a regulated company, under the title of the General Society, and when the greater part of the proprietors desired to trade on a joint-stock, another charter formed them into a joint-stock company, named the English Company trading to the East Indies.

Perhaps a greater legislative blunder never was committed than this of the parliament allowing the Company, as it were, to strip itself of the whole of its capital. It was, in fact, insuring its ruin; for on what funds was it to trade? The old, or London Company, was treated with manifest injustice; for, though it was to have the benefit of the three years' notice, the other was allowed to commence operations immediately. It, however, lost not courage. It wrote out to its agents, calling on them vigorously to second their efforts against the interlopers, as it termed the others. In such case, they had no doubt of the victory, as one or other must fall, for "two East India Companies in England," said they, "could no more subsist than two kings regnant at the same time in the one kingdom." Accordingly, in 1699, they sent out thirteen ships with goods to the value of 525,000*l.*, while their impoverished rivals could only send out three ships with a stock of 178,000*l.* They also managed to obtain from the Mogul government a grant of the towns of Chutanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta, at which last place they began cautiously to construct a fort, which they named Fort William, in honour of the regnant sovereign.

The two Companies proceeded at first in the usual way in India, trying by lies and calumnies to supplant each other in the favour of the native princes. But people at home, who still had exaggerated notions of the value of the Indian trade if properly conducted, were anxious for a union between them. The new Company also wished for it, but the old Company held back, hoping for revenge, till the three years were nearly run out. They then came to terms, and a union was effected, by which it was arranged that there should be a

[6] Though Mill would seem to insinuate the contrary, they could only have meant districts about their factories.

[7] The books of the Company being examined by order of parliament, it appeared that they had always been in the habit of giving bribes to great men Their annual expense this way had hardly ever exceeded 1200*l.* before the Revolution, but after that event it gradually increased, and in 1693 it had risen to 90,000*l.*—See Mill, i. 134.

court of twenty-four directors (twelve from each) to direct the general affairs, and at the end of seven years the funds of the two companies should be formed into one great joint-stock (1702). The title of the Company now became "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies."

They now went on together, bickering and jarring till 1708, when the government called on them for a loan of 1,200,000*l.* without interest. Fearing lest, if they should hesitate, another set of adventurers might come forward, they resolved to lay aside all private views, and make the best terms they could with the government. All matters were referred to Lord Godolphin, the lord-treasurer, whose award was to be final. The 6th Anne, c. 17, containing this award, was then passed, and the Company permanently formed. The 1,200,000*l.* with the former advance of 2,000,000*l.* was to form a loan to government at five per cent., and their privileges were to continue till three years after March 25th, 1726, and repayment of their capital, &c. &c.

The Company having now assumed its final form, and its affairs for some years to come being only the routine of trade, we will here take a view of its constitution and organization at home and in India.

Accident or design formed the Company into a body modelled in the same manner as the British nation; for it consisted of a monarchy, an aristocracy, and a democracy.

This last was what was termed the Court of Proprietors, in which each holder of stock to the amount of 500*l.* and upwards, had *one* vote. They elected annually the directors and the chairman. All laws and regulations and all dividends of the profits of trade were made by this court. This court met regularly four times a year; the directors might summon a court whenever they deemed it necessary, and they were obliged to summon one on a requisition signed by nine proprietors qualified to vote.

The twenty-four directors, one of whom was chairman, and another deputy-chairman, formed another court, being the aristocracy of the Company. A director was required to possess at least 2000*l.* of stock; he held his seat for only a year, but might be re-elected. Thirteen members were required to form a court, and they met as often as they deemed it expedient. They were divided into Committees ten in number, namely, of Correspondence, Lawsuits, Treasury, Warehouses, Accounts, Buying, House, Shipping, Private Trade, and Preventing the Growth of Private Trade. Most of these names explain themselves; of the three last it is to be observed that the Company used originally to employ a portion of its capital in building ships, but that it now adopted the plan of chartering, that is hiring, ships for its trade; that it permitted a private trade to be carried on to some extent in the ships which it chartered, and that it sought to limit that trade as much as possible.

The chairman represented the monarchic principle in the Company. He or his deputy presided in all courts of directors or proprietors.

The exports to India consisted of bullion, lead, quick-silver, hardware, and woollen clothes. The imports were calicoes and other cotton goods (piece-goods as they were termed), raw silk, tea, diamonds, porcelain, pepper, drugs, and salt-petre. The mode of selling was, and continued to be, by auction, both in India and England.

The factories of the Company consisted of warehouses for the reception of goods, with counting-houses and apartments for their agents and servants. As the country was always more or less in an unsettled state, these were built strong, so as to be able to resist a sudden attack, and the inmates were all trained to the use of arms. As large manufactures were unknown in India, and the weavers who furnished the piece-goods lived in the villages, and were so poor that they could not work unless advances were made to them, an agent of the Company was sent to each district on this account, and the subdivision of all labour being carried to an extreme extent, this person had no less than five functionaries, with their underlings between him and the weaver. There were the *banyan* or secretary, the *gomashta* or broker, with his *peons* or armed servants, and *hurcarahs*, or letter-carriers, and he transacted with the weavers through the *dallâls* and *pycârs*, or inferior brokers. It is manifest, to any one who knows the native character, how the poor weaver must have been plundered by all these vultures.

The English settlements in India formed now three presidencies, namely, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, each absolute within its own limits. Each was composed of a president or governor, and of a council, the latter composed of the senior civil servants; and all were appointed by the directors at home. Every measure was decided by a majority of votes in the council. The president alone corresponded with the princes of the country, and he had the command of the troops of the presidency.

The civil servants of the Company in India were the writers, factors, and junior and senior merchants. The first were, as their name denotes, merely clerks. At the end of five years they became factors, and in three years more junior merchants. A further period of three years (that is, eleven years in India) raised them to the rank of senior merchants, from which were taken by seniority the members of council, and in general the presidents.

The small bodies of troops which it was found necessary to maintain for defence were composed of Europeans, that is, of English, Dutch, French, and Portuguese; the first usually recruits from England, the mere refuse of the large towns; the rest, very frequently, deserters. To this rabble was joined another, named Topasses by the natives, from their wearing a hat. These were the native Christians, the descendants of the Portuguese and their converts. They were armed, disciplined, and clad in the European manner; but they always made wretched soldiers. Finally, at a later period, bodies of the native troops were taken into pay, and armed and trained in the European manner; but they wore their own dress and were commanded by their own officers. These were called Sepoys, from the Persian word *sipahi*, a foot-soldier. Those native troops which used their own arms and their own mode of fighting were called Peons.

Justice was administered to the Europeans at each presidency by the Mayor's court, from which there was an appeal to the Council. There was also a Court of Requests, or of Conscience, for deciding small money matters. For the native popu-

lation in the Company's limits there were the Foujdery court for criminal, the Cutchery for civil, and the Collector's for revenue cases; each presided over by a servant of the Company, who decided by the rules of the native laws.

During nearly the whole of the first half of the eighteenth century, the Company were engaged at home in repelling the efforts of the partizans of free trade. Their dividends to the proprietors were usually eight or ten per cent. on their stock. In India the most important event was the acquisition of territory and some important privileges from the emperor. The occasion was as follows. In 1715, the president of Calcutta, with the permission of the directors, sent two factors on an embassy and with presents to the court of Furokhsîr Shâh. But their labour and presents would have been thrown away, were it not that the emperor, who was suffering from disease, was advised to consult their medical man, Mr. Hamilton. This gentleman's treatment of the disease was successful, and the emperor desired him to name his reward. Hamilton showed a nobleness of spirit rarely emulated by the English in India. Instead of seeking to enrich himself, he asked for privileges for the Company. The emperor granted, but the vizir resisted, and then sought to render the grants invalid; but a seasonable bribe to the favourite eunuch, and the dread of the vizir lest the English should, as in the time of Aurungzîb, avenge themselves on the Mogul shipping, caused them to be confirmed. The principal articles were, that the Company should be allowed to purchase the zemîndaries of thirty-seven towns in Bengal, and that their *dustuck*, or pass, signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the goods under it from examination by the native revenue officers.

The principal object of the Company in seeking for those towns, which would have given them a district extending for ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the Hooghly, is said to have been to establish there a colony of native weavers. This the Sûbahdâr of Bengal obviated by preventing the holders of land from selling to the Company. But the affair of the *dustucks* gave him more trouble, as it actually injured to a great extent the revenues of the province. For nothing could keep the servants of the Company from private trading, and they had now got into their hands the greater part of the native or country trade, not merely that between the different ports of India and the countries to the east, but also of the internal trade of the province; and the president, who was of course himself engaged in this trade, used to grant his *dustucks* for it. This the Sûbahdâr declared his determination to suppress; and the servants of the Company, not yet able to dictate, could only murmur and submit.

CHAPTER IV.

French Settlements in India—M. de Labourdonnais—M. Dupleix—Taking of Madras—Treaty Broken by Dupleix—Attempt on Fort St. David—Siege of Pondicherry.

In 1744, a war commenced between France and England, and the former power resolved to extend it to the settlements of the two nations in India. In that country, France now possessed, beside Pondicherry, a factory at Caracol, on the Coloroon river, on the same coast, and another at Mahi, on the Malabar coast; she had also one at Chandernagore on the Hooghly, in Bengal. The islands named of France and of Bourbon, to the east of Madagascar, had also been colonised by her, and under their present governor, M. de Labourdonnais, they were rising into importance.

The governor of the islands was, as we have said, M. de Labourdonnais, a very remarkable man. Born at St. Malo in Brittany, and sent to sea at the age of ten years, he contrived to acquire a knowledge of mathematics and other sciences, and having been two or three voyages to India, and learned the nature of the trade of that part of the world, he resolved to engage in it on his own account. In a few years he realised a considerable fortune. Being invited by the viceroy of Goa to enter the service of the king of Portugal, he accepted the offer, and was for two years the agent of that government on the coast of Coromandel. He then returned to France, where the ministry at once fixed on him as the person most likely to be able to raise the people of the isles of France and Bourbon from the state, little beyond that of nature, in which they were living. He went thither in 1735, and in the space of eleven years he gave these islands roads, vehicles, beasts of burden, and handicrafts, not one of which had they previously possessed. He introduced the culture of indigo and the sugar cane; that of the coffee-plant had been accidentally introduced a few years earlier. In all these improvements he had had no one to aid him, and he had to contend against the natural inertness and prejudices of the French character in the colonists, and the malignity of the ship-captains, to whose enormous prices and demands he set limits, and who therefore filled the ears of the directors at home with complaints against him. In 1740, wearied with the opposition he encountered, he wished to resign, but the minister, who knew his worth, would not accept his resignation.

The governor of Pondicherry at this time was M. Dupleix. His father was a director of the India Company, who after giving him a suitable education, and sending him some voyages to India and America, by his influence with the Company, had him sent out in 1720 as first member of the council to Pondicherry. Here, having made himself well acquainted with the nature of the commerce of the country, he engaged in it on his own account, being almost the first Frenchman who did so About ten years after, he was sent to superintend the factory of Chandernagore, which he raised from depression and languor to activity and importance, and he formed a new establishment at Patna. On his own account he entered largely here into the country trade, and he had not less than twelve ships at sea, belonging to himself and his partners. He was afterwards appointed governor of Pondicherry, where he exerted himself to strengthen the fortifications, as he had reason to think the town might have to sustain an attack.

Labourdonnais, when in France in 1740, had stated to the ministry, that, with a sufficient number of armed vessels, he would undertake to sweep the Eastern seas of the English commerce, before a fleet could arrive for its protection. His plan was

adopted, but not in the manner he wished, and as the ships which he got belonged mostly to the Company, who were hostile to him, he was required to send them home before war was declared between France and England. When this event occurred, in 1744, he found himself without the means of striking the blow he had meditated. He resolved, however, to do all he could ; but it was not till the spring of 1746 that he was able to put to sea with nine ships, manned with all sort of people that he could collect, nearly a fourth being Caffres or blacks from Madagascar, and elsewhere. With this force he engaged an English squadron of four ships of war and a frigate, and night separated the combatants. The English, instead of renewing the engagement, retired to Trincomalee, in Ceylon, to repair, and Labourdonnais proceeded to Pondicherry. Having been grudgingly furnished by Dupleix with some cannon, of which he was in great want, he went in search of the English fleet, but he was unable to bring it to action. He returned to Pondicherry, and, having ascertained that the English fleet had abandoned the coast, he resolved to make an attempt on Madras. On the 14th September, he landed a part of his forces about twelve miles south of that town, and next day, when his fleet was within cannon-shot of it, he himself landed with the remainder, his force being about 1100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and 300 Caffres, beside those left on board the ships.

The territory of Madras extended about five miles along the shore, and one mile inland. The town consisted of three parts, viz. Fort St. George, or the white town, containing about fifty houses, beside warehouses, &c., surrounded by a slight wall with four bastions, and four batteries ; north of this lay the black town, in two divisions, that next the fort containing the houses of the Armenians [8], and the wealthy native merchants, the other the huts of the inferior natives. The whole population of the territory is estimated at 250,000, the Europeans were not more than 300, of whom a third were civilians.

Such a place could not well be expected to make a successful defence. Accordingly, after having been bombarded for five days, it capitulated, Labourdonnais having pledged his honour to restore it and be content with a moderate ransom. The contents of the warehouses and magazines of the Company, as being public property, were taken possession of by the French commissaries ; but Labourdonnais protected the persons and properties of the inhabitants like a man of honour.

In thus agreeing to restore Madras, Labourdonnais acted according to his instructions from home; but the views of Dupleix were different, and he threw every obstacle in the way of the adjustment. At length, the monsoon with its attendant storms having forced Labourdonnais to quit the coast, Dupleix was left at liberty to act as he pleased. But now a new difficulty presented itself in the person of the Nabob of the province. In the preceding year, when Pondicherry was threatened by the English fleet, Dupleix had prevailed on him to declare it under his protection, and to menace Madras if the fleet should attack any place in his dominions. In order to prevent his protecting Madras in a similar manner, Dupleix had promised to give him that town when taken. The Nabob, however, soon saw that this was all a deception, and the moment Labourdonnais was gone he sent a force of 10,000 men under his son, to drive the French out of Madras. Luckily for them, Labourdonnais had been obliged to leave behind him 1200 disciplined Europeans, and when the Nabob's troops made an attack, they were repelled with some loss. They then retired to Mount St. Thomas, four miles distant to the south, whither the French followed them, and routed them again, and they finally returned to Arcot, the Nabob's capital. The spell which had long held the Europeans, respecting the valour and power of the Moguls, was now broken, since they saw the vast superiority of discipline over mere numbers.

Dupleix now caused the inhabitants of Pondicherry to present to him a memorial, praying that the treaty of ransom for Madras should not be executed ; and, affecting a deference for the public will, he sent orders to the officer in command there to declare the treaty annulled, to seize all property, private as well as public, except clothes, household furniture, and female ornaments, and to arrest and send to Pondicherry all who would not give their parole not to act against the French nation till exchanged. These orders were put into execution with the utmost rigour, and " the French," says Orme, " took possession of the effects of the English with an avaricious exactitude, rarely practised by those who acquire sudden booties." Of all European nations, it may be observed, the French are the most ruthless plunderers, and in all their wars, though glory is in their mouths, plunder is in their hearts. The governor and many others, refusing to give their parole, were conducted to Pondicherry, where Dupleix, under pretence of doing them honour, gratified his own vanity by causing them to be led in a kind of triumphal procession. Many of the other inhabitants made their escape to Fort St. David.

Dupleix now directed his efforts against Fort St. David, the only remaining English settlement on that coast. At this place, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, the fort, though smaller, was much stronger than that at Madras, and the native town, named Cuddalore, was surrounded on the landsides by walls flanked with bastions. On the night of the 19th December, he sent against it a force of 1700 men, mostly Europeans, with two companies of the Caffres of Labourdonnais. To oppose this force the English had only 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses ; for they had not yet, like the French, begun to train Sepoys. They had, however, hired about 2000 Peons, and, what was better, they had engaged the Nabob, by an offer of paying part of the expense, to send his army to their assistance. Accordingly, while the French were taking some rest, previous to their advance to what they regarded as an easy prey, they saw near 10,000 men advancing to attack them, and they made a precipitate retreat with some loss. To detach the Nabob, Dupleix sent a detachment from Madras to ravage his territory,—a command which was executed in the usual French manner, with the utmost insolence and barbarity. This, however, did not make the Nabob change ; but when four ships of Labourdonnais' squadron returned to Pondicherry, and Dupleix boasted loudly of the force he now had,

[8] These Eastern Christians are to be met with all over the East as merchants.

the Nabob grew alarmed, and made peace with the French. His son visited Pondicherry, and Dupleix[9] had an opportunity of gratifying him by a considerable present, and his own vanity by the display he made on the occasion. Had the Nabob remained firm, Pondicherry might have fallen, for an English fleet arrived shortly after, and it might thus have been blockaded by sea and by land.

Dupleix now made quite sure of Fort St. George, and on the 13th March (1747) a French army appeared before it, and took up its former position. But just then the English squadron came in view, and the besiegers retired in haste. The garrison was now reinforced from Bombay and other places, and in the following month of January (1748), Major Lawrence, of the king's service, came from England to take the command of the whole of the Company's troops in India. In the month of June following, Dupleix made an attempt to surprise Cuddalore. Major Lawrence, apprised of his design, removed in the daytime the garrison and cannon from it into the fort, as if regarding it as untenable; but at night he brought them back, and when at midnight the enemy came and applied their scaling ladders to the walls, they were received with such a discharge of musketry and artillery, that they all took panic and fled without firing a shot.

It was now the turn of Pondicherry to be besieged. In the month of August a fleet, composed partly of king's, partly of Company's ships, carrying 1400 troops, and commanded by Admiral Boscawen, arrived at Fort St. David, and, when joined with that already there, it formed the largest European force yet seen in India.

The siege of Pondicherry was at once resolved on, and a confident hope was felt that Madras would be amply revenged. On the 8th August, the troops were put in motion, and they advanced to Ariancopang, a small fort, within two miles of Pondicherry. Instead of leaving a small detachment to hold the garrison in check (for time was precious, as the monsoon was approaching), they resolved to take it. But the resistance was much more vigorous than they had anticipated, and, after losing several days before it, they had to thank the accidental circumstance of a part of the garrison's magazine taking fire for their success. The garrison retired after blowing up the walls, and five days more were wasted in repairing them. They then advanced against the town, but instead of opening their trenches on the north side, where they could have run them to the very foot of the glacis, they opened them on the north-west, and at a distance of 1500 yards from the wall, instead of 800 as was then usual, and when they had pushed them to within this last distance of the wall they found themselves prevented by a morass from going any further. Their guns, at that distance, had little effect, and the fire of the besieged was double of theirs; the rains came on, sickness prevailed, storms would soon drive the ships off the coast, and there seemed little chance of taking the town. Thirty-one days after the trenches had been opened, it was decided in a council of war to raise the siege. When they retired, Dupleix, as was to be expected, made great pomp and display, and he wrote boastful letters to the Mogul and other native princes, exalting the glorious victory he had gained[1]. They replied in correspondent strains, and the military character of the French rose, and that of the English declined in their estimation.

In 1749, the peace of Aix la Chapelle was signed, and Madras was restored to the English, with its fortifications much improved. As it had been found that the Catholic priests at Mount St. Thomas, which was originally a Portuguese settlement, used to convey intelligence to the French, it was taken possession of, and the suspected persons were forced to leave it.

[9] Dupleix had a great advantage in dealing with the natives, from the circumstance of his wife, whom he had married in Bengal, being a Creole, as she is named by Orme (that is, we suppose, what is now called a half-caste); for her knowledge of the languages of the country saved him from the evils attending the use of common interpreters.

CHAPTER V.

Kingdom of Tanjore—Taking of Devi Cottah—Affairs of the Carnatic—Robert Clive—His Defence of Arcot—Further Successes of Clive—Defeats of the French—Treaty between the French and English—Treatment of Dupleix—Further Operations of the English—Ill-treatment of Bussy.

HITHERTO the English in India have been nothing more than traders, with a few factories, and a few soldiers occasionally defending themselves against the injustice or oppression of the native powers; the scene now changes, and we shall find them engaging in the quarrels of the native princes, and step by step imperceptibly led on by the force of circumstances to the acquisition of empire. That such a course would have been forced on them by the ambition of Dupleix is certain; but that they should have been the first to engage in these native affairs is to be regretted, and still more that their motive should have been mere cupidity, attended with a disregard of justice and sound policy.

The kingdom of Tanjore, which lies to the south of the Caveri river, was one of those minor Hindoo states which obeyed the kingdom of Bejâyanugur, on the fall of which it fell under that of Bêjapûr, its rajah becoming, as usual, a zemindar, and paying a certain annual tribute. Shahjee, the Maratta, contrived to make himself master of Tanjore, and it continued to be governed by his descendants. After the usual intrigues and acts of violence inherent in Eastern dominion, Pratâp Sing, a son of one of these princes by one of his inferior wives, occupied the throne to the prejudice of his better born brother Sahujee, who had been driven from it by violence in 1741; from which time the English had always treated him as king of Tanjore, offered him their friendship, and sought his alliance against the French. But now, in 1749, Sahujee repaired to Fort St. David, and, representing how much the Tanjorines were in his favour, offered the English, if they would assist him, the payment of all their expenses, and in addition the fort and district of Devi Cottah at the

[1] The French India Company accused Dupleix of want of personal courage, but he replied, *que le bruit des armes suspendait ses réflexions, et que le calme seul convenait à son génie.*

mouth of the Colaroon. The offer appeared advantageous; there were now plenty of men and unoccupied at Fort St. David; the alliance was, therefore, formed, and Captain Cope marched for the Colaroon: which river was crossed, and the troops, taking the right road by accident, reached the fort of Devi Cottah. But no one appeared for Sahujee; on the contrary, the Tanjorines gave them all the annoyance in their power, and, after throwing what shells they had at the fort, the troops retired.

To efface the shame of this repulse, another expedition under Major Lawrence was sent by sea. The troops were landed on the north bank of the river, as the ground about the fort, which was on the other bank, was marshy, and the Tanjore troops at hand. Batteries were erected, and when a breach was effected the troops were passed over the river by means of a raft constructed by one John Moore, a common ship's carpenter, who also, by swimming over in the night and fastening a rope to a tree, contrived the means of working it. As soon as the troops were all over, Major Lawrence resolved to storm at once. Lieutenant Clive solicited and obtained the honour of leading the attack. He advanced, and crossed a rivulet under a heavy fire; but, as the Sepoys who were behind did not close up, a body of Tanjore horse got in the rear of the Europeans and cut them down all but four. Clive with difficulty made his retreat to the Sepoys; and the Tanjorines, satisfied with their success, retired. Major Lawrence then advanced with the whole of his force, and the place was taken. An accommodation with the rajah followed. He gave Devi Cottah and its district to the English, who in return engaged never to let Sahujee molest him more on his allowing him 4000 rupees a year for his support.

While the English were thus occupied, Dupleix was aiming at much higher objects. Our readers will recollect that under the great Sûbahs of the Mogul empire were large but inferior districts governed by Nabobs or deputies. Such an officer under the Sûbahdâr of the Deckan was the Nabob of the Carnatic, the region extending along the coast of Coromandel from near Pulicat to Cape Comorin, and inland to some way beyond the Ghâts. In the early part of this century a chief named Sâdut Allah was Nabob of the Carnatic. He died in 1731, and, having no children, he adopted his two nephews, Dost Ally and Bâkir Ally, and as, in the dissolution of the empire, Nabobs as well as Sûbahdârs were becoming hereditary, he was succeeded in his office by the former, while the latter became governor of the strong fort of Vellore. Dost Ally had two sons and four daughters, of whom one was married to her cousin Mortiz Ally, son of Bâkir Ally, and the other to Chunda Sahib, a more distant relative.

There was another small Hindoo principality to the west of Tanjore, and standing in the same relation as it to the Mogul government. It was named Trichinopoly. Its rajah dying in 1736, a dispute for the succession ensued, and Chunda Sahib, having taken the part of the queen and her adopted son, was admitted by her into the fortress, of which, by treachery, he made himself master, and he was then appointed by the Nabob, his father-in-law, governor of Trichinopoly. This aggression alarmed the king of Tanjore and the other Hindoo rajahs, and they sent to invite the Marattas to come to their aid. In May, 1740, a Maratta army, led by Ragojee, advanced to the Carnatic. A Hindoo officer of the Nabob's having betrayed the passes of the Ghâts, they poured down through them. Dost Ally engaged them and fell, and Sufder Ally, his eldest son, retired to Vellore, where he began to negotiate with them. They agreed to retire on receiving a large sum of money and a promise of more, with secret permission to keep Trichinopoly if they were able to take it. They soon returned and laid siege to that town, and Chunda Sahib, after a gallant defence, was made a prisoner and carried to Sattara, and a Maratta named Morari Râo was left governor of Trichinopoly. Meanwhile, Sufder Ally was assassinated by his cousin Mortiz, who had succeeded his father as governor of Vellore, and who thus hoped to become the Nabob; but, his plan not succeeding, he shut himself up in his fortress, and Seid Mohammed, the infant son of Sufder, was proclaimed Nabob.

But now Asof Jâh, the Nizâm or Sûbahdâr of the Deckan, Nadir Shâh being gone, had leisure to attend to his province. He entered the Carnatic in 1743, and, though he treated Seid Mohammed with respect, he appointed his own general, Khoja Abdallah, to govern the Carnatic during his minority. He further obliged the Marattas to evacuate Trichinopoly. Khoja Abdallah having died suddenly, by poison it is said, Asof appointed another of his officers, named Anwar-ud-dîn, to succeed him, and when soon after the young Nabob was murdered by some Patan[2] soldiers, who demanded their arrears of pay, probably not without the knowledge of Anwar-ud-din, under whose charge he was, Asof made the latter Nabob of the Carnatic. Thus, at the time when the French and English began to engage in native affairs, there was an actual Nabob of the Carnatic, and a family who thought they had a right to the rule of that country.

Asof Jâh died in 1748, and, as the family of Sadut Allah had always been popular in the Carnatic, Dupleix thought this a good opportunity for an attempt to reinstate them. For this purpose he had fixed on Chunda Sahib, who was by far the ablest man of the family, and he had already procured him his liberty by advancing money for his ransom. Ghâzi-ud-dîn, Asof Jâh's eldest son, being at the court of Delhi, Nasir Jung, the second son, made himself Sûbahdâr of the Deckan; but there was a favourite grandson of the late Sûbahdâr, named Mozuffur Jung, whom he was said to have nominated his successor in his will. To this prince Chunda Sahib addressed himself with an offer of his services, which were gladly accepted; and Dupleix also caught eagerly at the occasion of extending his influence. It was arranged that they should commence operations in the Carnatic; and they entered that province at the head of 40,000 men, where they were joined by a body of Europeans and Sepoys, under M. d'Auteuil. They stormed the camp of Anwar, which was under the fort of Amboor (Aug. 3, 1749). Anwar, who is said to have been 107 years old, was slain; his eldest son was made a prisoner; his second, Mohammed

[2] This is the name usually given in India to the Afghâns and their descendants in that country.

Ally, fled with the wreck of the army to Trichinopoly, of which place he was governor. The victors, instead of pursuing him, loitered some time at Arcot, the Nabob's capital, and then at Pondicherry, where Dupleix displayed his vanity as usual. Having procured money, which had been a chief cause of their delay, they advanced, not against Trichinopoly, but Tanjore, where they hoped to make the rajah pay a large sum as arrears, &c.

But while they were thus engaged, Nasir Jung, who had reached the Nerbudda on his way to Delhi, on hearing of the insurrection of his nephew, made a speedy return and descended into the Carnatic. The confederates immediately left Tanjore and returned to Pondicherry. Nasir Jung called on Mohammed Ally and the English to join him; and the latter, alarmed at the ambitious designs of Dupleix, sent a force of about 700 Europeans to his camp. The two armies were nearly on the point of engaging, when thirteen of the French officers, offended at not getting share of the money which had been obtained at Tanjore, threw up their commissions. This act disheartened the men, and D'Auteuil, fearing to engage under such circumstances, led back his forces to Pondicherry, whither he was followed by Chunda Sahib. Mozuffur Jung surrendered to his uncle, by whom, in breach of his promise, he was put in fetters.

Differences arising between Major Lawrence and the Sûbahdâr, the former led his men back to Madras, and the latter proceeded to Arcot, where he devoted himself to pleasure. Meantime, the French sent an expedition, which seized Masulipatam at the mouth of the Kistna, and they also seized the pagoda[3] or temple of Trivadi, within fifteen miles of Fort St. David. Mohammed Ally called on the English to assist him in recovering it, and they sent Captain Cope with 400 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys to his aid. But differences arising, as usual, they retired, and the French then easily routed his forces. The French then took by storm Gingee, esteemed the strongest fortress in the Carnatic. This alarmed the Sûbahdâr, and he now offered to negotiate; but the demands of Dupleix were so high that nothing could be arranged, and he led his troops against Gingee. But the rains now came on, and the Sûbahdâr had become so weary of the contest that he was inclined to grant all that Dupleix demanded. This wily man was, however, playing a double game; for, while openly treating with the Sûbahdâr, he was in secret communication with some discontented Patan chiefs in his army. When all was arranged, at a concerted signal, the commandant at Gingee issued and attacked the camp of the Sûbahdâr; the traitors joined him with their forces, and by one of them Nasir Jung was shot through the heart (1750).

Mozuffur Jung now passed from his prison to the throne. He proceeded at once to Pondicherry, where he made Dupleix governor of the country from the Kistna to Cape Comorin, and Chunda Sahib his deputy at Arcot. Mohammed Ally was now so depressed in spirit that he offered to Dupleix to resign all his claims, if the Sûbahdâr would give him a government elsewhere and leave him his treasures.

Of the treasures of the late Sûbahdâr, M. Dupleix's own share is said to have amounted to 300,000*l.* beside many valuable jewels; 50,000*l.* was given to the troops who fought at Gingee; and a like sum was paid into the treasury of the Company. Mozuffur Jung then set out on his return, attended by a corps of 300 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys, with ten field-pieces, commanded by M. Bussy, an able French officer. The Patan traitors, who were discontented, as their extravagant demands had not been complied with at once, had now entered into a new conspiracy; and when the army entered Cudipah, the territory of one of them, on occasion of a quarrel between the peasantry and some soldiers, the Patan set his master at defiance. The others joined him and occupied the passes, but the French artillery soon put them to flight. Carried on by his ardour, the Sûbahdâr pursued till he came up with one of the traitors, engaging in single combat with whom, he was pierced to the brain by a javelin. In the consternation which ensued, Bussy did not lose his presence of mind. Assembling the chiefs, he recommended to them Salabut Jung, a younger son of Asof Jâh, who was in the camp, and they conferred at once on him the vacant dignity. The new Sûbahdâr renewed the engagements of his predecessor with the French, and the whole army then pursued its march for Hyderabâd.

While Dupleix was thus founding a French dominion in India, and drawing on himself the regards of the native princes, the English were sitting as inactive as if they were no ways concerned; and Major Lawrence, even at this critical period, returned to Europe on his private affairs. They offered to acknowledge Chunda Sahib, if Trichinopoly was secured to Mohammed Ally; but Dupleix spurned at such conditions, and Chunda Sahib led his own forces and his French allies against that town. A force, under Captain Gingen, was sent from Fort St. David to impede his progress. At the fort of Volconda, between Arcot and Trichinopoly, an engagement took place; but the English officers had spent so much time in consultation before they agreed to give battle, that the men lost spirit, and in the action they actually ran away, though the troops of Mohammed Ally that were with them, and even a battalion of Caffres, stood their ground and retreated in good order. The army then continued its retreat before the enemy till it reached Trichinopoly; the troops of Chunda and the French appeared soon after and commenced operations against that city (1751).

We have already had occasion to make mention of a young man named Robert Clive. He was the son of a gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire, and had come out as a writer to Madras, in 1744. When Dupleix broke the treaty made with that place, Clive was one of those who did not conceive himself bound by it, and he made his escape in the disguise of a native to Fort St. David. Feeling a predilection for a military life, he obtained an

[3] The general structure of the pagodas, which are so numerous on the coast of Coromandel, is an area, mostly square, inclosed by a wall fifteen or twenty feet high. The area contains the temples, which are never so high as the wall. In the centre of one or more sides of the wall is a gateway, with a high tower rising over it. The great pagoda in the island of Seringham has seven inclosures, each within the other, twenty-five feet high, and four feet thick, and each with four gates and towers, facing the cardinal points. The outer wall is nearly four miles in circumference. Orme, i. 178.

ensign's commission in the Company's service, and he was present at the attack on Pondicherry, in 1748. He led, as we have seen, the storming party at the attack on Devi Cottah. He then returned to the civil service, and, by the influence of Major Lawrence, was appointed commissary for supplying the European troops with provisions. In this capacity he was present, but did not share in, the disgraceful affair at Volconda. He then accompanied Mr. Pigot, a member of the Council, in charge of some recruits and stores to Trichinopoly; but they were attacked on their way, and only escaped by the fleetness of their horses. Clive, now a captain, was then sent with another small reinforcement, and, after a smart affair with a French party, he reached that place in safety.

On his return to Fort St. David, Clive gave a melancholy account of the state of affairs at Trichinopoly, and declared that, unless greater efforts were made, the cause of Mohammed Ally would be lost. He proposed to create a diversion by an attack on Arcot, and offered to take charge of the expedition himself. The governor, Mr. Saunders, a man of sense and spirit, gave his consent, and by leaving Fort St. David and Madras almost defenceless a force of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys was collected, with three field-pieces. There were eight officers, six of whom were civil servants, who had never seen any service. On the way they encountered a furious storm, and their courage in marching through it appeared so ominous of the final event to the garrison of Arcot, who were 1100 in number, that they quitted the fort, into which Clive marched unopposed (August 31). The city contained 100,000 inhabitants, who remained in tranquillity. There were 3000 or 4000 persons dwelling in the fort, where they were suffered to remain.

The garrison had retired only to a little distance, but Clive soon sallied forth and drove them further off. He then spent about ten days repairing the fort, and as the garrison, now augmented to 3000 men, were menacing to besiege it, he issued forth one night (September 14), and, entering their camp while they were all asleep, dispersed them without the loss of a single man on his side. He sent soon after the greater part of his little force to escort two eighteen-pounders which were coming to him from Madras, and while they were away the enemy came, and made some attempts on the fort; but they were kept at bay, and on the appearance of the detachment and cannon they retired. On the 23rd arrived Chunda's son, Rajah Sahib, with 4000 men from the army at Trichinopoly and 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and being joined by the troops already about there they entered the town. At noon the next day Clive sallied forth with the four field-pieces, and the greater part of the garrison, to endeavour to drive them out; but the attempt proved a failure, and he retired with the loss of sixteen Europeans and one officer. On the following day Rajah Sahib was joined by Mortiz Ally, from Vellore, with 2000 men, and he took possession of all the avenues leading to the fort.

The fort of Arcot was more than a mile in circuit; its walls were mostly ruinous, the rampart was too narrow for the use of artillery, the parapet low and slight, the towers were decayed, the ditch was dry in some places, fordable in others; the two gates had causeways, instead of drawbridges before them. The garrison had now fit for duty only 150 Europeans and 200 Sepoys, with four officers. They were besieged by 150 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, 3000 cavalry, and 5000 Peons.

As there was only food for sixty days for the garrison in the fort, Clive sent away the inhabitants, and the besiegers allowed them to pass. While waiting for battering cannon from Pondicherry, the enemy kept up a fire of musketry, and threw shells from four mortars. In this way they killed successively three sergeants, who attended Clive in visiting the works. On the 24th October their cannon arrived, and they opened a battery, with which they speedily disabled two of the garrison's eighteen-pounders, and in six days they made a breach of fifty feet in the walls. But when they found that trenches were dug, and other preparations made to defend it, they would not venture to storm till they had effected another breach. At this time, more by way of amusement than any thing else, Clive filled up one of the towers with earth, and then raised a mound on it, so high as to command the palace. On this he mounted a huge old cannon which he had found in the fort, and once in each day he fired it by means of a long train on the palace, when the officers were assembled there. On the fourth day, however, it burst, and there was an end to the sport. The enemy in return filled up a large house, so as to command the interior of the fort. They were suffered to complete it, and to mount their cannon on it, but before they could commence firing the garrison, by the fire of an eighteen-pounder, brought down the whole mound in less than an hour.

An attempt to reinforce the garrison by a party from Madras, led by Lieutenant Innes, having failed, and the enemy breaching the wall by another battery, Clive, learning that Morari Râo, the Maratta, was within thirty miles of Arcot, with a body of 6000 horse which had been hired by the king of Mysore to assist Mohammed Ally, sent to ask him to come to his relief. Morari wrote to say, that he would instantly send aid to such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, who had now first convinced him that the English could fight. Rajah Sahib, when informed of this, sent (October 30) a flag of truce to the fort, offering the garrison honourable terms, and Clive himself a large sum of money, threatening, if his offers were not accepted, that he would storm the fort immediately and put every one in it to the sword. Clive in his reply treated his offers with contempt, and added, that he thought better of his prudence than to suppose that he would attempt to storm with such rabble as composed his army.

Lieutenant Innes' party, having been reinforced, was now advancing under the command of Captain Kilpatrick; the Marattas arrived, and began to plunder as usual; a second breach had been effected, and Rajah Sahib now resolved to attempt a storm. On the morning of the 14th of November, his troops, animated by superstition (for this was one of the days of a Mohammedan festival, on which whoever falls in battle against the infidels goes straight to Paradise), and intoxicated with *bang*, marched in four divisions to the gates and breaches of the fort, while a confused multitude advanced to place ladders against the walls. Clive, who had had timely information of their plans, and

made his arrangements, had lain down to sleep, but, awaking at the alarm, he found all his men at their posts. The attack was furious on all points, but in the space of an hour the enemy, finding themselves every where repulsed, ceased from the storm, and began to carry off their dead. Perceiving that they were fired on when so engaged they ceased, and then renewed their fire on the fort. At two o'clock they asked, and obtained, a truce for two hours to remove their dead. The firing then recommenced, and was kept up till two in the morning, when it ceased, and at day-break news arrived of their having abandoned the town. The garrison marched out, and took possession of their guns and ammunition.

This memorable defence had lasted fifty days, and owing to deaths, wounds, and sickness, the number of those who repelled the storm was only 80 Europeans and 120 Sepoys. To the honour of these last it is recorded, that when provisions began to run short, they proposed to Clive to give them only the water in which the rice had been boiled, for their sustenance. "It is sufficient for our support," said they, "the Europeans require the grain." This fact is also honourable to Clive, for it proves that his conduct to the native troops must have been kind and conciliatory.

Clive now having received a reinforcement took the fort of Timery, and then, with the aid of the Marattas, defeated a large detachment from Pondicherry. The fort of Arnee then declared for Mohammed Ally, and Clive now advanced against the pagoda of Conjeveram, which was held by the French. The commandant made two English officers, Revel and Glass, who were his prisoners, write to say, that if the attack was made they would be exposed on the wall; but they added, that they trusted no regard for them would stop the operations. When some battering cannon had arrived, Clive made a breach, but the garrison, fearing to await a storm, stole away in the night, leaving the two prisoners behind them. Clive then returned to Fort St. David, and when, in the month of January following (1752), Rajah Sahib had taken the field with 400 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and 2500 cavalry, and a train of artillery, Clive marched against him with 380 Europeans, 1300 Sepoys, and six pieces of cannon. He engaged them at a place named Coverspak, and having by a skilful manœuvre succeeded in capturing their artillery, which was placed in a mango-grove, he gave them a complete defeat. Sixty Europeans surrendered, fifty with 300 Sepoys lay dead; the loss on Clive's side was forty Europeans and thirty Sepoys killed, and a much greater number wounded. These various successes of Clive destroyed the French influence in this part of the Carnatic, and raised the reputation of the English in arms in the eyes of the natives, who before had regarded them as far inferior to the French.

Clive was preparing to march to the relief of Trichinopoly, when Major Lawrence arrived from England. He of course took the command, and, accompanied by Clive, of whom he had the highest opinion, he set out at the head of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field-pieces. Dupleix sent orders to M. Law, who commanded the French troops there, to intercept them; but in spite of his efforts Lawrence reached the camp in safety, and then prepared to attack that of the French. The latter, conscious of their weakness, passed over to the island of Seringham (as a piece of land insulated by the Coleroon, and another branch of the Caveri, was named), and, when they were there, Clive proposed to Major Lawrence to pass a part of the army over to the further bank of the Coleroon to cut off their supplies. Though there was hazard in the plan, Lawrence consented, giving the command of the detachment to Clive himself. Clive showed his usual activity, and had his usual success. He first checked, and afterwards forced to surrender M. D'Auteuil, who was advancing with a reinforcement, and shortly after the French in Seringham were obliged to capitulate.

The fate of Chunda Sahib, the noblest, most generous, and most honourable of the native princes who appeared on this scene, is to be deplored. His troops had left him for want of pay, and Law had told him that he was no longer able to protect him. There was at this time at Trichinopoly a Mysorean army, with Morari Rão and his Marattas, and also the troops of the rajah of Tanjore, all come to the relief of Mohammed Ally, and it was only from one of these auxiliaries he could hope for protection. Monacjee, the Tanjorine general, had made him such fair offers that he was induced to confide in him, and repair to his quarters; but the faithless Tanjorine immediately placed him in confinement. He then informed all the other parties of his prize; each was eager to possess him, and Monacjee, seeing he could not retain him, ended the dispute by assassinating the unhappy prince[4].

Major Lawrence now deemed that nothing more was required for establishing the dominion of Mohammed Ally in the whole of the Carnatic than the reduction of the fort of Gingee. But, to his amazement, he learned that the Nabob had promised the Mysore regent possession of Trichinopoly, in payment for the aid he had given him. The Nabob, to be sure, made no scruple about breaking his faith; but the major was more punctilious, and a promise was given to the Mysorean, that he should have the place at the end of two months, with which he was obliged to be content, and the English, meantime, left a garrison in the town. It was the plan of Major Lawrence, that the province should first be recovered, and the rents collected, and then siege laid to Gingee; but this judicious plan was overruled by governor Saunders, and troops were sent in the direction of that fortress. These, however, met with a check, and Dupleix, elated thereby, resolved to send all the troops he could into the field, and he made prisoners a company of Swiss in the English service, who were proceeding by sea from Madras to Fort St. David. We are to recollect that at this time France and England were at peace, and that the rival Companies in the East, though in reality principals, affected to appear only as the allies of the rival Nabobs. The force with which Lawrence set out in pursuit of the enemy was somewhat superior in number, and they declined a battle till by a feigned retreat he brought them to action within two miles of Fort St. David. Victory was with the English,

[4] Mill blames Major Lawrence for not having taken him out of their hands, as policy and humanity alike dictated; but, as Wilson observes, the English at that time were not in a condition to dictate to the native powers.

and it would have been more complete, had not the Nabob's horse fallen to plunder, instead of pursuing the enemy. Clive was then sent to reduce the forts of Covelong and Chingliput, which he easily effected. He then returned to England on account of his health, and the monsoon now compelled the troops to go into quarters.

During the winter, Dupleix managed to form an alliance with the Mysoreans and Marattas, who were at Trichinopoly, where they had made some ineffectual attempts to surprise the fort. This alliance was kept as secret as possible; but Major Lawrence got knowledge of it, and, acting on this knowledge, he went so far as to recommend to Captain Dalton, the commandant at Trichinopoly, to seize the two chiefs at a conference, for he had besides detected a plot of theirs to assassinate Dalton. The advice, however, was not acted on; the two commanders joined the French, and in January, 1753, the two armies took the field. The majority of Europeans was on the English side, and Lawrence was on the whole an able officer, and his officers and men good, while the French had not a single man capable of commanding, and their men were the very refuse of France. To counterpoise this, Morari's 4000 Marattas were in every respect far superior to the 1500 horse of the Nabob. The former therefore avoided a battle, and cut off supplies; and the time was spent in trifling operations till the end of April, when an express came from Dalton, to say that he had only three weeks' provisions remaining. Major Lawrence immediately marched to his relief, and the French followed to aid the Mysoreans in carrying on the siege.

It had all along been the opinion of Major Lawrence, that Trichinopoly should be given up to the Mysoreans; but the presidency could not endure to part with it. In consequence of their refusal, the two armies remained from May 6, 1753, to October 11, 1754, at that town, engaged continually in active operations, the one unable to reduce the fort, the other to raise the siege. Meanwhile, the two Companies in Europe, sick of this war which impeded their commercial profits, had applied to their respective governments, and negotiators on both sides met in London with a view to adjustment. In consequence of this arrangement, M. Godheu was appointed to supersede Dupleix and negotiate with Mr. Saunders for the establishment of peace. He reached Pondicherry on the 2nd August; on the 11th October, a suspension of arms for three months was made, and on the 26th December a provisional treaty was signed. By this treaty the English gained, the French gave up, every thing. Among other advantages, they resigned the four northern Circars, as they are named, which Bussy, by his influence with the Sûbahdâh, had lately obtained for them, and the possession of which gave them the command of the whole coast of Coromandel and Orissa for a length of 600 miles, and which, if retained, might have made them masters of the Deckan. "Few nations," observes Mill, "have ever made to the love of peace sacrifices relatively more important."

Dupleix was naturally indignant at seeing the fruits of all his labours thus thrown away. He departed after having delivered to Godheu his accounts, by which it appeared that he had disbursed near three millions of rupees more than he had received during the war. Of this money a part was his own, the remainder he had borrowed on his own bonds from the French inhabitants of Pondicherry. On his return he applied to the Company for payment; they refused, as they said he had acted without sufficient authority; he instituted a law-suit, but the ministry put an end to the proceedings in the king's name; and all he obtained was letters of protection against his creditors! A wretched requital for the man who had done so much to extend the French power in India, and who would have done it had he been properly supported from home. But so the French treated all their eminent men in India; a proof, as it were, of their unworthiness of empire.

M. Godheu and Mr. Saunders soon after departed for Europe, persuaded that they had established lasting peace between their nations in India. But such did not prove to be the effect. They were hardly gone, when the grasping Mohammed Ally called on the English to aid him to collect the arrear of tribute from Madura and Tinivelly, two small states lying between Trichinopoly and Cape Comorin. They sent a detachment, the city of Madura was taken, and the Polygars[5] were reduced to submission. But the money obtained did not pay the cost of the expedition, and the unlucky officer who commanded the detachment was made the scapegoat, and dismissed the Company's service. As the Mysoreans, in consequence of the invasion of their country by the Sûbahdâr, were obliged at this time to retire from before Trichinopoly, and all was therefore quiet in the south, the Nabob came, and was invested with the ensigns of his office with tolerable pomp at Arcot. He now proposed to the English to join him, in making the governors of forts and districts yield him a revenue, their share to be one half of what was collected. They consented, and Mortiz Ally of Vellore, who was reputed to be rich, was selected as the first object of attack. Mortiz applied to the French, and M. Deleyrit, the governor of Pondicherry, informed the English, that he considered their present conduct a breach of the treaty, and that, if they did not desist, he would take the field against them. As Vellore was strong, and the French force respectable, the English troops were recalled, and as a matter of course negotiation failed to extract any money from Mortiz Ally. Meantime, the conduct of the Nabob's brother, Maphuz Khân, who was governor of Trichinopoly, had caused disturbances in Madura and Tinivelly, and the English were obliged to send troops thither, where the Polygars, defended by their woods and fastnesses, contrived to give them occupation for some years.

During this time, the French were withheld from active opposition by the precarious situation of Bussy with the Sûbahdâr. We have seen this able man overcoming the rebellion of the Patan chiefs, and securing the Sûbahdâry for Salabut Jung. By his own talents and the great superiority of his European troops he had maintained him on the throne, having repelled the repeated invasions of

[5] In the Index to Orme's History we read, that a Polygar "is always understood to be the chief of a mountainous or woodland district." They are evidently the chiefs of the aboriginal tribes of Colleries, &c. In the account of the siege of Trichinopoly, in Orme, there is frequent mention of the Polygar Tondiman and his country, from which wood was procured.

the Marattas, and obliged them to conclude peace. His influence with that prince was therefore naturally very high, and he thus had obtained from him for his countrymen the grant of the four northern Circars. At the same time, his enemies were numerous, and among them was the prime minister, Shânavaz Khân. When, after the expedition to Mysore, the Sûbahdâr was engaged in the siege of Savanore (or Shahnoor), held by one of his vassals, Morari Râo, the Maratta, who was aiding the rebel, seeing that the place could not hold out, offered to Bussy, if he would effect an accommodation, to give up his claim for what the French owed him. Bussy agreed, peace was made, and then Shânavaz Khân showed the Sûbahdâh how Bussy preferred to his the interest of his own countrymen, and he prevailed on him to dismiss Bussy and his troops from his service, intending to replace them with English. Bussy, aware that his services would be soon again required, made no objection, and set out on his march for Masulipatam. On the eighth day, when he had come near to Hyderabâd, he found large bodies of troops assembled to obstruct his passage. He therefore resolved to occupy a strong post, and defend himself till reinforcements should arrive from Pondicherry. His defence was gallant and successful, and when the reinforcements, led by Law, arrived, the Súbahdâr sought a reconciliation, and Bussy rose higher in favour and influence than ever.

Application had actually been made to the Presidency of Madras for a body of troops, and they would most willingly have been granted had not intelligence of the most alarming nature just been received from Bengal, whither we must now direct our view.

CHAPTER VI.

Sûbahdâry of Bengal—Aliverdi Khân—Suraj-ud-dowlah—Capture of Calcutta—The Black Hole—Destruction of the Pirate Angria—Expedition to Bengal.

The Sûbahdâry of Bengal and Orissa was at the time of the death of Shâh Âlum held by Jaffier Khân, a native of Bûrhanpûr, in the Deckan, as deputy to the emperor's second son. In the confusion which ensued, Jaffier contrived to become the actual Sûbahdâr of these provinces. He appointed as his Nabob or deputy in Orissa his countryman and son-in-law, Shujah Khân. There was a Tartar adventurer, named Mîrza Mohammed, whose wife was of kin to Shujah, and, being in great distress, he and his wife repaired to the residence of their fortunate kinsman, by whom they were very kindly received. Their two sons, Hajee Ahmed, and Mîrza Mohammed Ally, soon after followed them to Orissa, and obtained there favour and employment. Hajee proved to be an excellent statesman and man of business; Mîrza, in addition to similar qualities, had great military talents. The two brothers gained the greatest influence over the mind of Shujah, and administered all the affairs of the province to its manifest advantage.

Jaffier died in 1725, appointing as his successor Serafraz Khân, Shujah's son, and not Shujah himself. But the activity and address of the two brothers soon defeated this arrangement, and patents were procured from Delhi in favour of Shujah. In 1729, Bahar was added to his Subâh, and he appointed Mîrza Mohammed, the younger of the brothers, now named Aliverdi Khân, to its government. Shujah died in 1739, and was succeeded by his son Serafraz, who was a weak man, devoted to pleasure. He hated the two brothers, and he could not refrain from insulting and offending them. Aliverdi's interest was considerable at Delhi, and he easily obtained there an appointment to the Sûbahdâry of the three provinces for himself. Serafraz fell in battle against him, and the provinces then cheerfully submitted. His government of them was wise and humane, and he defended them with skill and valour against the Marattas, by whom they were repeatedly invaded.

Aliverdi died in 1756, at the age of eighty, after a reign of fifteen years. He had had three daughters, and his brother three sons; and the cousins were all married to each other. The sons of Hajee were men of considerable merit, but they all died before their uncle. The eldest son of the youngest of them had been Aliverdi's favourite from his birth; his fondness for him was unbounded; he gave him the title of Suraj-ud-dowlah, or Sun of the State, and after the death of his uncles he was regarded as the future Sûbahdâr. On the death of Aliverdi he assumed the government without opposition.

Suraj-ud-doulah was a violent, headstrong, vicious youth. His first act was to endeavour to plunder his relatives of the wealth which they possessed. He was on his march against one of his cousins, who was Nabob of Purneah, when he heard that the Dewan or treasurer of his late uncle at Dacca had sent his family and property by his son Kishendass to Calcutta, by way of security. He had always hated the English, and he was now glad of a cause of quarrel with them; he sent immediately to demand the surrender of Kishendass; but as the messenger came disguised as a pedlar, and went to the house of Omichund, a rich native merchant, by whom he was introduced to the Presidency, no notice was taken of him, the whole affair being regarded as a trick of Omichund to give himself importance. Another message, however, came from the Sûbahdâr, requiring the English to desist from strengthening their fortifications. But they partly denied the fact, partly justified it as a measure of defence against the French. The young Sûbahdâr was filled with rage, and he appeared forthwith before the factory of Cossimbazar, which surrendered without making any effort at defence.

When intelligence of this event reached Calcutta, it produced the utmost terror and dismay. There were little more than threescore European soldiers in the place; most of the small militia of the place, we are told, knew not the right from the wrong end of their muskets, the works of the fort were extensive and weak, there was a very scanty stock of ammunition, and that mostly damaged, and the supply of provisions was small. But, worse than all, there was insubordination and division within; the military officers had no skill, and the civil servants neither wisdom nor energy. The Dutch were applied to for aid, but they gave a positive refusal; the French insultingly replied,

that they would join them if they removed with their property to Chandernagore.

On the 18th June, the troops of the Sûbahdâr commenced their attack. Those in the fort, aware that the place must fall, agreed to put the women[6] and effects at once on board of a ship that was lying before the fort, and that the men should depart in the same manner the following night. The women accordingly were embarked, and Messrs. Frankland and Manningham, who took the charge of superintending the embarkation, with a prudent regard for their own safety, remained also on board. Others followed their example, and the ship dropped down the river, followed by all the other vessels, and there only remained two small boats. Into these, in the morning, Mr. Drake the governor, Captain Minchin the commandant, and as many others as could, threw themselves and followed the ships. When their departure was known in the fort, nothing was heard for some time but execrations on them for their baseness and cowardice. A consultation was then held, and Mr. Pearkes, the eldest member of Council in the fort, resigning his claim, the chief command was given to Mr. Holwell. The number of men capable of service now remaining in the fort was only 190. As there was still a ship lying a little higher up the river, an officer was sent in a boat which had returned, to desire the captain to bring her down immediately. The captain obeyed; but she struck on a sandbank, and the crew abandoned her. Meantime, the fort was warmly attacked and bravely defended. The garrison made signals with flags by day and by fires at night to recall the vessels, which were at Govindpore; but not one returned, though, as Orme asserts, a single sloop with only fifteen brave men on board could have carried off all that were in the fort, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy. Next morning (20th) the enemy renewed the assault, twenty-five of the garrison were killed or severely wounded, and seventy were more slightly hurt, and the common men, having broken open the arrack-store, were mostly intoxicated. During a parley, the Sûbahdâr's troops made their way into the fort; no resistance was offered, and all became prisoners. At eight o'clock the Sûbahdâr entered the fort with his principal officers, and took his seat in the principal room of the factory. Mr. Holwell was brought before him with his hands tied; he ordered him to be loosed, and assured him on the word of a soldier that he should suffer no harm.

In the evening, the guards, having sought for a place to secure the prisoners for the night and finding none to the purpose, resolved to thrust them all into a room which was just at hand, which the English had used as a place of confinement for the garrison, and which they therefore named the Black Hole. It was a room only eighteen feet by fourteen, with a door and two small windows, all opening into a large verandah. The place might have held twenty persons, but 146 were now to be forced into it; and, when some ventured to remonstrate, the officer of the guard threatened to cut them down. They entered, and the room was so thronged that the last got in with difficulty, and the door was then locked on them.

[6] These were mostly the Portuguese or native Christian women.

The night was more sultry even than usual at the time of year, many were wounded, the blood of others was inflamed with liquor. A profuse perspiration, followed by intense thirst, broke out on every one; the air was corrupted by their respiration, and every attempt made by waving of hats to improve it failed. They tried, but in vain, to burst the door, which shut from within. Mr. Holwell had at first offered an old Jemâtdâr, or inferior officer, 1000 rupees if he would get them separated in two rooms. He went to try, but, on his return, said it was impossible. He was then offered 2000; he retired again, and returned to say that the Sûbahdâr was asleep, and that no one could dare to waken him. All hope of release being thus at an end, and their torments increasing every moment, the cry for water became universal. The kind Jemâtdâr had some skins of water brought to the windows; but the sight of it produced a ferocious battle among the sufferers, each striving to be the first to get it, and their guards, holding up lights, amused themselves with the views of their struggles. At length they suffered those who were nearest the windows to convey it to the rest in their hats; but it proved no relief to their fever. Some then became delirious, others lethargic; some, in wild prayer, called on Heaven for aid, others poured forth frantic blasphemies. Many abused the guard in the most opprobrious terms, in order to provoke them to fire on them and thus end their miseries. At two o'clock only fifty remained alive, and when the door was opened in the morning, twenty-three ghastly forms came forth, all that were now surviving of the number. Mr. Holwell was led into the presence of the Sûbahdâr, and when he attempted to draw his attention to his sufferings he was harshly silenced, and questioned about the treasure which the English were supposed to have buried. He and two other gentlemen were then put in fetters; the rest were told that they might go where they pleased; an Englishwoman who was among them was reserved for the harem of the general, Meer Jaffier. They repaired without delay to Govindpore, and many of them afterwards died of putrid diseases brought on by their sufferings. Mr. Holwell and his two companions were sent in an open boat to Moorshedabâd, and there confined; but, at the prayer of the widow of Aliverdi, the Sûbahdâr gave them their liberty.

It was asserted by some, that Suraj-ud-doulâh put the prisoners in the Black Hole with a view to their destruction. But, heartless and cruel as he was, we see no reason to charge him with such an atrocity, and in all probability he did not even know where they were placed. Hardened indifference forms his guilt; he expressed neither compassion nor remorse when informed of the catastrophe, and probably rejoiced at it in his heart.

"All was lost," says Orme, "before the Presidency of Madras even received intelligence of the danger." On the 15th of July, they heard of the surrender of Cossimbazar. This they thought little of; but on the 5th of August came the news of the fall of Calcutta, which, he says, "scarcely created more horror and resentment than consternation and perplexity."

Fortunately for the interests of the Company, perhaps eventually for those of India itself, Clive was now in India. After a stay in England of

two years, the directors had appointed him governor of Fort St. David, and eventually of Madras, and they urged his immediate departure. To obviate disputes about rank and precedence between their own and the king's officers, they obtained for him from the crown the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the British army. Clive sailed in 1755, but landed at Bombay instead of Madras; for it was desired that he should command a body of troops which were to aid the Marattas against the Sûbahdâr of the Deckan. But here we have the first instance (and we shall meet several) of that insatiate love of patronage, and desire of interference on the part of the English ministry, which did so much mischief in India. Clive's fitness for this command was undeniable; but there was a Colonel Scott who had sailed for India only the preceding year as engineer-general, and he was appointed to the command by the influence of the Duke of Cumberland. This was the reason why the directors desired Clive to proceed to Bombay in hopes that something might occur to frustrate this appointment. The death of Colonel Scott did occur, but the treaty between Mr. Saunders and M. Godheu precluded all armed interference in the disputes of the native princes, and the Presidency of Bombay would not, therefore, sanction any military operations. However, as there was a fleet under Admiral Watson at Bombay, it was resolved to take this opportunity of putting down, in concert with the Marattas, the pirates which infested these seas.

From the earliest ages these seas had been the haunt of pirates; the Greeks tell of them, the Portuguese found them there. The Marattas, when they got dominions along the coast, shared of course in this practice, and, as the Sidî or Mogul admiral of the fleet in this sea was a great impediment to them, they assembled a fleet large enough to engage his, and waged a naval war in the time of Rajah Sâho. Their commander was named Konajee Angria; he obtained the command of Severndroog, one of their strongest forts, then seduced part of the fleet, and with it destroyed the remainder, and finally made himself master of the coast of the Côncan for the length of 120 miles, with the country inland to the foot of the Ghâts. Sâho, after an ineffectual attempt to reduce him, was obliged to acknowledge him, on condition of the annual payment of a small tribute, and he and his successors (all named Angria) continued to levy *chout* at sea, as they termed it, on all who did not purchase their passes.

The dominion of the Angrias had now lasted for more than half a century, and the annual expense to the Company for keeping up a fleet to convoy their merchantmen was 50,000*l*. They, therefore, in the beginning of this year, had listened to a proposal of the Marattas for a joint attack on the forts of the pirates, and Commodore James had taken Severndroog, fort Goa, and Bâncôt (henceforth named Fort Victoria), when the setting in of the monsoon obliged him to return to Bombay. At the end of the year it was resolved to attack Gheriah, Angria's principal stronghold, situated on a rocky promontory, and supposed to be nearly impregnable. Watson, taking Clive and his troops on board, proceeded by sea, the Maratta army marched along the coast. Strong as the place was, Angria lost courage; he fled to the Marattas, and it was arranged that the place should be delivered to *them*, and the English thus be defrauded of their share of the prize money. This coming to Watson's ears, he attacked the fort vigorously, and Clive, landing his men, interposed between it and the Marattas. The fort surrendered, and the Marattas got nothing, neither did the Company nor the king, for the captors divided all the booty (about 120,000*l*.) among themselves[7]. The Marattas then reduced all the other forts, and the piratic state of the Angrias was thus terminated.

Clive took the command at Fort St. David the very day that Suraj-ud-dowlah captured Calcutta. When news of that event arrived, he was summoned to Madras to assist at the deliberations of the Council. Some were for sending their troops to aid Salabut Jung against Bussy, and merely despatching Admiral Watson and Major Kilpatrick to treat with Suraj-ud-dowlah, and, in case of not succeeding, to try to recover and hold Calcutta. But the opinion of Orme the historian[8] prevailed, which was to send the fleet with as large a land force as they could, and attack the Sûbahdâr in his capital, and force him to a peace. This was communicated to Admiral Watson, who gave his consent, and the all-important question of prize-money was also arranged. But then came the grand difficulty of the command of the land forces. Colonel Lawrence, against whom there could be no objection, was suffering from asthma. Mr. Pigot, on account of the incapacity shown by the Bengal Presidency, would have gone himself, were it not that he had not the requisite military experience. There was now at Madras an officer named Adlercron, colonel of one of the king's regiments, and therefore superior to Clive in rank; but the command was not offered to him because he had no experience in Indian warfare, and besides he would not engage to return, when requested, to Madras, or to surrender any part of the booty to compensate the losses of the Company. We shall find, as we proceed, that in

[7] "This had been settled before the expedition left Bombay, as well as the respective share of prize-money to the officers and men. It is remarkable what attention was given at this time in India, even before operations were commenced, to adjust the relative claims to eventual booty. Councils of war were held, at which very junior officers aided, and arguments were entered into by the respective parties. The causes of this were various. Besides that spirit of plunder, and that passion for the rapid accumulation of wealth which actuated all ranks, the undefined relations of the King's and Company's officers made such previous arrangements indispensable, to prevent those disputes which, but for such precautions, must subsequently have occurred."—Malcolm, Life of Clive, i. 135. On this occasion the naval officers had determined that Clive should only share with a post-captain; the officers of the troops required that he should share with Rear-admiral Pocock, the second in command. Watson refused, but said he would make up the difference out of his own share; and he sent the money, but Clive refused to take it.

[8] Orme's own modest language reminds us of Xenophon. "They were opposed by one of the members of the Council, who, having resided nine years in the Company's service at Calcutta, knew the strength and insolence of the Moorish government in Bengal, believed that nothing but vigorous hostilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or reparation, and considered the force proposed as unequal, even to the retaking of Calcutta."

the eyes of most officers of the royal army or navy employed in India, the interests of the Company or even of the nation were as nothing in comparison with their own private interests, or even their own caprices or false ideas of honour. Accordingly, Colonel Adlercron, when he found his hopes of making a rapid fortune by the plunder of Bengal disappointed, positively refused to allow more than a third of his regiment to embark, and he insisted on the train of artillery attached to it, as was then the ordinary practice, and which was already on board the ships, being relanded. The council, after remonstrating in vain, were forced to give way, and put the men, guns, and stores on shore again. The expedition thus reduced consisted of 900 Europeans, a "fine body of Europeans," Clive terms them, "full of spirit and resentment for the insults and barbarities inflicted on so many British subjects," and with these 1500 Sepoys. Clive was invested with an independent power in all military affairs, in spite of the reclamations of the doughty Mr. Manningham, who had come as envoy from the Presidency of Calcutta.

After not less than two months had been spent in these disputes, the expedition, consisting of five king's and five Company's ships, set sail on the 16th October, and all but two were on the 22nd December at Fulta, a village twenty miles below Calcutta on the Hooghly, where the fugitives from that town were residing.

CHAPTER VII.

Retaking of Calcutta—Capture of Hooghly—Attack on the Sûbahdâr's Camp—Capture of Chandernagore—Conspiracy against the Sûbahdâr—Case of Omichund—Battle of Plassy—Death of Suraj-ud-dowlah—of Omichund.

THE capture of the fort of Budge-Budge, within ten miles of Calcutta, was the commencement of operations, and on the 2nd January (1757), that city was retaken, the garrison having abandoned it. Here the usual disputes between the services occurred. Captain Coote [9], a king's officer, was appointed by Admiral Watson to be governor, and he refused to admit any of the Company's officers or troops. Clive threatened to put him under arrest, and Watson, when informed of this, sent to tell Clive that he would fire on the fort if he did not evacuate it. Clive set him at defiance, but said that if he would come on shore himself and take the command he would make no objection. This was done, and the admiral having received the keys of the fort delivered them up next day to the Company's servants. Mr. Drake and his friends also made an attempt to get Clive to resign his independent powers, and act under them; but he knew them too well [1], and they met with a positive refusal.

On the 10th, a part of the fleet and army appeared before the town of Hooghly, twenty miles up the river. A breach was effected, and while the troops were mounting it to storm, the garrison all fled at the other side. The booty here amounted to about a lac and a-half of rupees. Boats and troops were then sent higher up the river, where they destroyed several magazines of rice. They then returned to Calcutta, and on the 3rd of February the Sûbahdâr's army of 40,000 men was seen approaching. Negotiations, however, were opened, and two deputies were sent to his camp, but from their report Clive was convinced that the Sûbahdâr was insincere, and was only seeking to gain time. He therefore resolved to attack him at once, though his whole force did not exceed 2000 men.

The greater part of the Sûbahdâr's army was encamped outside of the Maratta ditch [2], while a part, with the general, Meer Jaffier, lay inside of it. At three o'clock in the morning, Clive, having obtained 600 sailors from the fleet, put his troops in motion, and at six he entered the enemy's camp without the ditch. But just then, unfortunately, a thick fog, usual at that time of the year, began to overspread the ground, and continually grew more dense. This caused the troops to fall into confusion and to miss their way; and when at nine o'clock it cleared away, Clive found himself, after marching nearly across the camp, far from the meditated point of attack, and engaged with a large body of the Sûbahdâr's forces. He retired with the loss of 120 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, and two field-pieces. This was a severe loss out of their small force, but the measure had been necessary, and it produced the effect that had been intended. The historian, however, says that it was ill-concerted, as the troops were assembled at the wrong place, and at too great a distance [3].

The loss of the Sûbahdâr was twenty-two officers of rank, and 600 men, beside elephants, horses, camels, and bullocks, and his army became quite disheartened. He charged his officers with cowardice, and would have retreated at once, had they not promised to be better prepared in future. He then sent to renew the negotiations, and meantime, drew off his whole army to some distance. The admiral being of opinion that nothing but being "well thrashed," as he termed it, would ever make the Sûbahdâr really inclined to peace, wrote to urge Clive to attack him again. But Clive knew that the Company could ill bear the expense of a protracted contest, that war had broken out between France and England, and that the French force at Chandernagore (which was nearly equal to his own) might be joined to that of the Sûbahdâr. Accordingly, on the 9th, a treaty was concluded, by which the Súbahdâr was to restore the Company's factories, and as much of the plundered effects and moneys, as had been brought to account in his books. He allowed them to fortify Calcutta as they pleased, and to coin money, agreed to let their *dustucks* exempt goods from duty, and permitted them to take possession of the thirty-eight villages, of which they had obtained the grant in 1717. On the 11th, an alliance offensive and de-

[9] Afterwards Sir Eyre Coote.

[1] "I am sorry to say," says Clive, "the loss of private property, and the means of recovering it, seem to be the only objects which take up the thoughts of the Bengal gentlemen."—Life of Clive, i. p. 159.

[2] In 1742, when there was great terror of the Marattas, the native inhabitants obtained permission to dig a ditch at their own expense from Suttanutty to Govindpore, a space of seven miles. They had completed three miles of it, when finding that Aliverdi was able to keep off the enemy, they ceased. It was called the Maratta ditch.—Orme, ii. 45.

[3] Orme, ii. 134. As Malcolm makes no remark, we suppose Orme's opinion is correct.

fensive was concluded on the proposal of the Sûbahdâr[4].

Efforts were then made to induce the Sûbahdâr to permit an attack on Chandernagore, as there was actual war between France and England, and Bussy was now in the Circais, and within 200 miles of Calcutta. The request was at first evaded, for he was secretly in correspondence with the French. Proposals were made for the maintenance of peace between the two factories, though the nations were at war; but the admiral would not consent to give effect to any treaty until it was sanctioned by the government of Pondicherry, for the conduct of Dupleix in the case of Madras was recollected. The admiral corresponded with the Sûbahdâr on the subject, seeking to convince him that it was as much for his own interest as that of the English that the place should be attacked. At length, having ascertained that he was intriguing with the French, he wrote him a final letter, in which, among other things, he said, "I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish." "Farewell," he concludes, "remembe , that he who promises you this, never yet broke his word with you or with any man whatsoever."

This letter, aided by a present to the Sûbahdâr's secretary, drew an ambiguous kind of consent, and as the two remaining ships and troops were now arrived, it was resolved to proceed at once to the attack of Chandernagore. Clive, who was already near that town, summoned it to surrender on the night of the day the admiral received the Sûbahdâr's letter (13th), and in the morning he attacked the western battery, which was defended during the day, but abandoned in the night. Between this day and the 19th, when the fleet came up, the enemy was driven from ten other batteries, one of three guns playing down the channel, which would have greatly annoyed the ships, and before which the French had sunk four or five vessels. High praise has been bestowed on the manner in which the ships of the line were brought so far up the river, and laid alongside the batteries of the town; but only two were engaged, and in three hours from the time they commenced firing the town capitulated. The usual jealousy was shown here again; for though the place could never have been taken without Clive's assistance, and the surrender was made to Admiral Watson, it was with great reluctance that he consented to Clive's signing the articles. Though we notice these instances of professional jealousy in the gallant admiral, we must do him the justice to observe, that in disinterestedness, and in zeal for the interests of his country, very few, if any, of the king's officers sent out to India at this period were his equals.

It was the well-founded opinion of Clive, that it was impossible for the French and English power to co exist in India, and he was therefore resolved to drive the former if possible out of Bengal. But the permission of the Sûbahdâr to attack their remaining settlements could not be obtained; it was ascertained that he had actually invited Bussy to lead his troops into Bengal, and he had in his service a party of French[5] under M. Law, the governor of their factory at Cossimbazar, and when at length he was obliged to dismiss them, he let them stay at Râjmahâl in Bahâr, and supplied them with money for their expenses. The Sûbahdâr was now also relieved from his apprehensions of the Afghâns, as Ahmed Dûrannee had quitted Delhi, and of his continued and intense hatred of the English there were abundant proofs. If the troops and ships departed, Calcutta would be again destroyed. In fine, he or they must fall. Under these circumstances, Clive felt himself not merely justified in paying no heed to the orders sent him from Madras, to return to the defence of that settlement, but even in taking part in a conspiracy for the dethronement of the Sûbahdâr.

Sûraj-ud-dowlah was now universally hated, both in his court and camp. The leading persons there were Meer Jaffier, the Bukhshi, or commander-in-chief, a soldier of fortune, to whom Aliverdi had given one of his daughters in marriage; Roy Dullub the Dewan, or minister of finance, who was of course a Hindoo, and who was intimately associated with Jugget Seit, the greatest banker in India, or rather the head of the greatest banking-firm. These men, in dread for their lives and properties, seem to have resolved on the overthrow of Sûraj-ud-dowlah. It would appear to have been by way of experiment, that on the 23rd April, a chief, named Yâr Lattee, who commanded 2000 horse in the Sûbahdâr's service, and was the paid protector of the Seits, sent to propose a secret interview to Mr. Watts, the English resident at Moorshedabâd. Mr. Watts did not think it safe to grant it, but he sent an agent to him. His proposal was, that they should take advantage of Sûraj-ud-dowlah's intended departure from Moorshedabâd, to seize that town and proclaim himself Sûbahdâr, in which he assured them of the aid of the Seits and other influential persons. Next day the overture was renewed, but now it was Meer Jaffier, and not Yar Lattee, that was proposed for Sûbahdâr. The offers of Meer Jaffier were communicated by Watts to Clive, and by him to the committee at Calcutta, who, after the hesitation that was to be expected from them, agreed to join in this hazardous affair. The negotiation, however, received a slight check just at this time by the departure of Meer Jaffier from Moorshedabâd; for the Sûbahdâr had encamped an army of 40,000 men at Plassy on the Hooghly, about thirty miles south of that city, with the secret intention of employing it against the English, and he now ordered Meer Jaffier to lead to it a reinforcement of 15,000 men.

Just at this time an agent arrived at Calcutta, bearing a letter from the Maratta Peishwa, in which he proposed to invade Bengal with 150,000 horse, and offered, if the English would join him, to pay them the double of their losses, and secure them the exclusive commerce of the Ganges. Clive did not court a Maratta alliance, besides, it was doubtful if the letter was genuine, (it however really was so,) and it might be only an artifice of the Sûbahdâr's. It was therefore resolved to trans-

[4] Thornton blames Clive for not having required reparation for the affair of the Black Hole, but we see not what reparation could well be required, and the not noticing that affair, looks as if he did not consider it to have been done designedly.

[5] They were composed of those who had escaped from Chandernagore, some of whom had, in the usual French fashion, broken their parole.

mit it to him, as in either case it must produce a good effect. He expressed himself much gratified with the conduct of Clive, and that officer, further to lull his suspicions, ordered his troops into quarters, and wrote to the Sûbahdâr, requesting him to do the same with the troops at Plassy. He, however, got only promises; so he wrote a letter to Watts (30th), in which, among other things, he said, "the Nabob is a villain, and cannot be trusted; he must be overset, or we must fall;" and on the 2nd May, he wrote, empowering him to come to a settlement with Meer Jaffier, "Tell him," says he, "to fear nothing, that I will join him with 5000 men that never turned their backs, and that if he fails seizing him, we shall be strong enough to drive him out of the country." A treaty was concluded, which beside containing the articles in that made with Sûraj-ud-dowlah, gave the French factories and effects to the English, and excluded that nation for ever from Bengal; and the land about Calcutta, and as far south as Culpee, was to be held on Zemindary tenure by the Company, to whom were also to be paid 100 lacs of rupees for their losses, as also fifty to the English, twenty to the Indian, and seven to the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta. It was also resolved by the Committee, that an additional sum of fifty lacs should be asked for the squadron and the army.

"When this was settled," says Clive, "Mr. Becher suggested, that he thought the Committee who managed the great machine of government were entitled to some consideration, as well as the army and navy." There was probably not a man present, on whose mind there was the slightest doubt of the justice of this proposal; and it accordingly met with a ready assent, and a sum of about ten lacs was specified. When this afterwards came to the knowledge of the admiral, he put in his claim to a share, and Clive was willing to allow it; but others would not give their consent. It is well known what obloquy was afterwards cast on Clive for this and other large sums which he subsequently obtained from Meer Jaffier; it is therefore worth our while to examine what moral guilt, if any, attached to it.

In the first place we are to consider, that the chief motive which led the servants of the Company to India was the hope of obtaining the means of spending the later period of their life at home in independence, if not affluence. The salaries given them by the Company were so miserably small, that it never could have been expected that they could live on them, and they therefore were permitted to engage in private trade. They were also allowed to accept of presents from the native princes and others with whom they transacted any of the affairs of the Company. This practice of giving and receiving presents has, as is well known, prevailed from time immemorial in the East, and no dishonour on either side attaches to it. Further, as we have already seen, it was the custom for a new monarch to distribute presents to his friends, on his accession; and these, of course, were proportionably large, if they had aided him to ascend the throne. As yet, the English had not been concerned in any great transaction of this nature; but they had seen that Muzafar Jung had given large sums to the French Company and their troops, and that Dupleix had, in his private capacity, received from him a sum said to be equal to 200,000*l.*, beside valuable jewels[6]; and that, on the elevation of Salabut Jung, the officers of the French corps received so large a gratification, that even an ensign's share exceeded 5000*l.*, while that of the commander, the renowned Bussy, was 100,000*l.*[7] Are we then to wonder that, with these examples before his eyes, Clive (for we speak not of the others), who had left England at the age of eighteen, and in whose mind romantic, or perhaps even high, principles of honour had never been instilled, should have followed the example of so great a man as Bussy, and not let slip what seemed an honourable occasion of securing affluence? We should, no doubt, admire him more, if he had thought of the interests of the Company alone, and neglected his own, and in such case he might have had the thanks of the Court of Directors; but most assuredly nothing more, except the applause of his own conscience; for not a single instance had as yet occurred of their acting with liberality towards any of their servants, and for them he might have ended his days in poverty. Finally, when we expect such heroism of virtue in a servant of the East India Company, we should recollect the scandalous and unblushing venality and corruption of public men at that time in England itself[8]. On the whole, every thing considered, we own we cannot blame Clive for making his fortune on this occasion; but we will not assert that he did not make too large a one, not, however, at the expense of the Company.

To resume the narrative. Every thing had been thus far arranged to the satisfaction of all parties, when imminent danger presented itself from an unexpected quarter. The native merchant, Omichund, who, beside his other losses at the taking of Calcutta, had been plundered of four lacs of rupees in cash, had followed the Sûbahdâr to Moorshedabâd, in the hope of obtaining compensation for his losses. He here acquired some influence over the mind of that prince, and he was of great use to Mr. Watts, the resident. It was not thought at first advisable to make him acquainted with the conspiracy; but as it was found impossible to elude his penetration, Mr. Watts deemed it the best policy to inform him of the secret. He readily joined in the plan. Of the money to be paid by Meer Jaffier, a very large sum was set down as his share, to reimburse him for his losses, and he had managed to obtain from the Sûbahdâr an order for a sum equivalent to the cash taken from him. But the demon of avarice had taken entire possession of his breast; and being now fully acquainted with the secret of the plot, and having the lives of all engaged in it at his mercy, he came to Mr. Watts and told him, that he would betray the whole to the Sûbahdâr, unless he got five per cent. on all the money to be paid out of the treasury, and a fourth of the jewels[9]. He, however, consented to leave the matter to the Committee, to whom

[6] See above, p. 66. Orme, i. 162.

[7] Orme, i. 250.

[8] See our History of England, iii. 8vo. edit. Bishop Watson, in his Life, names the sum which he was informed it cost, to gain the assent of Parliament to the peace of Paris in 1762; and have we not even, at the present day, heard a leading railway director publicly assert, that with plenty of money he would carry any measure through Parliament, in spite of the ministry?

[9] Orme, ii. 151. He says, that valuing the treasure at

Mr. Watts immediately wrote. That the claim was beyond all bounds of reason was plain, and the means adopted to enforce it seemed to put him who made it beyond the pale of justice or honour; but how they were to act was a difficult question, for the lives of many persons, and the actual existence of the English in Bengal, were at stake. Clive instantly suggested the expedient of a fictitious treaty. This was approved of, and two treaties were drawn out; a real one, in which there was no mention of Omichund, written on white, and one meant to deceive him, on red, paper. The admiral signed the former, but refused to sign the latter. As, however, the absence of his name would excite Omichund's suspicions, his signature was affixed to it by the Committee. Omichund was deceived, as was expected; and when he came shortly after to Calcutta, he was received with the greatest apparent cordiality.

Matters being now finally arranged, and Meer Jaffier having engaged to separate from the Sûbahdâr's army with a large body of troops, and to join the English, the troops at Calcutta, reinforced by 150 seamen from the fleet, proceeded, on the 12th June, to Chandernagore, whence Clive wrote to the Sûbahdâr, reproaching him with his breach of faith, but offering to submit their disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Roydúllúb, and others. In conclusion, he told him that, as the rains were so near, he found it necessary to wait upon him immediately. As Mr. Watts had just then effected his escape from Moorshedabâd, the Sûbahdâr knew how to interpret this letter, and he advanced with the whole of his army to Plassy.

Clive's force consisted of about 3000 men, with nine pieces of cannon. As there appeared no sign of Meer Jaffier's joining him, he became somewhat uneasy, and on the 21st he summoned a council of war, in which he proposed the question, whether it would be prudent to attack the Nabob without assistance, or to wait till they were joined by some country power, meaning the Marattas. The usual mode in these councils is, for the youngest officer present to deliver his sentiments the first, and then the rest in due order. But Clive commenced by giving his own opinion in favour of delay. His authority doubtless was of weight, and thirteen out of twenty voted on that side; while seven, among whom was Coote, voted for an immediate attack. The council broke up, and, strange as it may appear, shortly after Clive issued orders for the troops to march and cross the river. Mr. Scrafton, who was present with the army, says, that this change of resolution was the consequence of a letter received from Meer Jaffier; Orme, that when the council broke up, Clive "retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he continued near an hour in deep meditation," and then gave orders for the troops to march; and Coote stated, that in an hour after the council broke up, Clive informed him of his intention to march next morning; while Clive himself declared, that he took twenty-four hours to deliberate on the subject. Be this as it may, the troops passed the river on the 22nd, and an hour after midnight they reached Plassy, and took up a position there in a grove of mango trees.

During the night, the sounds of military music convinced them that the army of the Sûbahdâr was in their immediate vicinity. At daybreak (23rd) it was seen advancing in many columns, with cannon interposed, to the attack. It consisted of 15,000 horse, 35,000 foot, with upwards of forty pieces of artillery. A party of forty or fifty "vagabond Frenchmen," as Orme styles them, led by an officer named Sinfray, advanced the first, Sinfray calling on the Sûbahdâr's troops to follow; but they had no confidence in each other, and he called in vain. A cannonade was kept up for some hours on the English, who sheltered themselves by sitting under a high mud-bank. Soon after noon the enemy drew off their cannon, and retired toward their camp. But the French still kept their post, till a party, under Major Kilpatrick, began to move against them, when they retired, carrying off their guns. The whole British force now advanced; a cannonade was opened on the enemy's camp, one angle of which and an eminence near it were carried, and the whole army fled in confusion, leaving to the victors their camp and all it contained. The pursuit was continued for six miles; the loss of the enemy was about 500 men; that of the British in killed and wounded about seventy, mostly Sepoys. Such was the battle, or rather rout, of Plassy, which in effect gave an empire to England.

Suraj-ud-dowlah, as Clive observes, "had no confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him." His most faithful general, Moodun Khân, having been killed by a cannon-ball, he had sent for Meer Jaffier, and casting his turban at his feet, implored him, by the memory of Aliverdi, their common relative, to forget all differences and to defend his throne. Jaffier promised, of course, and advised him to recall the troops, and defer the conflict till next morning. This was done; and the consequence was, the advance of the English. Roydûllûb then counselled him to retire to Moorshedabâd; to this course his own fears also urged him, and the inevitable result was the victory of the English; for Oriental troops never fight when abandoned by their leaders.

Meer Jaffier had been playing a double game all through these events. When he gave the above advice to the Sûbahdâr, he wrote to Clive, desiring him to attack the camp without delay. But the letter did not reach him, and he made the attack of his own account. He also kept his troops separate; but his conscience made him suspicious; and when, after the victory, he had his first interview with his allies, the military honours with which he was received startled him, and he gave manifest signs of terror. He revived, however, when Clive saluted him as Sûbahdâr with much cordiality. A few days after (29th) Clive formally seated him on the *musnud* at Moorshedabâd.

The unhappy Suraj-ud-dowlah, on arriving at his capital, found no one faithful, and on the night of the 24th, as Meer Jaffier had already entered it, he departed secretly, attended only by a eunuch and one of his concubines, with the design of joining M. Law. But near Rajmahâl he was recognized by a devotee whose nose and ears he had cut off some months before, and was by him be-

four and a half millions sterling, Omichund's share would have come to 675,000*l.*; but surely that would have been much more than five per cent. Malcolm and Wilson say his demand was thirty lacs of rupees, about 350,000*l.*

trayed to the governor of the city, who was Meer Jaffier's brother. He was seized and sent to Moorshedabâd. Jaffier gave some tokens of compassion for him; but his son Meerum, a youth of a cruel, unscrupulous character, had none, and he caused him to be put to death at once, it is said, without his father's knowledge. The unhappy prisoner had not completed his twentieth year, and he had reigned only fourteen months.

What chiefly remained to be done now was, to make the pecuniary payments agreed on in the treaty. On examining the treasury, it was found to contain 150 lacs of rupees, a large sum no doubt, but still far short of what had been expected, and much too little to satisfy the claims of the British. It was then arranged that one half of their demand should be paid immediately, two-thirds in money, and one-third in plate, jewels, and gold, the remainder in three equal annual payments. Seven hundred chests filled with treasures were conveyed to Calcutta in one hundred boats, adorned with flags, and music sounding from them as they proceeded down the stream. Clive at this time received a further gift from Meer Jaffier of sixteen lacs of rupees[1], which, added to two lacs, his share of what was given to the army, and 2,80,000, his share as second in council, made a sum exceeding 230,000*l.* sterling. Mr. Watts also received a present of eight lacs.

Among those who were present at the meeting for considering the state of the treasury, and by no means the least interested party, was Omichund. He was elated with hopes, and in idea he grasped millions of rupees. When the treaty was read in which he was unmentioned, he became agitated. "That cannot be the treaty," said he, "it was a red one I saw." "Yes, but this is a white one," coolly replied Clive; then turning to Scrafton, who spoke the native language better than himself, he added, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund;" Scrafton immediately said, "Omichund, the red treaty is a trick; you are to have nothing." The unhappy wretch fell back in a swoon into the arms of his attendants, by whom he was conveyed to his palankeen, and thence to his house, where he remained for some hours in a state of stupor. A few days after he waited on Clive, who advised him to undertake a pilgrimage. He did as directed, returned insane, and died within the space of a year and a half[2].

"The two millions of rupees he expected should have been paid to him, and he left to enjoy them in oblivion and contempt." Such is the opinion of Orme, the friend of Clive. We, however, greatly fear, such is our nature, that had this been done, most persons, though outwardly admiring the magnanimity of Clive and his associates, would in their secret souls have condemned it, and have said, that he had met with his deserts. The best plan, perhaps, would have been a compromise for a smaller and more reasonable sum. As to the deception practised on him, it must seek its justification from necessity, that most accommodating of all justifiers.

[1] It is not improbable that he asked for this money; at least, hinted that he would like to have it. In 1773, when defending himself in the House of Commons, he used these remarkable words, "When I recollect entering the Nabob's treasury, at Moorshedabâd, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left, and these crowned with jewels," striking his hand violently on his head, "By God! at this moment do I stand astonished at my own moderation." Life of Clive, i. 313.

[2] Orme, ii. 182. We do not think Mr. Wilson (Mill, iii. 195) justified in saying, that doubt is thrown on this account by Clive's letter of the 6th August, in which he speaks of Omichund as "a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded," for this was written before his return from his pilgrimage.

CHAPTER VIII.

War in the Carnatic—Relief of Trichinopoly—Arrival of Count Lally—Capture of Fort St. David—Invasion of Tanjore—Siege of Madras—Capture of Masulipatam—Mutiny in French Army—Arrival of Coote—Capture of Wandewash and Carangoly—Battle of Wandewash—Siege and Capture of Pondicherry—Destruction of the French Power in India—Fate of Lally.

WHILE such was the progress of the British power in Bengal, hostilities were continued in the Carnatic. Capt. Calliaud, who was aiding to reduce one of the Nabob's brothers, who was in insurrection in the south, was preparing to renew his attempt on Madura, his first attack on which had failed, when he learned (May 21) that the French troops were within sight of Trichinopoly, where Capt. Smith, who commanded, had only 165 Europeans, and 700 Sepoys, while he had 500 French prisoners to guard, and the advancing force counted 1150 Europeans, and 3000 Sepoys, with several pieces of cannon.

Calliaud received this intelligence at three o'clock in the morning, and at six he was on his march. The tents and baggage were left behind, the men carrying their provisions, and a few bullocks conveyed their ammunition. At six in the evening of the 25th he was within twelve miles of Trichinopoly. But now the great difficulty presented itself. The troops of the enemy were so disposed as to command every line by which the town could be approached, and their spies had mingled among the British. Of this last circumstance Calliaud was well aware, but he affected ignorance; and having apparently selected a road, he proceeded along it for about six miles. The spies went off with the information at nightfall, and the French concentrated their force on the point where they expected him to arrive. But Calliaud turned aside, and marching over rice-fields in a state of irrigation, where the men were knee-deep in mud, and could only advance at the rate of a mile an hour, reached the fort at break of day, and the discharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon to greet their entrance, told the French they had been outgeneralled. Calliaud was so weakened by fatigue and mental anxiety, that he had to be supported into the fort by two grenadiers. The French, foiled in their attempt, returned soon after to Pondicherry.

Bajee Râo, the Maratta, now appeared, demanding *chout* of the Nabob, who settled the account by agreeing to pay down two lacs of rupees, and give orders for two and a half more on the Polygars and others. When this was concluded, he called on his English allies to pay *his* share out of the rents he had assigned them, for the expenses of

the war. This they were very unwilling to do, but, as Orme says, they "had no alternative, but to pay or fight;" they chose the former, though Morari Râo and other chiefs offered to aid them; and Bajee Râo departed, laden with money and bills.

On the 28th April, 1758, a French squadron of twelve sail was seen standing in for the road of Fort St. David. It had on board a military force, with Count de Lally appointed governor-general of the French possessions in India. Lally proceeded at once with two of the ships to Pondicherry. The rest were preparing to follow, when they were attacked by the English fleet from Bengal, commanded by Admiral Pocock[3]. The action was undecisive, and after it the French, as the rigging of the English ships was very much damaged, were enabled to reach Pondicherry. It was with great difficulty that Lally induced the commandant, M. D'Aché to put to sea again, and then, instead of bearing down on the English squadron, he took advantage of the wind which kept them off, and steered for Fort St. David, before which Lally was lying with the troops, having captured Cuddalore, and laid siege to the fort almost immediately after his landing. The besieging army consisted of 2500 Europeans, and about the same number of Sepoys; the garrison of upwards of 600 Europeans, and 1600 Sepoys, and other native troops, commanded by Major Polier, a Swiss officer in the service of the Company. The defence had been injudicious; in the early part of the siege the garrison had wasted their ammunition in the most reckless manner, firing, says Orme, "night and day on every thing they saw, heard, or suspected;" so that when the real need came, they were obliged to husband it. Numbers of the native troops had deserted; the Europeans were mostly drunken and disorderly, and the supply of water was failing. As soon, therefore, as the French fleet appeared, it was apprehended that it would land more men, and a general assault would be made, which the garrison could not withstand. It was in consequence resolved to capitulate; the following day (June 2) the fort was surrendered, and Lally immediately commenced razing its fortifications. Devi-cottah offered no resistance, and Lally then, in imitation of Dupleix, entered Pondicherry in a triumphal procession, which was succeeded by a *Te Deum*, and a splendid entertainment.

The want of money being the greatest impediment to further operations, Lally, in order to obtain some resolved to enforce payment of a bond of the rajah of Tanjore to the late Chunda Sahib, which had come into his possession. He accordingly took the field against the rajah, who called on the English for aid, which was promptly given; but he then arranged with Lally for an attack on Trichinopoly: again they quarrelled, and Lally threatened to transport himself and his family to the Isle of France. This brought him round once more to the English side, and more troops were sent from Trichinopoly to his aid. Soon after Lally called a council of war to decide on the question of assault, or retreat; and it of course recommended the latter. The sick and wounded were sent away at once, and the following day (Aug. 10) was fixed for the departure of the troops. This decision having come to the knowledge of Monackjee, the Tanjore general, he resolved to make an attack on the French camp. He commenced by a piece of treachery, sending fifty horsemen, who, under pretence of being deserters, were to assassinate the French commander; but accident led to their being discovered, and they were cut to pieces; and when the Tanjorines made their attack they were repulsed on all points. Lally effected his retreat, though not without suffering. To obliterate the disgrace of his failure, he next led his troops against Arcot, of which he gained possession by making liberal promises to the officer in command. Having obtained some supplies of money from various quarters, he now resolved on forming the siege of Madras, and about the middle of December he appeared before that town at the head of 2700 Europeans, and 1000 native troops. The garrison consisted of about 1800 Europeans, 2200 Sepoys, and 200 of the Nabob's cavalry; it was commanded by Col. Lawrence.

The French took possession of the Black Town without opposition. Hence a large quantity of arrack was found, with which most of the European soldiers made themselves intoxicated; and as they were seen from the fort staggering about under its influence, Lieut.-Col. Draper proposed to the commandant to make a sally. He agreed, and five hundred men were selected, and placed under the command of Draper, and one hundred more for a covering party, under Major Brereton. The enemy was taken quite by surprise, and suffered severely from the fire of the English party. A French regiment, which had been drawn up to oppose them, turned and fled; and then Draper called on his men to cease firing, and to follow him to take possession of four of the enemy's guns. He ran forward, and discharged his pistol at the head of the officer who commanded them, by whom his fire was returned. Draper then became aware that only four of his men had followed him. The French took courage and returned, and the English were finally obliged to retire, with the loss of about two hundred men, between killed and prisoners. Among the slain was Major Polier, who, to efface the stain on his courage, made by the surrender of Fort St. David, had accompanied Draper as a volunteer. The French had about two hundred men killed and wounded; and Count d'Estaigne, one of their ablest officers, was made a prisoner. Lally threw great blame on Bussy (whom he had recalled from the service of the Nizâm) for not bringing up Lally's own regiment in time; but Bussy pleaded want of orders. An officer, named Murphy[4], proposed a general assault during the night, in four divisions, and Orme thinks it was fortunate for the English that his advice was not followed.

On the 2nd January, 1759, Lally commenced firing on the fort from the batteries which he had erected. The defence was ably conducted by Mr. Pigot, the governor, and by Col. Lawrence. Frequent sallies were made, and the troops at Chingleput, which Lally had neglected to take, with the Sepoys of Mohammed Isoof and some of the Nabob's, and of the Tanjorine cavalry, greatly impeded the communication of the besiegers with Pondicherry. Major Calliaud was at Tanjore at

[3] Admiral Watson had died.

[4] Probably an Irishman, one of the Irish brigade.

this time, endeavouring to get an addition made to this last force; but the rajah thought the fortunes of the English on the decline; and as the native bankers seemed to be of the same opinion, Calliaud was unable to procure the money requisite for the payment of the troops if he should send them. His mission, therefore, was of little avail; but with what men he could get, and a body of Sepoys from Trichinopoly, he came (Feb. 7) to Mt. St. Thomas, and took the command of the troops there, which were acting against the enemy, and which Lally compared to flies, which as soon as they are beaten off on one side return on another.

Lally resolved to make an effort to free himself from them; and on the morning of the 9th he sent two divisions against them, commanded by a relative and namesake of his own. The one consisted of 1200 Sepoys, and 500 native horse; the other, of 600 foot, and 300 horse, all Europeans. Calliaud had 2500 Sepoys, 2200 native horse, 103 Europeans, and ten English troopers under Capt. Vasserot. His native cavalry, when they saw the enemy, set off towards them, as Orme says, "scampering, shouting, and flourishing their sabres." But a discharge of the carbines of the first rank of the French cavalry, which brought down four or five of them, made them scamper off in another direction, leaving Calliaud with only the ten troopers. With these he withdrew into an inclosure; the combat was continued with various success during the day, and in the evening the French retired. As the ammunition of the English was nearly spent, Calliaud led his men during the night to Chingleput, leaving fires burning to deceive the enemy.

Lally had now been nearly two months before Madras. A breach was effected, but his officers, when consulted declared, that though it was practicable, it was inaccessible, and they also stated their belief, that with their present force they could not hope to take the fort. Lally was hated by his officers for his pride and insolence; he was without money or credit; the Sepoys were deserting fast, and the Europeans threatening to follow their example. He resolved, therefore, to raise the siege, first burning the Black Town by way of revenge. But the appearance of Admiral Pocock, with reinforcements on the 16th, saved the native town. The enemy, after keeping up a hot fire during the night, marched next day for Arcot, in such precipitation that they left behind them fifty-two pieces of cannon, and 150 barrels of gunpowder. They also left four sick and wounded Europeans, whom Lally by letter commended to the humanity of the British governor, and the treatment they experienced was such, that proud and ill-conditioned as he was, he expressed himself grateful for it. Thus terminated the last siege of Madras.

The English soon took the field again under Major Brereton, as both Lawrence and Draper were in an ill state of health. The French, under the Marquis de Soupires, did not venture to meet them, and they took Conjeveram by assault. Toward the end of May both armies went into cantonments.

During these events Lally learned that Masulipatam had fallen into the hands of the English, and the French influence in the Circars had thus been destroyed. One of the rajahs of that country, named Amunderâz, being offended with Bussy, had taken advantage of his departure to attack and capture Vizagapatam. He immediately sent to Madras, calling for aid, and offering to put that place into the hands of the English. As Fort St. David had just fallen, and an attack on Madras was expected, his proposals were rejected. He then addressed himself to Clive, who agreed at once to assist him; and a force of five hundred Europeans and two thousand Sepoys, with thirty pieces of cannon, was sent by sea to Vizagapatam, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Forde, in the month of September. They joined the rajah's "rabble," as Orme irreverently styles his troops; and after the usual disputes about money, marched against the French troops under M. Conflans, whom they met and totally defeated at Peddalore. They then advanced about forty miles to the attack of Rajamundra, on the left bank of the Godâveri; but the French abandoned it at their approach, and crossing the river retired to Masulipatam. Want of money for some time impeded the progress of Forde, and meantime the Sûbahdâr had assembled his forces on the Kistna, to march to its relief. Forde, however, advanced, and on the 6th March he came in sight of that town. He was erecting batteries, and making other preparations to attack, when suddenly the whole of his European troops turned out, and threatened to march away if he did not pay them the prize-money then due to them, and engage to give them the whole plunder of Masulipatam when taken. By his promises, however, and representations, he induced them to return to their duty, and the siege proceeded. On the 6th April three breaches were reported to be practicable, and as it appeared that there was only two days' supply of ammunition for the batteries remaining, and intelligence had arrived that the Sûbahdâr and the French (who had recovered Rajahmundza) were approaching, it was resolved to attempt to carry the place by storm.

On the 10th the firing was kept up vigorously all through the day, and at ten at night the troops were all under arms. They marched to the main attack in three divisions, two of Europeans, under Captains Fischer and Yorke, and one of Sepoys, under Captain Maclean. Another division under Captain Knox, and a fifth composed of the rajah's troops, were to divert the attention of the enemy by false attacks. Captain Fischer reached the breach, and gained possession of a bastion; here he was joined by Captain Yorke, who, however, was near losing his life, in consequence of a panic-dread of a mine which seized his men, so that they left him alone with two drummers. He, however, rallied about six-and-thirty of them, but the French had had time to load a cannon with grape, and the discharge of it wounded himself and fifteen others, beside killing some of the remainder. M. Conflans, however, surrendered at discretion, and the number of the prisoners exceeded that of the captors. There was abundance of stores, and 120 pieces of cannon in the fort; the other booty also was considerable.

Salabut Jung, who was only fifteen miles distant, now seemed inclined to treat. Col. Forde, therefore, went to his camp, and a treaty was concluded, by which he gave Masulipatam and some other districts to the English, and engaged to dismiss the French in his service, and not to employ them any

more, or to allow them to have any settlements south of the Kistna. The English, on their side, engaged not to aid or protect his enemies. These articles were entirely in favour of the English, and would probably not have been so easily obtained, were it not that Nizâm Ally, the Sûbahdâr's brother, whose enmity to Bussy was well known, had received a letter from Clive, inviting him to aid Col. Forde, and he had now advanced to Hyderabad, in the hope of supplanting his brother. The Sûbahdâr wanted Forde to give him some of the English troops, and on his refusal he retained the French that were with him. An accommodation, however, was effected with Nizâm Ally, who was confirmed in the government of Berâr, of which Bussy had caused him to be deprived. Basâlut Jung, another brother, then took the French troops and set off for the south, to promote some views of his own. The English forthwith suspected some ulterior designs, and a force, under Major Monson, was sent against the fort of Coverpauk, and to their great surprise, for no one expected it, the fort surrendered at the first summons. Monson then led his troops to Arcot, expecting a similar result, but his hopes being deceived, he returned to Conjeveram.

On the 10th September the fleets of Pocock and D'Aché engaged, and the battle was, as usual, indecisive, though the French fled. D'Aché retired to Pondicherry, whence he sailed for the Islands, in spite of the remonstrances and even threats of Lally. He, however, was induced to leave behind him 400 Africans, and 500 Europeans, which last Lally termed "the scum of the sea." On the night of the 29th an attack was made on the town and fort of Wandewash, by the British troops, under Major Brereton; but it proved a total failure, owing in a great measure to the cowardice of Major R. Gordon, who was appointed to lead one of the divisions, but who disappeared as soon as the signal for its advance had been given. Lally, when informed of this event, fired one hundred guns in honour of the great victory gained by the French, and sent magnificent accounts of it into all quarters.

Bussy was now on his march to join Basâlut Jung, and he had proceeded one day's march from Arcot, when he was stopped by intelligence of a mutiny among the troops at that place, which speedily spread to his own camp. More than a year's pay was now due to the troops, and they were ill supplied with provisions. This in reality was owing to the extreme want of money; but the men thought that D'Aché had brought a large quantity of treasure, and they suspected that Lally had amassed great private wealth. They complained loudly; and when some of the men of the regiment of Lorraine were punished for some other offences, the whole regiment turned out, and occupied the ground lately held by the English. They were soon joined by the other regiments in Wandewash; they made a sergeant-major their general, and another sergeant major-general, and appointed all other officers, observing the strictest discipline.

When the news reached Pondicherry, Lally, the members of council, and others, gave all the money and plate they possessed, and the viscount Fumel was sent to negotiate with the mutineers. They listened calmly to his arguments and proposals, and, at the desire of their general, the sergeants they agreed to return to their duty, on condition of an amnesty, six months' pay in hand, and the remainder in a month. The terms were acceded to, and they returned to Wandewash. Bussy was obliged to advance a month's pay to his men, and to halt till he could give them as much as the others had received. He then proceeded to join Basâlut Jung; but as this person demanded a loan of four lacs of rupees, he could effect nothing to the advantage of the French, and he returned to the Carnatic, bringing with him those French who were with Basâlut Jung.

As we have seen, it was the want of money that crippled all the operations of the French. An opportunity now presented itself of obtaining a large sum, and Lally resolved to embrace it. The approaching December harvest in the isle of Seringham promised to be unusually abundant, and the government share was valued at six lacs of rupees. Accordingly, toward the end of November, a force of 900 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and 200 native horse was sent thither, under the command of M. Crillon. No tidings of its march reached either Madras or Trichinopoly till it had nearly arrived at its destination. It then entered the island, and attacked the pagoda, which was gallantly defended by some Sepoys and other native troops. The cannon of the French, however, soon forced an entrance, and then they acted with the usual French barbarity. They refused quarter, and when they turned out those who had survived the massacre, they fired on some, and their cavalry pursued and cut down others. It is but justice to add, that the officers did not sanction this conduct of their men.

This loss was soon counterbalanced by successes in another quarter. The English force had been increased by exchanges of prisoners, and still more by the arrival of Col. Coote (who had returned to England from Bengal) with 600 men, the remainder of his regiment, and which raised it to its full strength of 1000 men. He was nominated to the command in Bengal, but with permission to remain in Coromandel if deemed advisable. As he determined to remain, major Calliaud was sent with 200 men to Bengal, as Clive had requested might be done in case of Coote's being detained.

Coote, who took the chief command, resolved to attempt the reduction of Wandewash. The troops rendezvoused at Conjeveram, whence, while Coote marched with the main body to Arcot, Major Brereton, with a strong detachment, pushed on for Wandewash, and took possession of the town without opposition. The fort was commanded by a Killidâr, or native governor, and he had with him, beside his own troops, about seventy Europeans. When Coote arrived, batteries were raised and a breach effected. The fort was then summoned to surrender; but a defiance was returned. The firing was then continued, and, on the following morning, the Killidâr sent to treat; and Coote pledged himself that, if he would deliver up the French who were with him, he should be continued in his government under the English. An answer was required by two in the afternoon. At that hour the answer had not arrived, and the French appeared on the walls and offered to deliver up the fort. Coote sent a party of Sepoys to take possession of the gateway; but they were not admitted, as it was said the key was in the possession

of the Killidâr. Coote, however, had himself advanced at the head of another company, and passed the breach; and thr' Wandewash was taken, without the loss of a single man. The Killidâr had signed the treaty before the troops entered, and in all equity he had a right to the benefit of it; but the importance of the province, his kindred to Chunda Sahib, his enmity to Mohammed Ally, and his long connexion with the French, "weighed unjustly," says Orme, "more than the respect due to a contract of which he was fulfilling his part." He was conducted a prisoner to Madras, where he haughtily refused to give any account of his treasure, which he had sent away to a strong fort in the hills near Vellore. The Nabob said that his capture was of more importance than that of the fort; yet he offered him his liberty for ten lacs of rupees.

From Wandewash Coote marched to the fort of Carangoly, distant thirty-five miles. After effecting a breach, he allowed the garrison to march away with all the honours of war, only depriving the Sepoys of their arms. He was now preparing to march against Arcot, where a small detachment, under Captain Wood, had already entered the town. But the return of Bussy frustrated his design; and being harassed by the French cavalry and some Marattas who had joined them, and the rains coming on, he put his troops into quarters at Coverpauk and the adjacent villages.

The two armies did not remain long inactive. Early in January, 1760, they were in front of each other, between Coverpauk and Arcot. Lally, whose forces had been augmented by the return of Bussy and by the arrival of a great part of the detachment at Seringham, which he had recalled, resolved to make an attack on Conjeveram, where he fancied the English had large magazines of rice. By skilful manœuvring he contrived to deceive the vigilance of the English for three days, during which he was gradually getting nearer to his object; and on the third night he marched for it with his troops in two divisions. In the morning he took possession of the town without resistance; but no rice was there. The English in fact had no magazines: the system then was, that each day should provide for itself; if food was to be had the men ate it, if not they fasted. The pagoda there, which was held by the English, contained some military stores; but as he had no cannon, he could not attack it, and he retired after plundering and setting fire to the town. His most valuable booty was two thousand bullocks.

Coote, who had expected that Wandewash would be the object of Lally's attack, set out with his cavalry for Conjeveram the moment intelligence from thence reached him, but found Lally gone. That officer was now preparing for an attempt on Wandewash, contrary to the advice of the experienced Bussy, who maintained that it was impossible to take it in the face of the whole British army, and advised, as they were so much superior in cavalry, and had the aid of the Marattas, to keep the regular troop together, and let the latter lay waste the British districts. But Lally was headstrong and self-sufficient; he was jealous of Bussy's popularity, if not of his talents; and though he could not decently avoid asking his opinion, he took good care never to follow it. Bussy's advice to the contrary, therefore, ensured the attack on Wandewash, whither Lally marched with a part of his forces on the 4th, leaving Bussy with the main body at Trivatore. Coote, when informed of Lally's departure, took a position half way between Wandewash and Chingleput. Lally would hardly give credit to Bussy when he sent to inform him of this movement; but being at length convinced of its truth, he permitted Bussy to act as he deemed best, and that officer led his troops to Wandewash. It was Coote's intention to wait till the enemy was ready to assault, and then to attack, at his option, either the troops thus engaged, or the covering force on the plain. Bussy, who penetrated his design, advised Lally to suspend the siege, and to keep his army together till Coote either attacked or retired. This advice was of course rejected, and Lally resolved to persevere in the siege.

On his first arrival, Lally had attacked and carried the town, chiefly through his own personal courage, a quality in which he certainly was not by any means deficient. He entrenched the openings of the streets toward the fort, and raised a battery; but as he had to fetch his guns from some distance, it was not till the 20th that it began to play. By night it had produced some effect, and next morning Coote, to whom Captain Sherlock, the commandant, had sent word, advanced with his cavalry to reconnoitre. Having received further information from Sherlock, he gave orders for the main body to advance. The following day (22nd) his whole army having come up, he drew it out in order of battle on a plain, in view of the French camp; but their troops remained inactive, and even the firing on the fort seemed to have ceased. He then directed it to move along the south side of the mountain of Wandewash, and in the direction of the fort. He offered battle again, but to no purpose; and having, by the fire of two guns driven off the French and Maratta cavalry that annoyed him, he moved round the mountain till, as he had proposed, he had placed his army with one flank protected by the fire of the fort, and the other by some impassable ground, while he had the power of attacking at his pleasure the batteries or camp of the enemy.

Lally, aware of his error, resolved to give battle at once, in the hope of retrieving it; and when the armies were within cannon shot, he put himself at the head of his 300 European cavalry, and making a large sweep, came down on that of the English, in which there were only eighty Europeans. The native horse at once turned and fled, but Captain Barker, who had the management of two field-pieces, directed them so ably, that just as the French were coming full speed down on the eighty English, he gave them a point-blank discharge, which threw them into such confusion, that they turned and galloped off, Lally being the last to retire.

Lally, on his return, gave orders to advance. The regiment of Lorraine, forming twelve in front, bore down on Coote's own, and though received by a galling fire at the distance of fifty yards, still rushed on till the two were mingled and contending with the bayonet. But here the English were as ever superior, and the gallant Frenchmen turned and fled to their camp.

Meantime a shot from one of the English guns struck a tumbril laden with powder in a dry tank,

to the left of Lally's regiment, and the explosion killed or wounded about eighty of them. The rest fled to the camp, and Major Brereton forthwith advanced to occupy the tank. Bussy, however, who had rallied some of the fugitives, led them back, and a sharp conflict ensued; but the English remained finally masters of the tank, with the loss of their gallant leader. The fight was then maintained between them and the remainder of Lally's regiment, till two field-pieces were brought to bear on the latter. Bussy then attempted to lead a charge, but his horse being wounded, he was forced to dismount; and then he found that he had been followed by only twenty men. He surrendered to an English party, which surrounded him; and such was the respect in which he was held, that he was admitted to parole on the field, and furnished with a pass for Pondicherry.

The French camp with stores, ammunition, and twenty-four pieces of cannon was taken. The loss of the English in killed and wounded was about 200, that of the French about 600 men. The number of Europeans is said by Orme to have been 1900 English, 2250 French, while Lally says, 2500 of the former, 1350 of the latter [5].

Coote proceeded to reduce Chingleput, Arcot, and other forts. The important seaport of Carical surrendered on the 5th April, and on the 1st May the only place remaining to the French was Pondicherry, and the English army was encamped within four miles of that town. They had been largely reinforced from home, and eleven ships of the line were now on the coast. Hope and confidence pervaded all bosoms; while, within the walls of Pondicherry, all was distrust, animosity, and bitterness. Lally charged the governor and council with peculation and embezzlement; they retorted by charges of cowardice, folly, and dishonesty. Aid from France was looked for, but looked for in vain.

Still Lally was able to inspire the English with such respect for his forces that they did not venture to lay siege to Pondicherry. He continued to supply the fort with provisions for several months; and on the night of the 4th September, he made a well-planned attack on the English camp, which failed, chiefly in consequence of one of the divisions not coming up in time. But reinforcements continued to come to the English camp, and their fleet now counted seventeen ships of the line.

The last ships from England brought out commissions of lieut.-colonel for Majors Brereton and Monson, prior in date to that of Coote. But they were not to assume the command as long as Coote should remain in the Carnatic. This injudicious arrangement was made in ignorance of the real state of affairs; for Coote, it was supposed, had proceeded to his command in Bengal. Monson, in whom we shall find little to esteem, instead of, in the spirit of the instructions, agreeing to continue to serve during the siege under Coote, offered to retire to Madras; but Coote, to end the difficulty, said that he would proceed with his regiment at once to Bengal; and when Monson declared to the presidency that, if that regiment went, there was little hope of taking Pondicherry, Coote, unlike Adlercron, agreed to leave it and go to Bengal alone.

Pondicherry, like most towns in that part of India, had a bound-hedge composed of trees and prickly plants. The use of these hedges was, to keep off a sudden attack. The present one commencing at the river opposite the fort of Ariancopang, went round till it reached the sea-coast on the north, enclosing an area of seven square miles, which would feed as much cattle as might support the garrison for some time. It was defended by four redoubts, on the four roads leading from the town. To get possession of the hedge and its redoubts was of the utmost importance to the English. Coote, whose plan was to commence by reducing the fort of Ariancopang, had prevailed on Admiral Stevens to lend him 400 marines for the purpose; but in the council he yielded his own judgment to that of Monson, and the expedition was suspended, and the marines sent on board.

Monson, whose plan was to attack the four redoubts together, as soon as he got the command, proceeded to put it into execution. The attack was in some measure successful, and might perhaps have been completely so, were it not that Major R. Gordon became again invisible at the critical moment. The French abandoned three of the redoubts and several pieces of cannon; but the loss of the English was severe. Among the wounded was Monson himself, and as Major R. Gordon, the next in rank, lost no time in displaying his incompetence by exposing the troops to a night attack, from which nothing but their own daring valour preserved them, Monson wrote immediately to request that Coote, who was still at Madras, would come and take the command. The presidency joined in the request, and Coote, who had no false notions of honour, gave a willing consent.

The blockade was continued, and in December famine began to be felt in the town. On the 27th, Lally turned out of it the natives to the number of 1400, and during eight days these poor creatures roamed about the enclosure, feeding on the roots of the grass, prevented from going out of it by the guards of the besiegers, fired on by cannon and musketry when they approached the gates of the town. At length the English commander allowed them to pass, and the expressions of gratitude uttered by the unhappy creatures were loud and fervent.

On the 30th a furious storm came on; the sea rushed over the beach, sweeping away the English batteries and redoubts, carrying off tents, and destroying ammunition. Some ships of the blockading squadron were stranded, others much injured. But the inundation was so far of service, that, as it covered the ground with water so that artillery could not be moved through it, the garrison were unable to make a sally. Every effort was speedily made to repair the damage, and on the 12th January, 1761, the besiegers began to open trenches. On the evening of the 15th a flag of truce appeared, announcing the approach of a deputation. The envoys came on foot, the fort containing neither horses nor palankeen-bearers. They bore a memorial from Lally full of absurd gasconade, and charges of breach of faith on the English, but offering to surrender at discretion;

[5] Mill, true to his system of depreciating his countrymen, says that Orme's account of the French appears to be conjectural, while Lally may perhaps be trusted for the account of his own forces, as it was given in the face of his enemies, who could contradict it if untrue. But these enemies were French also, and his account is false on the face of it.

and another from the governor and council, claiming security for the persons, property, and religion of the inhabitants. The terms were granted, and next day (18th) the English took possession of the town and citadel. The roar of 1000 pieces of cannon from ships, walls, redoubts, and batteries, saluted the English flag when it was seen to wave over the conquered town.

As the French had destroyed the fortifications of Fort St. David, and Lally's instructions were to destroy all the maritime possessions of the English, the Company had issued similar orders in retaliation. The fortifications, therefore, of Pondicherry were demolished. Mr. Pigot claimed the conquest for the Company; but a council of the officers of the army and navy met and refused compliance. He then declared that the presidency would not issue any money for the support of the king's troops or the French prisoners, and they were obliged to yield, though they protested against his authority.

Gingee, and Thiagur, and Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, soon after surrendered to the forces sent against them, and nothing remained to the French in India but their mere trading factories at Calicut and Surat; and thus, in the space of less than twenty years, were ended for ever their brilliant dreams of an empire in the East.

And surely, without national prejudice, we may say that it was fortunate for the people of India that the contest had this termination. Of all nations of Europe the French seem to be the least fitted for holding dominion over another people. Their national vanity and their inborn insolence disqualify them: they have none of the dignity of character requisite for such an office. In the conduct of the British in India there is doubtless much to condemn; but much is to be ascribed to inevitable ignorance, and they have gone on in a steady course of improvement. But had the French obtained the same power there, we fear the pages of the historian would present a far different picture, and we might have to contemplate *razzias*, and scenes of plunder, violence, insolence, and cruelty, of which Englishmen are incapable; ending eventually in their massacre and expulsion.

Lally returned to France. His conduct in India had been intemperate and overbearing, and had made him many enemies; but it had been honest and disinterested, and he had shown both skill and courage. The ministry and the Company, who had not supported him, resolved to make him the scapegoat of their own misdeeds, and he was thrown into the Bastille, and then, as if that was too honourable for him, into a common prison. Frivolous charges were made against him, and the Parliament of Paris condemned him to death. When the sentence was read to him in his dungeon, he was so filled with surprise and indignation, that he snatched up a pair of compasses he had been using, and attempted to plunge them into his heart; but his hand was held. That very day he was led through Paris in a dung-cart, to the Grève, with a gag in his mouth, to prevent his addressing the people; and his head was stricken off. Voltaire exposed this "murder committed with the sword of justice," as Orme terms it; and his son Lally Tolendal became an instrument in the hand of Providence for destroying the effete and tyrannous monarchy which had perpetrated that dark deed.

CHAPTER IX.

Affairs of Bengal—Invasion of Bahâr by the Shah-Zada—Conflict with the Dutch—Return of Clive to England.

HAVING thus brought the affairs of the Carnatic down to the period of the overthrow of the French power in India, we now return to those of Bengal.

A revolution in the East is usually attended by minor commotions within the state, made by those who hope to gain or who fear to lose wealth or power. Jaffier Khân was a weak man, and too much attached to his own family, and his son Meerum was known to be cruel and unscrupulous. Moreover it had been a part of the policy of the prudent Aliverdi to employ Hindoos in places of trust and profit, and the Moslems coveted their places and their wealth. The consequence was, that very soon Roy Dûllûb, Abdul Sing, rajah of Purneah, Rajah Râm, manager of Midnapore, and Rajah Râm Narrain, governor of Patna, were driven into rebellion, and Shujah-ud dowlah, of Oude, who now had Law and his French with him, menaced Bahâr. Clive, therefore, found it necessary to accompany the Nabob to Patna, with the greater part of his forces, though he thereby left Calcutta exposed, if the French, as was feared, could have sent a force against it. By the influence which his mental energy gave him over the vacillating Nabob, and by the confidence reposed in his honour by Râm Narrain, he effected an accommodation, and the latter was left in possession of his government, from which Meer Jaffier had proposed to remove him in favour of his brother, whom Clive designates as "a greater fool than himself." Clive also, while at Patna, obtained for the Company a monopoly of the saltpetre of that province. It was an advantage, no doubt, for them; but it was also one for the Nabob, who received as much as ever, and more regular payment. But his officers were displeased, as they lost their usual bribes and presents from the contractors. Clive was accompanied to Moorshedabâd by Roy Dûllûb, whom he had pledged himself to protect, and he then returned to Calcutta.

Soon after his return, a vessel arrived from England, bringing out the arrangements made by the Directors after they heard of the misfortunes in Bengal. The first, made in August, 1757, appointed a committee of five, in which Clive was to preside; the second, made in November, dismissed Mr. Drake, whose incompetence was undisputed, and appointed a council of ten, the four senior members of which were to preside alternately for three months each. In this no mention whatever was made of Clive; but this was little regarded; and the members of the Council were unanimous in their request to him to take the office of president, as he alone was adequate to the conducting of affairs at that critical period. Irritated by the supposed insult of the Directors, he at first refused; but he finally yielded to his zeal for the public service and the united solicitations of all ranks and parties in Bengal. The truth, however, is, no slight was intended. It was supposed he had returned to Madras; and as soon as intelligence arrived of the battle of Plassy, and of his remaining in Bengal, the Directors appointed him to the office of president.

It was soon after this that Clive sent the expedition under Col. Forde to the Deckan, much against the will of many members of the council, who thought only of Bengal, while he thought of the British interests in India.

Meantime intrigue was at work, as usual, at Moorshedabâd, and Roy Dûllûb was deprived of his employment, and disgraced. A chief agent in this business was Nundcomar, another Hindoo, and governor of Hooghly, who envied his wealth and his success. His attachment to the English was also a high crime in the eyes of the Nabob and his son. Just at this time Clive had invited the Nabob to Calcutta. He accepted the invitation, and he had no sooner set out, than Meerum, as no doubt had been arranged, was going to attack Roy Dûllûb's house, when Mr. Scrafton, the resident, marched a company of men to protect him, and sent word to Mr. Watts, who was with the Nabob. This prince of course denied all knowledge of the transaction, and consented to Roy Dûllûb's accompanying them to Calcutta. Some time after the minister's family were allowed to join him there, and his property was saved from the meditated plunder. An attempt was then made to deprive him of the English protection, by means of a forged letter, on which was founded a charge of plots against the Nabob's life. But this artifice could not elude Clive's sagacity.

Early in the year 1759 the Shah Zada, heir-apparent, eldest son of the emperor of Delhi, weary of the state of thraldom in which the imperial family was held by the Vizier Ghâzi-ud-dîn, and instigated by the Sûbahdâr of Oude, fled from the capital, and collecting a force of about 8000 men, resolved to attempt to make himself master of Bahâr. Râm Narrain was reported to have invited him, and the Seits to have supplied him with money; it was also asserted that he had been joined by M. Law. On the other hand, the conduct of his son gave the Nabob great anxiety even for his life, and his troops were in a state of mutiny, and refused to march unless their arrears were paid. His only dependence was on Clive, to whom both himself and Mr. Hastings, the resident, wrote frequent and pressing letters.

Clive at once assured the Nabob of support, and at the same time, through Mr. Amyatt, the agent at Patna, bade Râm Narrain to rely on his protection against the Nabob. He put himself at the head of a force of about 450 Europeans and 2500 Sepoys, and set out for Patna. The news of his approach gave courage to the governor, who had been wavering; he repelled the attacks of the enemy, and soon after the Shâh Zada broke up his camp, and made a precipitate retreat. Repelled from Oude, to whose ruler he was no longer of use, and proclaimed a rebel by his father, he sought the British protection; but, connected as Clive was with Meer Jaffier, he found himself obliged to refuse it; he sent him, however, a present of money equal to about 1000*l.* to aid him in effecting his escape.

This expedition of the Shâh Zada was of service to both Meer Jaffier and to Clive. For the emperor (or rather Ghâzi-ud-dîn), when he heard of it, appointed his second son Sûbahdâr of Bengal, &c., with Meer Jaffier as his *Naib* or deputy, and sent orders to the latter and to Clive, who, through his interest had been made an Omrah of the empire, to make that prince a prisoner. Hence they both, while pursuing their own interests, were acting the part of dutiful subjects to the crown. To Clive the great advantage was, that Meer Jaffier took this occasion of presenting him a jagheer for the support of his new dignity. It was the quit rent of the territory granted to the Company, and was estimated at nearly thirty lacs of rupees a year[6].

There was peace at this time between England and Holland, but we are not to suppose that mutual hostilities in the East were thereby precluded. Though the Dutch, who had also suffered from the rapacity of Shujah-ud-dowlah, rejoiced at his fall, and congratulated the English on their effecting it, they refused to recognise Meer Jaffier, and on his passing their factory of Chinsura on his way to Calcutta, they did not pay him the compliment of a salute. The offended Nabob stopped their trade, and they then, in their usual manner, made a most submissive apology. Mutual jealousy of the English soon drew them more closely together. The Nabob was annoyed at the state of tutelage in which he was held; the Dutch were jealous of the English monopoly of saltpetre (though they got it cheaper than ever), and annoyed at their vessels being obliged to take English pilots, a necessary precaution against the French. It was said that they then concerted between them that the Dutch should bring a large force from Batavia to counterbalance that of the English, and support the Nabob. But then came the invasion of the Shâh-Zada, which united the Nabob more closely than ever with Clive; and when intelligence came that the Dutch were fitting out a large expedition at Batavia, he issued a *purwannah* to the governor of Chinsura, prohibiting their admission there. Soon after a Dutch ship arrived full of troops. The Nabob sent another *purwannah*, and the Dutch replied, that she came by stress of weather, and would depart forthwith. They endeavoured, however, to land the troops, but were prevented by the vigilance of the English, who searched the boats, and sent back the soldiers they found in them.

Early in October, while the Nabob was on a visit at Calcutta, news came that six or seven more Dutch ships "crammed with soldiers," had entered the river. The Nabob, conscious that it was his encouragement had brought them, said, he would go to his town of Hooghly for a few days, and make them be sent away. Instead, however, of stopping them, he went to a place between it and Chinsura, where he received the Dutch most graciously, and sent to tell the English that he had granted them some slight indulgence in their trade, and that they would send away their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit. But that this was all deception was manifest, for the season was then as favourable as could be desired, and soon after news arrived that the ships were moving up the river, and that the Dutch were enlisting troops of all kinds, which could not be done without the connivance, at least, of the Nabob.

[6] Clive, when created an Omrah, had, through Jugget Seit, asked for a jagheer to support his new dignity, but it does not appear that he specified any amount, and he got no answer at the time. The present one was given him by the advice of Jugget Seit.

It is to be recollected, that at this time a part of the troops were with Col. Forde in the Deckan, another part at Patna, and that those from home destined for Bengal had been stopped at Madras, so that the garrison of Fort William was very weak; and, moreover, there were only three ships of war in the river. To suffer the Dutch, however, to pass, might endanger the very existence of the English in Bengal; and it, moreover, was believed to be the politics of the Nabob's durbar, to let the rivals weaken each other, and then try to reduce both, or, at worst, to side with the stronger. On the other side there was the hazard of being overcome, and the doubt, if they would be justified in commencing hostilities against an ally of England, in case the Dutch should attempt to pass the batteries. But while feeble-minded men were hesitating, and even representing to Clive his personal risk, in order to dissuade him, he replied, that "a public man may occasionally be called on to act with a halter round his neck," and resolved at all hazards to maintain the interest and honour of his country, and resist the Dutch if they offered to advance[7].

From the embarrassment about being the aggressors, the Dutch soon relieved them by seizing vessels, guns, and stores, making prisoners, and pulling down the English flag. It was concluded from this, that they had been advised of a war between the two nations in Europe, or that they counted on the Nabob's aid or neutrality. As their plans were not known, the greater part of the troops were stationed at the batteries named Charnock's and Tanna's, under Capt. Knox, while Col. Forde, who had returned from the Deckan on account of his health, marched with another party in the direction of Chinsura, to intercept the Dutch troops if they should debark below the batteries, and march for that place by land. The three ships were directed to come above the batteries, where fire-boats were placed, and other preparations made.

On the 21st November the Dutch ships came to anchor, a little below the batteries, and on the 23rd they landed on the opposite shore 700 Europeans, and about 800 Buggoses, *i. e.* Malays. On the same day orders were sent to Commodore Wilson, to demand restitution of the ships, men, and property, or "to fight, sink, burn, and destroy" the Dutch ships on their refusal. Next day (24th) the demand was made, and refused, and the commodore then obeyed his further instructions. Unequal as were the forces, in two hours six of the Dutch ships struck; the seventh ran down the river, but she was met and captured.

On the same day Col. Forde was attacked in the ruins of Chandernagore, by the garrison of Chinsura; but he routed and pursued them to the barriers of that town, which (being now joined by Capt. Knox from the batteries) he was preparing to invest, when he heard of the approach of the troops from the ships. Though his whole force did not amount to 400 Europeans, and 800 Sepoys, he advanced to meet them. The action was "short, bloody, and decisive;" for it lasted only half an hour, and the Dutch had 120 Europeans, and 200 Malays killed; 150 wounded, and 350 Europeans, with fourteen officers, and 200 Malays, made prisoners. Forde then returned, and sat down before Chinsura. But the Dutch sued for favour; they disavowed the conduct of their fleet, acknowledging themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages. Their ships were then restored.

But the troubles of the Dutch were not yet ended. In a few days Meerum, at the head of a body of horse, approached Chinsura, making demands. They wrote, supplicating the good offices of Clive. By his means a treaty was effected, limiting the number of troops they were to keep to 125 Europeans; and the young Nabob then withdrew and left them in quiet.

Clive now put into execution his plan of returning to England, for which he sailed on the 25th February, 1760, the richest man that ever left the shores of India for Europe. His departure was deeply regretted by the Nabob, who saw in him his only support; and many of the Company's servants augured ill, and but too truly, for the country from his absence.

[7] When Clive formed this resolution, almost the whole of his property was in the hands of the Dutch, through whom he was remitting it to Europe.

CHAPTER X.

Defeat of the Emperor—Death of Meerum—Dethronement of Meer Jaffier—Seizure of Râm Narrain—The Private Trade—Quarrel with Meer Cossim—Affairs at Patna—Restoration of Meer Jaffier—Battle of Geriah—Massacre of English Prisoners—Battle at Patna—Mutiny of Sepoys—Battle at Buxar—Death of Meer Jaffier—His Successor—Presents received.

By the rotation system which had been established the office of governor now came to Mr. Holwell, the fifth on the list, those above him having died or returned to Europe. Col. Forde also returned, and the chief military command lay with Col. Calliaud.

On the 18th January this officer had marched for Patna, accompanied by a large native force, under Meerum. For the late Shâh-Zada, who was now emperor, his father having been murdered[8], was again before that city. Col. Calliaud had written to Râm Narrain, to avoid an engagement; but he gave no heed to the advice, fought, and was defeated. On the 22nd February, Calliaud fought a battle, in which the emperor was totally routed; and the victory would have been still more complete, if Meerum had not refused to give any cavalry for pursuit. The emperor marched for Bengal, followed by Calliaud, who came nearly up with him two or three times, and but for the refusal of the Nabob to give any cavalry, would probably have defeated him again. He thus was able to make his way back to Patna, on which, aided by Law and his French, he made two assaults. He was preparing to make a third, when the arrival of a detachment under Capt. Knox forced him to retire. Knox was then sent against the Foujdar of Purneah, who was in arms for the purpose of joining the emperor. He gave him a defeat, and Calliaud and Meerum, who had now arrived at Patna, went in pursuit of him. But here again Meerum impeded success, by refusing to give cavalry. His career, however, was near its close.

[8] See above, p 47.

On the night of the 2nd July there was a fearful storm, in which the lightning struck the tent of Meerum, and all within it perished. As in the East the troops always disperse on the death of the general, it was resolved to keep that of Meerum a secret; it was therefore given out that he was unwell, and during a march of seven days to Patna the army never suspected the truth. When it was made known, the troops became clamorous for their arrears of pay; they reviled the Nabob in the most opprobrious terms, and even menaced him with death. They were only appeased by the efforts of his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, who advanced three lacs of rupees, and became security for the remainder.

Violent and unprincipled as Meerum was, and though the Nabob lived in constant apprehension of meeting death at his hands, his removal now led to the overthrow of his father's power. Meer Cossim, an able, ambitious, and unscrupulous man, had, when he advanced the money, insisted on being put into Meerum's place; and though the Nabob had two other sons and Meerum left one, he was obliged to consent. This, however, did not content Meer Cossim; he was in correspondence with Mr. Holwell, who hated Meer Jaffier, and the dethronement of that prince was meditated.

Meantime Mr. Holwell was superseded by Mr. Vansittart, from Madras, who, on Clive's strong recommendation, had been appointed his successor in Bengal. Mr. Vansittart was a man of many good qualities, and by no means devoid of talent; but he wanted that which is of vital importance to a man placed as he was—he wanted firmness of purpose and energy of character, and he therefore soon ceased to be master at his own council-board. The expenses of the Company at this time in Bengal were very great, and their resources were becoming every day more limited; the unthrifty Nabob was of course in arrear, and Mr. Holwell therefore found little difficulty in persuading the governor to adopt his views, and to enter into the plan for the dethronement of that prince.

As Mr. Holwell had laid the plan, the task of conducting it was committed to him. Meer Cossim obtained permission to come to Calcutta, where he conferred with Mr. Holwell, who agreed to every thing he proposed, except the assassination of the Nabob. At this the former expressed his fears that the latter was not so much his friend as he had supposed. As, however, he could not go on without the English, he consented to waive that point; and it was arranged that the title of Nabob should be left to Meer Jaffier, while all the executive power, along with the office of Dewan, or treasurer, should be transferred to Meer Cossim. The Company, to defray their expenses, were to have the districts of Burdwar, Midnapore, and Chittagong. These terms were approved of by the Select Committee, and a treaty to this effect was signed by them and Meer Cossim.

All that now remained was, to inform Meer Jaffier that he had ceased to reign. Mr. Holwell was expected to undertake this task also; but he declined, for various reasons, and quitted the Company's service. Mr. Vansittart then resolved to *undertake the office himself, and, on the 14th Octo*ber, he arrived at Moorshedabâd. Next day he was visited by the Nabob. He dwelt on the evils of the government, and Meer Jaffier expressed his willingness to be guided by his advice for its improvement. Other visits and notes succeeded, in which the Nabob was urged to choose from among "his children" some capable person to manage the affairs of the state. By dint of importunity he was drawn to confess his own incapacity and the superior fitness of Meer Cossim; but as he did not seem inclined to act as was wished, it was resolved to recur to force. The preparations having been made with due secrecy, Col. Calliaud joined his troops with Meer Cossim, and entered the outer court of the palace, where he drew up his men, and sent in to Meer Jaffier a letter from the governor, complaining of his silence during the day, denouncing his evil counsellors, and informing him that he had sent Col. Calliaud with a military force "to wait on him" and expel his evil advisers, and he was exhorted to look on the governor as his best friend, and "to remain satisfied." But his satisfaction was evinced by a transport of rage, in which he vowed he would resist to the last. Calliaud remained quiet, to give him time to reflect; and it ended in his submission, stipulating only for his life, honour, and a suitable maintenance. Mr. Vansittart now appeared, and assured him that not only his person, but his government was safe, if he pleased; but when he found that he was only to have the title, he declined the empty honour, and having obtained permission to settle at Calcutta, he set out for it that very evening. Meer Cossim was forthwith seated on the *musnud*, and English and natives joined in offering him their congratulations.

Thus, in violation of the treaty existing with him, and with a sacrifice of British honour, was Meer Jaffier dethroned. Various frivolous reasons, such as his countenancing the Dutch, his being in correspondence with the emperor, and such like, were assigned, to justify the deed; but the real reason was—money. The Company got five lacs; but on the night the treaty was signed, Meer Cossim had presented to Mr. Vansittart a paper, which proved to be a note for the payment of twenty lacs to the members of the Select Committee. One can hardly be much astray in supposing that this also had been arranged between him and Mr. Holwell, who, however, with the others, rejected it, and bade the president inform him that he mistook their motives. Still he pressed it on them, and at length, as he seemed distressed at their not allowing him to give proofs of his gratitude, the kind-hearted president told him that, when affairs were settled and the country flourishing, they would accept such marks of his favour as he might be pleased to bestow. It is needless to add that, in due time, the money was offered and accepted[9]. As it was only the members of the Select Committee that were thus considered, the other members of council were highly offended, and, in a letter to the Directors, they did not hesitate to hint that this was the real cause of the revolution. They also took great credit to themselves for having had the fortitude to resist the repeated

[9] In the division of the spoil Mr. Vansittart had five lacs of rupees (58,333*l.*); Mr. Holwell, 2,70,000 (30,937*l.*), Mr. Sumner, 2,40,000 (28,000*l.*); Mr. M'Guire, 2,55,000 (29,370*l.*); Mr. Smyth, the Secretary, *1,34,000 (15,354l.)*; Major Yorke, who commanded the detachment attending on Meer Cossim, *a like sum (15,354l)*; *and finally, Col. Calliaud, two lacs (22,916l.)*, in all, *17,33,000* rupees *(200,269l.)*.

offers of Meer Cossim. As we shall see, however, they were in reality little more virtuous than those to whom they were in opposition.

To raise the necessary funds for the payments he had to make, the new Nabob began to squeeze the relations and friends of his predecessors, going back as far as the time of Aliverdi Khân. The emperor being still in the vicinity of Patna, the discontented sought refuge with him; and in order to get him out of the way, Major Carnac, who commanded there, gave him battle and defeated him (Jan. 15, 1761). M. Law and his French were made prisoners; negotiations were then opened, Major Carnac visited the emperor in his camp, and was accompanied by him back to Patna, whither also came Meer Cossim, who, on engaging to pay an annual tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees, was acknowledged Sûbahdâr of Bengal, Bahâr, and Orissa.

Meer Cossim shared his predecessor's feelings toward Râm Narrain, who was supposed to be very wealthy. He called on him now to settle his accounts; but the Hindoo alleged that he owed nothing, the defence and other expenses of the province having consumed all its revenues. Mr. Vansittart supported the Nabob, Major Carnac upheld Râm Narrain; by which conduct, as he no doubt violated the principles of military subordination, he was removed, and Col. Coote, who was now in Bengal, was sent to command at Patna. But Coote also refused to be instrumental in the destruction of a man for whose safety the British faith had been pledged; and he too was recalled, and the command at Patna given to Capt. Carstairs, with directions to obey the chief of the factory. The result was, that Râm Narrain was seized and given up to the Nabob; and Mr. Vansittart was thus the instrument of placing another stain on the purity of the British faith and honour.

Mr. Vansittart's power, however, soon passed out of his hands. Before Clive left India, a very energetic letter, signed by himself and by Messrs. Holwell, Sumner, Pleydell, and M'Guire, the other members of the Secret Committee, and which told the directors some unpalatable truths, had been sent to the India House. It excited great wrath and indignation, and orders were sent out to Calcutta to dismiss those four civilians. Mr. Holwell had already resigned, and the dismissal of the remaining three left Mr. Vansittart in a minority in the council, so that the powers of government passed into the hands of his opponents, headed by Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Johnstone. One of their first acts was to appoint Mr. Ellis, a violent, intemperate man, resident at Patna, where he soon contrived to irritate the mind of the Nabob by various petty vexatious acts. In order to soothe him, the governor proposed sending Mr. Hastings to him on a special mission. The council consented, but insisted on adding a clause in his instructions, directing him to apply to the Nabob for payment, for the use of the Company, of the twenty lacs of rupees he had offered the members of the Secret Committee. This Mr. Vansittart very properly resisted; and in reply to Mr. Amyatt, he observed, that that gentleman had never thought of handing over to the Company his share of the money received from Meer Jaffier. But Mr. Amyatt maintained that there was an essential difference between what was received "in common with the whole board, as well as with the army and navy," and what "was intended for five gentlemen only." The motion, which was purely factious, was carried of course, but they got nothing, perhaps expected nothing, by it; for the Nabob, in a very spirited reply, utterly denied their claim, as he had neither borrowed from them, nor engaged to pay them any thing. "I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand," is the conclusion of the reply he delivered to Mr. Hastings.

In fact, they had completely mistaken their man, when they substituted Meer Cossim for Meer Jaffier on the *musnud*. The latter was weak, and could be bullied or cajoled; the former had both energy and capacity. He had reduced his subjects to obedience, and he had, by his financial skill and attention to the collection of his revenues, been able to discharge the whole of his obligations to the Company and its servants. We have already mentioned the subject of the governor's *dustucks* or certificates, and their power of exempting the Company's goods from duties. By these goods were meant those brought from England, and those purchased in India for exportation, and none others. This was a fair regulation, merely exempting foreign traders from the onerous and capricious tolls and duties levied on the internal trade of the country at the numerous *chokeys* or toll-houses by which they passed. As the servants of the Company were allowed to engage in private trade, various attempts were made, as we have seen, to have this trade also covered by the Company's *dustuck*, but in vain as long as there was vigour in the native governments. As soon, however, as, by the dethronement of Shujah-ud-dowlah, the power and influence of the English became paramount in Bengal, the Company's servants prepared to take advantage of the altered circumstances. While Clive remained in India, their cupidity was held in check, but as soon as he was gone, they rushed with avidity into the internal trade; salt, betel, tobacco, every thing, in short, became objects of their traffic; the Company's flag was held to cover every thing; the *gomastahs*, or native agents of the Company's servants, acted with the greatest insolence and oppression; the Nabob's officers in general feared to perform their duty, and his revenue, deprived of one of its principal sources, began rapidly to decline. Wealthy natives paid even the young writers largely for the use of their name, and thus mere boys were enabled to live at the rate of 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* a year. Many natives even had the audacity to assume the habit of English Sepoys or gomastahs, or to raise the English flag, and thus plunder and insult the people with impunity.

Meer Cossim made repeated complaints on this subject to Mr. Vansittart, who, on his side, was anxious to remedy the disorder; and when we recollect the horror of bribes, and the high spirit of disinterestedness lately exhibited by Mr. Johnstone and the rest of the majority, we might naturally suppose him to have had their most strenuous support. But not so, his only supporter was Mr. Hastings; for these gentlemen were all deeply engaged in the private trade themselves, and they affected to regard any attempt to interfere with it as the very height of tyranny and injustice. The weak Vansittart himself seemed even to think that their enjoyment of it for five or six years, had

given them a kind of prescriptive right to it. In one interview with the Nabob, however, he made a tolerably fair arrangement; which was, that the Company's servants might engage in the internal trade on paying a duty of nine per cent. once for all on the first moving of the goods. This arrangement was not to be published until after the governor's return to Calcutta; but the Nabob, in his eagerness to derive advantage from it, sent copies of it in all quarters, ordering his officers to act on it, and they began to do so forthwith in a most offensive manner. The council met to take the matter into consideration. There were twelve members present; including two military men, whose right to vote on any but a professional question was dubious, and all, except the governor and Hastings, declared that the Company and its servants had a right to carry on the inland trade duty free. Some, indeed, were inclined to allow a trifling duty to be levied on certain articles; but it was finally determined that nothing should pay duty but salt, and that only two and a half per cent. The Nabob complained in various letters to the governor, who could give no redress; collisions took place between his troops and the Sepoys protecting the English private trades; and finally, seeing his revenue in a fair way of disappearing, he issued orders for the cessation of all transit duties in his dominions.

On the receipt of this intelligence the council were stricken with dismay; they saw all their fair visions of enormous wealth rudely dissipated at one stroke. For, we may observe, the levying of duties, from which *they* were exempt, on the native traders, gave them a virtual monopoly of the whole trade of the country; while now, when all were put on an equality, the advantage would naturally be on the side of the natives. Their impudence now passed all limits. They maintained, that the conduct of the Nabob was prejudicial to the trade of the Company, and involved a violation of its recognized rights; and they resolved to insist on his laying on the duties again, their own trade, however, excepted. A deputation, composed of Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, was sent to make this demand (April 4). They met with no success, and the council, determined not to give up their profits, met, and resolved on a recourse to arms (14th). The Nabob, though weakened by a check he had lately received, in an attempt on Nepaul, resolved not to fall without a struggle, and he applied to the emperor and the Vizir of Oude for aid.

On the 25th May, some boats, laden with arms for Patna, arrived at Mongheer. The Nabob, judging that they were to be employed against him, ordered the boats to be detained. The deputies applied for their release, which was refused, unless the British force was withdrawn from Patna, or Mr. Amyatt, Mr. M'Guire, or Mr. Hastings, was sent thither instead of Mr. Ellis. They then demanded their dismissal, and Mr. Amyatt was allowed to depart, but Mr. Hay was detained, as security for the safety of the Nabob's agents at Calcutta. Meantime, Mr. Ellis, who had been long urgent for discretionary powers, at length extorted them, and he immediately began to prepare for an attack on the fort at Patna. As soon as he heard of the departure of Mr. Amyatt, he surprised and took the town. The governor, after a brief resistance, fled toward Mongheer, and only the fort and a strong palace held out. The troops were then allowed to disperse, and they were busily engaged in plundering the houses, when the governor, who had met a detachment coming from Mongheer, suddenly returned and fell on them. After a slight conflict, they spiked their cannon, and retired to the factory. It was surrounded, and in the night, yielding to their fears, they got into their boats, and made up the river toward Oude; but being attacked on their way, they surrendered, and were conducted to Mongheer, whither also were brought the residents of the factory at Cossimbazar, which was attacked and plundered. The Nabob, in the first burst of his indignation, had sent orders to stop Mr. Amyatt, but as he fired from his boats when hailed for that purpose, the boats were boarded, and himself and several of those with him were slain.

As soon as it became manifest that there must be hostilities with Meer Cossim (possibly even sooner), Mr. Johnstone and his friends had resolved to restore Meer Jaffier, and on the 7th July a proclamation to that effect was issued. He agreed to confirm the grants of Meer Cossim to the Company, and to pay them thirty lacs for their losses and expenses; he was also to make good the losses of private persons; the former duties were to be levied on the trade of the natives, while that of the English was to be free, with the exception of the 2½ per cent. on salt. He was further to support a force of 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot; receive a resident at his court, and make the coinage of Calcutta be current in his dominions, without *batta*, *i. e.* allowance.

Meantime the British troops, under Major Williams, of the king's service, had taken the field, and were advancing against Moorshedabâd. On the 19th they defeated the troops of Meer Cossim, and on the 24th they stormed the lines at Mootegil, and took Moorshedabâd; and on the 2nd August they encountered the army of the Nabob, on the plain of Geriah, near Sootee. These troops were of a superior description to any native troops that the English had yet encountered, for a part of them were armed and disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by a Swiss named Sumroo, who had been a serjeant in the French service. The battle was obstinate, and lasted for four hours. At one time the enemy broke a part of the British line, and took two pieces of cannon; but victory finally remained with the Europeans. The enemy fled to the fort of Outanulla, situated between hills and a river, and defended by an intrenchment on which were 100 pieces of cannon. The English approached, and while a feigned attack was made by the bank of the river, the real one was made at the foot of the hills, and after an obstinate contest, they made themselves masters of the fort and all it contained. The forces of Meer Cossim in this place were said to be 60,000 men, while that of the English, Europeans and Sepoys, did not exceed 3000 men.

The army now advanced to Mongheer, which Meer Cossim had made his capital, and strongly fortified. At their approach he fled to Patna, having previously put to death several persons of eminence, among whom was Râm Narrain. On his way he murdered the two Seits, the bankers, whom he had forced to accompany him, lest they should aid the English, and left their bodies ex-

posed to birds and beasts of prey, under the guard of some Sepoys. At Patna, when he heard of the surrender of Mongheer, he put into execution a measure he had long threatened—the massacre of his English prisoners. This office was committed to Sumroo, who evinced no repugnance. The victims were fallen on, even their knives and forks having been previously removed, that they might have no means of resistance. Some were shot, others cut to pieces with swords; they defended themselves as well as they could by throwing bottles and stones. Among them were Mr. Ellis and Mr. Hay; the total number murdered there and elsewhere is said to have been two hundred. The only person spared was Mr. Fullarton, a surgeon.

At the approach of the English, Meer Cossim fled from Patna, and on 6th November that place was taken by storm. They pursued him to the banks of the Caramnassa, which he crossed, and took refuge in Oude. He then repaired to the emperor and vizir who were at Allahabâd. He was received with great respect, and the latter promised to enter Bahâr in his support. Major Carnac, who commanded the army, was therefore directed to march to the Caramnassa to oppose him, but unfortunately his troops were in a state of mutiny in consequence of being disappointed of the rewards they had expected. The mutinous spirit was in some degree appeased; but Carnac, not thinking it advisable to advance, encamped under the walls of Patna, where, on the morning of the 13th May, he was attacked by the united forces of the vizîr and Meer Cossim. The English Sepoys fought nobly, and at sunset the enemy was completely repulsed. Proposals for an accommodation were then made; but as the British authorities insisted on the surrender of Meer Cossim, Sumroo, and the English deserters, and the vizîr required that of Bahâr, nothing could be effected, and in June the enemy retired into Oude.

As the troops behaved so well at Patna, the council thought the mutinous spirit had disappeared; but Carnac knew better, and he acted with caution. The command was then transferred to Major Hector Munro, a king's officer who had just arrived with troops from Bombay. On coming to Patna, he found the Sepoys deserting, and even threatening to seize their officers and deliver them up to the enemy, if they did not get an increase of pay, and a donation promised them by Meer Jaffier. One battalion actually went off with their arms to join the enemy. Munro sent 100 Europeans, and a battalion of Sepoys who could be relied on, in pursuit of them, and they came on them when they were asleep in the night, made them prisoners, and brought them back. The major stood ready to receive them with the troops under arms. He ordered their officers to select fifty of the worst of them, and from these a further selection was made of twenty-four, who were tried on the spot by a court-martial of native officers, found guilty of mutiny and desertion, and sentenced to death. Munro then ordered them to be bound to the guns and blown away. When the first four men were called for, four grenadiers stepped forth and claimed it as "a right which belonged to men who had always been first in the post of danger." Their desire was granted, and the guns were fired. The officers of the Sepoys then informed the major that their men would not allow any more to suffer. He immediately ordered the four guns to be loaded with grape, and the Europeans to be drawn up with the guns in intervals between them. The Sepoys were then commanded to ground their arms on pain of being fired on if they disobeyed. Sixteen more of the mutineers were then blown away, and the remaining four were sent to suffer at another cantonment.

The spirit of mutiny being now at an end, Munro prepared to take the field. Toward the middle of September the army was in motion; the enemy attempted to defend the passage of the Sôn, but were repulsed, and on the 22nd October the army reached Buxar, where the troops of the vizîr were encamped. Munro proposed making an attack on them before daybreak next morning; but the report of his spies leading him to suspect that, as he wished, the enemy meditated being the assailants, he resolved to await them. At eight o'clock they were announced to be in motion; the troops were drawn out to receive them; at nine the action commenced, and at twelve the enemy gave way. They retreated, however, leisurely, and by breaking up a bridge of boats, and thus losing 2000 of his men, the vizîr saved the remainder of his army. His force was estimated at from 40,000 to 60,000 men. Munro had 857 Europeans, 5297 Sepoys, 1918 native cavalry. Of the enemy 2000 lay dead on the field, the British had 847 killed and wounded. The effect of this important battle, which broke the power of the vizîr of Oude, was to render the British paramount north of the Vindhya mountains.

The day after the battle, the emperor wrote to Major Munro congratulating him on his victory, and seeking his protection against the vizîr, who, he said, had treated him as a prisoner. When the British set out for Benâres, he marched in the same direction, and every night pitched his tents near their camp. In an interview with Munro, he offered the dominions of Shujah-ud-dowlah, or any thing else they might require for protection, which finally was accorded by the authorities at Calcutta, and the descendant of Timûr and Bâber thus sank into the condition of a dependant on the foreign traders who had humbly crouched before the throne of his ancestors.

The vizîr, meantime, to console himself for his losses and defeat, plundered his friend Meer Cossim of his remaining wealth, in the most shameless manner. Still he would not surrender him to the British; and he offered, if they would recede from that point, twenty-five lacs of rupees to the Company, as many to the army, and eight to Munro himself. When these terms were refused, he proposed to withdraw his protection from Meer Cossim, but to let him escape. As to Sumroo, he indicated a very simple course; which was to invite him to an entertainment, at which two or three English officers, who knew his person, should be present, and to put him to death before them. But even this was rejected. The British army then advanced toward Allahabâd, and on their way laid siege to the fort of Chunarghur. As Shujah-ud-dowlah was endeavouring to get into the rear of the army, and to seize the emperor, Munro converted the siege into a blockade, and led the rest of the

army toward Benâres. The two armies lay for some time inactive, in presence of each other, and soon after Munro resigned the command, and quitted India.

Meer Jaffier did not long enjoy his recovered dignity. He died in the beginning of the year 1765, his natural infirmities being augmented by the mental uneasiness, caused by the incessant demands made on him by the English for money. Among these, what he most complained of, and what was urged most pertinaciously, was the compensation for private losses. At the time of making the treaty he was assured, that this, at the utmost, would not exceed ten lacs of rupees, but it was gradually increased, and eventually brought up to fifty-three; and of this great sum, the one-half was extorted from him, though his payments to the Company were not completed; and they had to borrow from their own servants money, at eight per cent., for their necessary expenses.

A new Nabob was now to be appointed, and the choice lay between Jaffier's second son, Nûjum-ud-dowlah, and the son of Meerum, a boy only six years old. The council decided in favour of the former; for though a long minority might seem to be more for the advantage of the Company, it might render their power more conspicuous than they desired it should be for some time. Mill hints, that the circumstance of the former being of age, and thus able to make presents, which a minor could not do, may possibly have had its weight. In the treaty made with the new Nabob, the Company took into their own hands the military defence of the country; and with respect to the civil government, the Nabob bound himself to appoint, with their advice, a Naib Subah, or deputy, who should manage it, and not be removed without their consent. The choice of this person also presented a difficulty. Nundcomar, a Hindoo, whom we have seen in the service of Suraj-ud-dowlah, a man of the most faithless and unprincipled character, and in secret the bitter foe of the English, had ingratiated himself so much with Meer Jaffier, during his late long residence at Calcutta, that on his restoration he asked permission to employ him as his minister. To this Vansittart was opposed, which was a sufficient reason with the majority to grant it. Now, however, as Mr. Vansittart was no longer there to be opposed, and Nundcomar had acted in his usual manner, they refused to consent to his appointment, and proposed Mohammed Reza Khân, a Mussulman, of respectable character; and in spite of the artifices of Nundcomar, he became the Naib Subah.

The Court of Directors had, twice during the past year, written out, condemning the private trade, and giving orders for its cessation. They had particularly reprobated the article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, taking off all duties from it, except the small one on salt. Yet, in the face of that prohibition, the council now had the hardihood to insert that very article in the treaty made with Nûjum-ud-dowlah. Further, the Company had devised covenants, to be signed by all the civil and military servants, binding them not to receive any present beyond one thousand rupees, without the consent of the Court of Directors; and these covenants had reached Calcutta before the death of Meer Jaffier; and when we recollect the principles laid down by Mr. Johnstone, respecting the presents received from Meer Cossim, we might surely expect to find all hands clean on the present occasion. But not so; the covenants were pronounced to be absurd and unreasonable, and presents to the amount of about eleven lacs of rupees were received from the Nabob[1], beside presents from Reza Khân and Jugget Seit, the banker[2].

Meantime, the accounts which had reached England of the massacre at Patna, and the war with the vizir, had filled the proprietors with such alarm, that they deemed Clive the only man able to retrieve the Company's affairs in Bengal, and he was accordingly appointed governor of that presidency. We must therefore cast a glance at what had been taking place at home of late years.

CHAPTER XI.

Clive in England—His Return to Bengal—Treaties with the Vizir and Emperor—Clive's Plan of Reform—Salt-Society—Mutiny of English Officers—Suppressed by Clive—His Return to England—Death and Character.

When Clive returned to England, in 1760, his income arising from his jagheer and his money was upwards of 40,000*l.* a year. He met with a most flattering reception from the young king, the ministry, and the Court of Directors. He was created an Irish peer, and had a promise of the order of the Bath. He also became a member of the House of Commons, and, to increase his influence there, purchased seats for several of his friends. But he had his enemies, especially Mr. Lawrence Sulivan, at that time chairman of the Court of Directors; and he had not been long in England, when he received an intimation from that gentleman that the Directors had some thoughts of questioning his right to his jagheer. The breach between them was widened by the circumstance of their being of opposite sides in politics. As one great mind attracts another, Clive admired and supported Pitt; he was also the intimate friend of Mr. George Grenville. Sulivan was of the party of Lord Bute, the actual minister. This nobleman had made overtures to Clive to join him, but they were rejected. It was then resolved, as he could not be gained, to weaken him as much as possible, by attacking his wealth and his character.

Clive seems to have considered that it was necessary for him to become a director in order to secure himself. At that time the whole of the directors were annually elected, and the qualification of a voter was the holding of 500*l.* stock. This no doubt was presumed to be *bonâ fide* property; but as the law was not strict it was easy to

[1] Mr. Spencer, who had lately come from Bombay, and succeeded Mr. Vansittart, had two lacs of rupees (23,333*l.*); Mr. Johnstone, 2,37,000 (27,650*l.*); Mr. Senior, 1,72,500 (20,125*l.*); Mr. Middleton, 1,22,500 (14,291*l.*); Mr. Leycester, 1,12,500 rupees (13,125*l.*) These four formed the deputation for arranging the treaty with the Nabob. Messrs Pleydell, Burdett, and Gray, members of council, had each one lac (11,666*l.*); and Mr. Gideon Johnstone, the brother of the deputy, and who was not even in the Company's service, had 50,000 (5833*l.*).

[2] The cousin, and successor of those murdered by Meer Cossim.

elude it, and the practice grew up of what was called *splitting votes*, that is, giving fictitious qualifications, as in the analogous case of members of parliament. On this occasion Clive split 200,000*l.*; he was, however, defeated, and the victorious party now resolved to make him feel their vengeance.

Orders were immediately sent out to Bengal not to pay any longer to the agents of Lord Clive the rent of his jagheer. No public reason was assigned; but Mr. Sulivan, in a private letter to Mr. Vansittart, stated that it was "because all cordiality between the Court of Directors and Lord Clive was at an end." As his only remedy, Clive filed a bill in chancery; the most eminent legal opinions were taken on both sides, and all were in favour of Clive, whose right to the jagheer, they truly stated, was precisely the same as that of the Company to the lands from which it issued. Nothing could be more flimsy or futile than the reasons assigned by the Directors; still they went on, and would have gone on harassing him, out of pure spite, had not the intelligence from India arrived which determined the proprietors to obtain, if possible, Clive's services once more in that country. At the ensuing election for the Court of Directors, Mr. Sulivan and his party were defeated, and Mr. Ross, whom Lord Clive supported, became chairman. An arrangement, which Clive himself proposed, was made respecting his jagheer, namely, that he should enjoy it for ten years, if he lived so long, and if the lands whence it issued remained so long in the possession of the Company. He was appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief of Bengal, for which he soon after set sail, and he reached Calcutta on the 3rd May, 1765. He was accompanied by Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes, who, with Mr. Verelst and Gen. Carnac, were to form a Select Committee, armed with extraordinary powers for the correction of abuses.

On the second day after their arrival the Committee entered on their duties. Mr. Leycester and Mr. Johnstone attempted to dispute their power; but Clive silenced them by declaring that they should not enter into any discussion on the subject, but might record their dissent if they pleased. They then submitted. Soon after, the subject of the covenants was brought forward, which the Committee insisted should be executed without delay. This also was done, but with much ill-will and discontent. On the complaint of the Nabob that Mohammed Reza Khân had impoverished his treasury by the large amount of presents given to the Company's servants, an inquiry was instituted into these presents. Mr. Johnstone defended himself and colleagues by alleging the example of Clive himself; but he did not state that, at that time, the Company had given no opinion on the subject, whereas he and his companions had acted in direct disobedience to the will of their masters. Mohammed Reza Khân was acquitted of the charges made against him; but Roy Dûllûb and Jugget Seit were joined in office with him.

On the 3rd May, the very day of Clive's landing, Gen. Carnac defeated at Corah the vizîr of Oude, who had been joined by a body of Marattas and other native troops. After this defeat the vizîr resolved to throw himself on the generosity of the English; and on the 19th he entered their camp, where he was received with the greatest respect; but the conclusion of the treaty was deferred till the arrival of Clive. It was deemed the more prudent course to restore him the whole of his dominions, with the exception of Corah and Allahabâd, which were reserved for the emperor. He agreed to pay fifty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, and engaged never to harbour or employ Meer Cossim or Sumroo. He also engaged not to molest Rajah Bulwunt Sing, who held under him the zemindaries of Benâres and Ghâzipûr, and who had joined the English. At his earnest desire an article of free trade and factories in his dominions was omitted in the treaty.

The emperor was next to be dealt with. By the arrangement made with him in the time of Meer Jaffier, he was to be paid twenty-six lacs of rupees a year out of the revenues of the three provinces, and have jagheers to the annual amount of five lacs and a half. These jagheers he was now told he must resign, as also his claim to an arrear of thirty-two lacs then due to him. To his remonstrances Clive replied that, in consequence of the war, which had been in a great measure on his account, not a rupee could be paid; and he was obliged to submit. He was then asked to grant the Company the *dewanee* of the three provinces, for which they agreed to yield him twenty-six lacs a year, and to this he gave a ready consent, as he had already offered it; the *nizâmut* was at the same time assured to the Nabob. The *firmân* to this important grant bears date 12th August, 1765. It had been previously arranged with the Nabob that he should be content with fifty lacs a year for the support of himself and family, the Company having to bear all the expenses of government[3].

Clive now was able to devote himself to the arduous task of effecting reformations and retrenchments in the service. And here the difficulty was of no little magnitude. As the salaries which the Company gave their servants were notoriously inadequate to their support[4], they were allowed, by way of compensation, to receive presents, after the usage of the country, and to engage in private trade. As long as the Company was a mere trading society, the evils which thence resulted were comparatively of little importance; but now that it had become a sovereign power, whose authority was wielded by its servants, those evils assumed a magnitude which could not have been dreamed of previously. It was easy then for the Company to impose covenants and prohibit private trade; but to prevent the evils in this way was impossible.

Clive saw the difficulty. He saw, too, that the only remedy was to give the servants of the Company such incomes as would enable them to live as their rank required, and offer them a fair prospect of retiring with an independence. But he knew the Company and their frugal mercantile habits too well to hope that they would ever give their consent to large sums being taken for this purpose out of their resources; and if they were to give it, he had little doubt but that the cupidity of mi-

[3] He was quite delighted at this arrangement. "The only reflection he made on leaving me," says Clive, "was, 'Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I please.'" Life of Clive, iii. 125.

[4] That of a member of council was only 250*l* a year, of a factor 140*l.*, and of a writer, as lately increased, 130*l.*; while the rent of even an indifferent house was 200*l.*, and, as Clive asserted, a councillor could not live under 3000*l.* a year.

nisters would be excited, and they would be eager to grasp at this mode of providing for the younger sons of the nobility and their other supporters, and thus put the affairs of India into the hands of the ignorant and the incapable.

The plan which he devised was as follows. At all times (and even down to the present day) the manufacture and sale of salt in India has been a monopoly; it is such even in France. This monopoly was usually granted to some favourite of the prince, who sold the salt at his own price to the native traders. Clive then proposed that it should be held by a joint-stock society composed of the governor, the members of council, and the principal civil and military servants of the Company. These shares were to be fifty-six in number, of which the governor was to hold five, the second in council and the general three each, ten members of council and two colonels two each, one chaplain, fourteen senior merchants, and three lieut.-colonels each two-thirds of a share; the remaining nine shares were to be divided among a certain number of factors, majors, surgeons, and others (twenty-seven in all) in the proportion of a third of a share to each. A committee of four was to manage the affairs of the society. A tax of thirty-five per cent. on the sales was to be paid to the Company, and the selling prices at the different depôts was fixed at from twelve to fifteen per cent. less than the average rates of the twenty preceding years. The whole capital of the association was thirty-two lacs of sicca rupees, each member furnishing capital according to his share.

A reform was also to be effected in the army; and here Clive experienced his greatest difficulty, for military men have a known horror of retrenchment. After the battle of Plassy, Meer Jaffier had granted double *batta* or camp-allowance to the English forces which he was to pay. Clive warned them at the time that it could be only temporary, and the Company would never continue it. His prediction was verified; for as soon as the Nabob assigned the Company certain districts for the expenses of the army, orders were sent out to abolish the double *batta*. These orders were often repeated, but always neglected, and when Clive was coming out, the subject was strongly urged upon him by the Directors.

According to a plan proposed by Clive, the Company's troops had been regimented and formed into three brigades. Of these the first under Lieut.-colonel Sir Robert Fletcher was in garrison at Mongheer, the second under Col. R. Smith was at Allahabâd to protect the emperor from the Marattas; the third was at Bankipore under Col. Sir Robert Barker. An order was issued that, from the 1st January, 1766, double batta to the European officers should cease, except to those of the second brigade, while it should be actually in the field; half batta was to be allowed to those at Patna and Mongheer when not on service, but none to those at Calcutta. The reduction took place accordingly; but the officers at Mongheer held secret meetings, at which a general resignation of their commissions was agreed on; their plans were communicated to the other brigades, and about 200 commissions of captains and subalterns were ready to be placed in the hands of the commanding officer on the 1st June, though they were to offer to serve as volunteers till the 15th, to give time for an answer to come from Calcutta. They bound themselves by oath to secrecy, and to preserve, at the hazard of their lives, any one of them who should be sentenced to death by a court martial; each was bound by a penalty of 500*l.* not to accept of his commission again unless double batta was restored. Subscriptions, to which many civilians contributed, were made for those who might be cashiered. Their hopes were now greatly raised by tidings of the approach of 50,000 or more Marattas to Corah. Col. Smith was in consequence ordered to encamp at Serajapûr with the whole of the second brigade, except the European regiment which remained at Allahabâd on account of the heat.

In the month of March, Clive and Gen. Carnac proceeded to Moorshedabâd to regulate various important matters. Clive there received a letter from Mr. Verelst and the council, containing a remonstrance from the officers of the third brigade on the subject of the batta. On the 28th April he had a letter from Sir R. Fletcher, informing him that the officers of *his* brigade intended sending him their commissions at the end of the month. He also enclosed a letter from Sir R. Barker, intimating that there was something of the same kind meditated in the third brigade also. A quarrel among the officers, it appears, had brought the whole to light, and it was in consequence of this that they had now fixed the 1st May, instead of 1st June, for their resignation.

In his reply to Col. Fletcher, Clive declared that any officer who offered to resign should be dismissed the service, and never be restored. The knowledge which he soon obtained of the combination being general, did not alter his resolution, though he feared, lest the troops might support their officers. He directed the council to write to Madras for all the officers and cadets that could be spared, and to apply to the free merchants to come forward, and act as officers. At his desire, also, the council resolved, that all commissions tendered should be accepted, and those who tendered them be sent to Calcutta.

Early in May, Clive and Carnac set out for Mongheer, and finding, by a letter which he received from Sir R. Fletcher on the way, that the mutineers were writing to Madras, to prevent the officers there from coming to Bengal, Clive wrote to Calcutta, to direct all private letters for that presidency to be stopped, and to Sir R. Fletcher, to secure the assistance of the sergeants and of the native officers. He had already sent forward such faithful officers as he could collect, and these, on coming to Mongheer, reproached the others with their ingratitude to a man who had lately given so large a sum to form a fund for their invalids and widows. They said that Sir R. Fletcher had never told them of this, and accused him of being the originator of the whole plan. On the 13th, the European soldiers got under arms, to support their officers; but the appearance of Capt. Smith, with the Sepoy battalion, reduced them to order. When Sir R. Fletcher addressed them and distributed money, they told him they had understood that he was to head them; but as that was not the case, they would return to their duty. On the 15th Clive arrived, and Sir R. Fletcher then owned that he had known of the plot since January, and that he had affected to approve of it, that nothing

might be done without his knowledge. Clive made no remark. He addressed the troops, mentioning his own donation, and he ordered double pay to the native troops for May and June.

In the camp at Serajepûr, though a battle was expected every day, all the officers but two tendered their resignation; some immediately, others after the 1st June. The former Col. Smith ordered to proceed at once to Calcutta. At Allahabâd the officers of the European regiment declared that they would set out for Calcutta on the 20th May. As Major Smith, who commanded there, found that their men would support them, he sent for an old battalion of Sepoys which had long been under his command; and these men, having accomplished the march of 104 miles from Serajepûr in fifty-four hours, arrived just as the officers were departing. Major Smith then made them submit and apologise, and he sent only six of them to Calcutta, whither Col. Smith also sent one-half of his officers.

Owing to the firmness of Lord Clive, of Col. Smith, and others, and to the staunch fidelity of the Sepoys, the mutiny was now at an end. The principal leaders being under arrest and ordered to prepare for trial, consternation and repentance became general. Some had been inveigled, some frightened, into the plot. Pardon was therefore extended to many; but they were obliged to sign a contract to serve three years, and not to retire without having given a year's notice. Six officers were tried and found guilty of mutiny; but owing to a defect in the Mutiny Act, not one was sentenced to death. Sir R. Fletcher [5], who was the real author of the mutiny, was tried by court-martial, on the prosecution of Capt. Goddard and some other officers, found guilty, and cashiered. The only civilians to whom the charge of aiding the officers could be brought home, though there was no doubt of the guilt of many of high standing, were Mr. Higginson, sub-secretary to the Council, and Mr. Grindal, of the secretary's office. These gentlemen were dismissed.

We have just seen Clive's generosity to the army mentioned. The following was the occasion. Meer Jaffier, who was always attached to Clive, and who could not but reflect on how differently *he* had acted toward him, when dying, left him a legacy of five lacs of rupees. The money was in the hands of the present Nabob's mother, and some took on them to assert that it was a bribe, not a legacy. But of this there was no proof, and the probability is all on the other side. At all events Clive, who had given a solemn pledge that he would not in any way benefit himself by his government of India, declined receiving it. When, however, the double batta was to be taken from the officers, it occurred to him that, by taking this money, he might be able to form a fund for the advantage of themselves and their widows, he determined to accept it. The Company sanctioned the project; Nûjum-ud-Dowlah's successor, at Clive's desire, added three lacs more; and thus was formed the institution at Poplar, for the support of invalided officers and soldiers of the Company's service, which still exists.

While Clive was engaged in quelling the mutiny, the young Nabob died of a malignant fever. His death, as is always the case, was ascribed to poison, and the guilt, without even the shadow of a proof, was laid on the English. He was succeeded by his brother, Syuf-ud-Dowlah, a youth of sixteen years of age.

The profits of the salt monopoly having proved much greater than had been expected, the Company's duty was raised to fifty per cent., which it was calculated would yield 160,000*l.* a year. Clive, having observed the ill effects of employing, as had been done, European agents for the sale, it was now determined that it should be sold at Calcutta, or where it was made, to the native dealers, and to them only, excluding Europeans altogether. Clive, when this had been arranged, made a proposal for excluding every future governor from engaging in any way in trade, by giving him a per centage of 1¼ on the revenues, and making him bind himself by oath in a penalty of 150,000*l.* not to derive any advantage from his office, beyond this and his usual salary and perquisites.

But now letters came from the Directors, ordering the Society to be suppressed, and the trade to be thrown open and left entirely to the natives, but without any plan for compensating their servants. For the fact was, that the proprietors at home were so clamorous for an increase of dividend, that the Directors feared to make any diminution of their revenue. Clive, however, took upon him to act for what he deemed the real interests of the Company. He confirmed the grant to the Society for one year, after which it was to cease; thus giving the Directors time to devise some other plan for remunerating their servants.

It was the earnest request of the Directors to Clive, that he would remain another year in India; but this the state of his health prohibited, and he quitted its shores for ever in the end of January, 1767. He was once more received in England with every mark of respect; and, by a vote of the Court of Proprietors, his jagheer was continued to him or his heirs for another term of ten years after the present term should have expired. But a storm was to succeed. Mr. Sulivan was now chairman; Mr. Johnstone and the other Indian depredators were in England, and they stuck to Clive like bloodhounds, thirsting for vengeance. He had repeatedly, in Parliament, to explain and defend his various acts in India; and at length, in May, 1773, Col. Burgoyne, as chairman of a committee on Indian affairs, moved a resolution in the House, that Lord Clive had received, at the time of the deposition of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, various sums, amounting to 234,000*l.*, and that "in so doing he abused the power with which he was entrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public, and to the dishonour and detriment of the state." The motion that he had received those sums was carried; but for the latter part was substituted unanimously, "that he did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

Though thus honourably acquitted, the fact of having been accused preyed on his proud spirit. He was constitutionally melancholy; his liver had become diseased in India, and he was afflicted with gall-stones, his sufferings from which were so in-

[5] We shall meet this person again at Madras, selfish and disobedient as ever. A Mr. John Petrie, one of the ringleaders, whom Clive sent home with a rope about his neck, returned to Bengal some time after high in the civil service, through the influence of his friends, the Johnstones, probably to spite Clive.

tense that he had for many years been obliged to have constant recourse to opium for relief. Toward the end of November, 1774, he had a very severe attack; he had recourse to large doses of laudanum, and in a paroxysm of pain he terminated his existence, on the 22nd of that month, having just completed the forty-ninth year of his age.

The name of Clive must ever stand prominent in British history, as that of the founder of an empire the most extraordinary that has ever appeared. As a military man, though he had not the opportunity of fighting great battles like Coote, his reputation stands high, for all the military virtues were united in him; he was, as his friend Lawrence declared, a born soldier. As a statesman, we think he has been underrated; his vision, it is said, was clear, but not extensive. It seems to us that it was nearly as extensive, as it was possible for that of a practical man to be at that time. It certainly did not penetrate vacancy, like that of Dupleix, and aim at the impossible; but his opinions on most questions of Indian policy were sound and judicious. In private life Clive was amiable, and strongly attached to his family and friends. That he was covetous of wealth is not to be denied; but, like another eminent person, if "unsatisfied in getting, in bestowing he was most princely[6]." He was untainted by the mean avarice that degraded Marlborough; if he loved wealth, it was not for itself, but for the dignity, power, and influence it bestowed. His example, no doubt, was injurious, and produced many mean imitators; but there was this essential difference, that Clive thought of the Company and his country first, and of himself last, and gave way, without a pang, where their interests were at variance; while the gentlemen at Calcutta and Madras seemed only concerned for their own gains, and heedless of all other interests.

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs in the Carnatic—Rajah of Tanjore—Mohammed Issoof—Mound of the Caveri—The Northern Circars—Hyder Ally—His Early History—War with Hyder—Battle at Trinomalee—Siege of Amboor—Ill-success of the English—Conclusion of Peace—Affairs of Bengal.

We now return to the coast of Coromandel, where, after the capture of Pondicherry, the English power had become supreme.

As the expenses of the war had been considerable, and it had ostensively been carried on for the advantage of Mohammed Ally, he was called on to repay them. Before the surrender of Pondicherry, he had made an offer to pay at the rate of twenty-eight lacs of rupees a year; and, in case of that place being taken, if the Company would give him the aid of their forces, to make the renters and others pay up, he would discharge the whole in one year. Mr. Pigot wrote to him, agreeing to these terms, and yet shortly after a demand was made on the Nabob for fifty lacs of rupees; and as no indulgence would be given, he was forced to borrow money at a most usurious rate, in order to discharge it. It was also stipulated that he should repay the expenses of the siege of Pondicherry, and to this he agreed, on condition of all the stores taken there being given up to him. These, however, the servants of the Company had appropriated to themselves; and on his complaint, they promised to allow him a certain sum for them in his account. But their masters no sooner heard that he had gotten credit for this sum in their books, than they ordered it to be recharged to him, and thus he lost the stores altogether.

The only way the Nabob saw of getting money, was by forcing it from those who were supposed to have it. As Mortiz Ally, of Vellore, was believed to have great treasure, he was the first object of attack. The English gave troops, and after a siege of three months the place was taken, but the wealth which it contained was far below what had been anticipated.

The conquest of Tanjore was what Mohammed Ally next proposed; but in this the English would not give him their aid. As the king of Tanjore was an independent prince, they offered their mediation, to which the Nabob yielded a most reluctant consent. It was arranged that the rajah should pay twenty-two lacs of rupees, in five instalments, as arrears; four lacs as a present; and four annually as tribute. When the Directors heard of this treaty, they expressed their opinion that the present of four lacs ought to have been given to the Company for their good offices, and directed that the twenty-two lacs should be paid to them, and credit given for them to the Nabob in his account.

On the 10th February, 1763, peace was signed between France and England. By the eleventh article of the treaty, all the factories which the French possessed in India, in 1749, but not their subsequent acquisitions, were to be restored. They were not to keep troops, or erect fortifications in any part of the dominions of the Sûbahdâr of Bengal. Both crowns were to acknowledge Salabut Jung, as lawful Sûbahdâr of the Deckan, and Mohammed Ally, as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic.

As the English were able to dictate in the formation of this treaty, nothing could be more impolitic than the restoration of the French settlements in India. But while in this matter the French government were guided by the judgment of Bussy, the English ministry, as Lord Clive was in opposition, did not deign to ask his advice. He, however, wrote to Lord Bute, and it was on his suggestion that the article relating to Bengal was inserted. It is a remarkable instance of the general ignorance, with respect to Indian affairs in Europe, that Salabut Jung is spoken of as Sûbahdâr of the Deckan, though in 1761, two years before, he had been dethroned and imprisoned by his brother, Nizâm Ally. The effect of the treaty was to hasten his death; for Nizâm Ally, who had been hitherto restrained by dread of the French, seeing he had nothing to apprehend from them, caused him to be murdered.

The reader of Orme's interesting History must be familiar with the name of Mohammed Issoof. He had enlisted with Clive a little before the battle

[6] Even before he got the jagheer he gave 50,000*l.*, a sixth of his property, to his family and friends. A portion of it was devoted to the purchase of an annuity of 500*l.* a year for his old commander, Gen. Lawrence, and offered in so handsome a manner, that he could receive it without a blush.

of Coverpauk, and he rose by his merit till he came to be commander-in-chief of all the Sepoys in the service of the presidency. He was a cool resolute man, and eminently faithful to the Company. The chief scene of his exploits were Madura and Tinivelly, which countries, after the overthrow of the French, he offered to take as a renter. But from their wasted condition he was, it would seem, unable to raise any revenue; at least he had paid no rent. Accordingly, in August, 1763, the Nabob and Company sent a force to reduce him. But he was not a man to fall without a struggle; the month of October of the following year saw him still unsubdued, after causing his assailants great loss of men and treasure. Treachery, however, prevailed against him; a Frenchman named Marchand, who was in his service, betrayed him to the Nabob, who put him to death.

A dispute now arose between the Nabob and the rajah of Tanjore respecting the Mound of the Caveri. For the island of Seringham, as it is named, which is formed by the branches of the Caveri, runs very narrow toward its eastern extremity, and the long strip thus formed, and which is called the Mound, if not kept in constant repair, would be swept away, and the remaining waters of the Caveri be carried into the Coleroon or northern branch, and the lands of Tanjore thus be deprived of the waters necessary for their cultivation. The Nabob now asserted that the Mound belonged to him of right, as it really did, but the rajah insisted that he was bound to keep it in repair, and this it was not the Nabob's intention to do, as he plainly designed to let it be washed away. The English were obliged to interfere, and it was arranged that the Mound should be repaired by the rajah.

In 1765, Nizâm Ally, whom henceforth we shall call the Nizâm, invaded the Carnatic at the head of a large army, and committed great ravages; but he retired when he saw the forces of the English and the Nabob in the field. Clive, whose power over the emperor was absolute, easily procured a *sunnud* conferring the Carnatic on Mohammed Ally, independent of the Nizâm, and he also obtained a similar grant to the English of the four northern Circars. In March, 1766, General Calliaud was sent with a force to take possession of these provinces: but the Nizâm threatened to invade the Carnatic; and the government at Madras, who had an exaggerated idea of his power, agreed to pay him a large annual tribute, and as he had given one of the Circars as a jagheer to his brother Bazâlut Jung, not to claim it till after the death of that prince, and very unwisely, for it was well known that he was going to attack Mysore, they agreed to support him with their troops.

The person who now wielded the power of Mysore was one of those adventurers who, by dint of courage and capacity, joined with freedom from moral restraint, so frequently rise to empire in the East. His name was Hyder Ally Khân; he was the younger son of a man who, from the rank of a common peon, to which family misfortunes had reduced him, rose to that of a foujdar in the service of the Nabob of Sera. But misfortunes coming on his master, he lost his life in his defence, leaving a widow and two sons. Shabas, the elder of these sons, when he grew up, was recommended by his mother's brother to an officer in the service of the rajah of Mysore, and he soon rose to command. Hyder, the younger son, spent his time till he was seven-and-twenty between hunting and voluptuous living. He then joined his brother's corps as a volunteer in 1749, and distinguished himself so much at the siege of a Polygar's fort near Bangalore, that he drew on himself the notice of Nunjeraj, the commander, by whom he was speedily promoted.

The kingdom of Mysore was one of those Hindoo states which rose on the fall of Bejâyanugur in the 17th century. Its rajahs had consequently by this time sunk into imbecility, and as in the parallel case of the Marattas, their power had passed into the hands of their ministers. The holders of this power, at the present time, were two brothers named Deoraj and Nunjeraj, the latter of whom we have seen aiding the French at Trichinopoly, and in whose service Hyder Ally was engaged.

In 1755, Hyder was made foujdar of Dindigul, a fortress built on a high rock in the middle of a plain half-way between Madura and Trichinopoly. He had before this time organised a regular band of freebooters, "brave and faithful thieves," as Wilks styles them, who were bound to deliver up to him one-half of all the plunder they acquired[7], and with the aid of a wily brahman named Koonde Râo, he devised such a system of checks as made it almost impossible for them to defraud him. Having occasion to act against some refractory Polygars, he sent to court a flaming account of his successes, and of the difficulties he had surmounted, adding a formidable list of killed and wounded. A messenger was despatched with rich presents for the officers, and with money to give to each of the wounded men fourteen rupees a month till he should be cured. The actual number of these was sixty-seven, but on the inspection which took place Hyder mingled with them 700 men whose limbs were well swathed and bandaged. These passed muster with the rest, and Hyder drew the money for the whole, and he allowed the wounded men each seven rupees a month. Another trick which he played the government was, making what a native, who witnessed it, terms "a circular muster," that is, making 10,000 men be counted and passed as 18,000.

In this way Hyder went on augmenting his wealth, and increasing the number of his adherents. Meantime Deoraj retired from public cares, and left the whole burthen of them to Nunjeraj, Hyder's patron. In 1758, the troops, having mutinied for payment of their arrears, Hyder came to his aid, and by carefully going through the accounts[8] (in which he was an adept), and thus reducing them, and by a partial payment he restored harmony. His rewards, in consequence, were ample; among others, Bangalore and its district were given to him as a jagheer. In the beginning of the following year the Marattas made an inroad, and when the army was ordered to march against them, most of the chiefs declared that they could not obey on account of the arrears due to the men. Hyder, who knew that the

[7] Thus, in the confusion which ensued on the death of Nasir Jung, in 1750 (see p. 66), they contrived to carry off two camels laden with gold coin.

[8] Though Hyder could neither read nor write, he had the power of making long arithmetical calculations in his mind, with great rapidity and correctness.

arrears were very small, offered to discharge them. He thus got the chief command, and most of the other commanders, who were of ancient families, then resigned. He soon brought the Marattas to terms, and, on his return to court, he was received with extraordinary honours, Nunjeraj, a thing unprecedented, even rising at his approach and embracing him.

Gratitude, of course, was not one of Hyder's virtues, and a scheme was soon concerted for the overthrow of his patron. The troops, as was arranged, came to Hyder and demanded their arrears of pay. He told them that he paid his own men regularly, and that it was not to him that the others were to look. They then requested that he would obtain payment from Nunjeraj; and several applications were made, but to no purpose, as there was really no money. They finally required that Hyder should go at their head and sit in *dhurna*[9] at the house of Nunjeraj. With affected reluctance he complied; and the result was, that Nunjeraj, unable to satisfy them, told them that the rajah had taken the direction of his own affairs, and that *he* was retiring from public life. Some of the soldiers, as directed, then called out to remove the *dhurna* to the residence of the rajah. This was done, and the rajah having required Koonde Râo to be sent in to him, the brahmin returned with a promise that the demands of the troops should be satisfied, provided Hyder took an oath to renounce all connexion with the usurper Nunjeraj. With this hard condition, also, he was forced to comply, and he then was admitted to an audience. On coming out he tendered his personal security to the troops for their arrears, and it was cheerfully accepted, and thus ended the drama. Large assignments of revenue were made to him for that purpose, and thus more than half the rajah's dominions came under his control.

Beside the Brahmin, his chief coadjutor in this affair, had been a lady of the royal family, and she and Koonde Râo (who was now dewan) seeing that the power of Nunjeraj had fallen into the hands of a far abler man, conspired to overthrow him. Taking advantage of the absence of the greater part of his troops, while he was encamped with a small force under the walls of Seringapatam, the capital, the Brahmin caused a cannonade from all the works to be opened upon him. Hyder was sending for his friend the Brahmin, when he learned the truth. He then retired with his cavalry, leaving his family and his infantry behind. He was now thrown on the world, and having been defeated by some troops led by the Brahmin, he went unarmed and as a suppliant to the abode of Nunjeraj. Being admitted, he threw himself at his feet, imploring forgiveness, and ascribing all his misfortunes to his ingratitude to his benefactor, whom he entreated to resume his place at the head of the state. Nunjeraj, though he knew him, was deceived. He gave him his forces and the influence of his name; by means of forged letters Hyder frightened Koonde Râo away from his army, which he then attacked and defeated. He was soon able to dictate terms to the rajah, one of which was, the surrender of Koonde Râo, whose life, however, he engaged to spare[1]. Districts were then assigned for the support of the rajah and of Nunjeraj, and the fortunate Mussulman adventurer thus became in effect the sovereign of the Hindoo realm of Mysore. (1759.)

In 1761 Bazâlut Jung, for the sum of three lacs of rupees, made Hyder Nabob of Sera; and it was reduced by their united forces. Hyder continued to extend his conquests, and in 1763 he made himself master of the realm of Bednore, in whose capital he obtained a treasure which, he owned, chiefly led to his subsequent greatness. An invasion of the Marattas occupied him during the next year, and he was obliged to purchase their departure by the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees, and the cession of some territory. In 1766 he made a descent on the western coast, and conquered Malabar. While he was there the rajah died; and he immediately sent orders for that prince's eldest son to succeed, and he resumed the districts which had been assigned for the support of the royal family, giving instead of them an annual pension.

In 1767 the Nizâm and the Marattas made war on Hyder Ally. The latter, with their usual celebrity, were the first to take the field. To impede their progress, Hyder laid waste the country in a fearful manner; but, unchecked by his measures, they still advanced, and reached Sera, where Hyder's brother-in-law surrendered to them the fort and district, without even a show of fighting. Hyder, now alarmed, made proposals to the Marattas, and they retired on being well paid.

The troops of the Nizâm, with an English force under Col. Joseph Smith, entered the territories of Mysore. Ere long, however, Smith saw reason to believe that their ally was playing the English false, and that he was actually in treaty with Hyder. He therefore kept his corps separate. As Col. Wood was advancing from Trichinopoly, he put his troops in motion to join him, and on the way (Sept. 3) he was attacked by Hyder with a large force. The action commenced at two, and ended at dusk, in the total defeat of the Mysoreans. As the British troops were in great want of provisions, and feared another attack, they made a forced march of twenty-seven hours for Trinomalee, not halting for either refreshment or repose. Here they had hoped to find abundance of provisions, but they were miserably disappointed; and leaving the sick and wounded in the town, Smith had to move his troops about in quest of supplies, while the country was scoured by 40,000 of the enemy's cavalry. Hyder and the Nizâm (for they were now allies) deferred making an attack, until the want of food should have reduced the strength of the English, but Smith was fortunate enough to discover some large hoards of grain, and thus his men were kept in a state of efficiency. On the 22nd the enemy commenced a distant cannonade on his left; in order to turn *their* left, he made a movement from his right round a hill; the enemy did the same, in order to intercept the English,

[9] That is, without tasting food, from which the person against whom it is done, is also expected to abstain. It is usual for creditors, who cannot obtain payment, to get a Brahmin to sit in *dhurna* at the door of the debtor for the guilt contracted, if the Brahmin should expire, it is of the deepest die.

[1] When the rajah and the ladies of the palace joined in entreaties for his life, Hyder replied, that he would not only spare it, but keep him like a parroquet. He kept his word, but not as they understood it, for he confined him in an iron cage.

who they thought were retreating; and thus, to their mutual surprise, they encountered. The first struggle was for the hill, which Capt. Cooke secured for the English. The two armies were then drawn out in array of battle. The English had 1400 infantry and 30 cavalry, Europeans, 9000 Sepoys, and 1500 of Mohammed Ally's good-for-nothing cavalry. The army of the allies is stated at 70,000, one half of which was cavalry. It was drawn up in a crescent, half-circling the British army. The English cannon having nearly silenced that of the enemy, was turned on the dense masses of their cavalry, who, having stood the fire for some minutes in the expectation of getting orders to charge, and receiving none, at length turned and fled. Hyder, who saw that all was lost, drew off his cannon, and advised the Nizâm to do the same; but he spurned at the idea, and declared that he would sooner perish. The approach of the English, however, abated his courage, and he soon was one of the most forward in flight. The victors captured 64 pieces of cannon; their loss was 150 men, that of the enemy was supposed to be 4000.

As the rains were approaching, the English went into cantonments. But the active Hyder continued his operations; and having reduced one or two small places, he proceeded to attack Amboor, which, seated on the summit of a granite mountain, was defended by Capt. Calvert, with a small garrison. Hyder having dismantled the lower fort, Calvert retired to the citadel. The Killidâr being discovered to be in correspondence with Hyder, he and his men were disarmed. Hyder, though disconcerted, continued to fire on the fort, and at length effected a breach, but in an inaccessible place. He made various attempts to surprise the fort, but in vain; and he offered Calvert a large sum of money and the command of half of his army, if he would surrender; but he was told to send no more such messages, if he respected the lives of his servants, as the bearers would be hanged in the breach [2]. The siege had commenced on the 10th November; and on the 7th December, the troops of Col. Smith, marching to the relief of Amboor, were in sight. At their approach, Hyder retired, and ascending the Ghâts, quitted the Carnatic.

The Nizâm, weary of the war, had already entered into secret communication with Col. Smith. It came to the knowledge of Hyder, who affected not to be displeased regarding it, as being for their eventual advantage. The Nizâm, thus relieved from anxiety, speedily concluded a treaty, by which the revenues of the Carnatic Balagât, a country now held by Hyder, were transferred to the English, on their agreeing to pay the Nizâm seven lacs a year, and the Marattas their *chout;* and the tribute for the Circars was reduced from nine lacs perpetual to seven lacs a year for a term of six years.

While Hyder was engaged in the Carnatic, some of the Malabar chiefs resolved to make an effort to recover their independence. A force was sent by sea from Bombay to their aid. Mangalôr and some other places were taken; but an attempt on Cananôr miscarried, with considerable loss. In May, 1768, Hyder suddenly appeared before Mangalôr, with an overwhelming force; and the English were obliged to quit the place with such precipitation, that they left behind them all their artillery and stores, and even their sick and wounded, consisting of 80 Europeans and 180 Sepoys. Hyder, declaring to the Malabar chiefs that he had found their country a source more of expense than profit, offered to give it up if paid his expenses; and he thus was enabled to retire with a large sum of money for the war against the English.

The war this year was adverse to the English, very much in consequence of the Presidency having imitated the practice of the jealous republics of Venice and the United Provinces, in sending two members of council to the army as field-deputies, without whose consent no operations could be carried on. One of the first acts of these civilians was to cause the loss of the fort of Mulwâgul, by insisting on the European garrison being withdrawn, and their place supplied by some of the troops of Mohammed Ally. Col. Wood, in an attempt to recover it with a small force, fell in with the entire army of Hyder, and he was on the eve of being totally routed, when a stratagem of Capt. Brooke, who commanded the baggage-guard, turned the event of the contest. This officer, who had with him only four companies and two guns, drew these last by a circuitous and concealed route up to the summit of a flat rock, where they were to be served by the wounded artillerymen, while all the rest of the sick and wounded, who were able to move, were to swell the ranks on the summit. When all was ready, the guns opened a fire of grape on the enemy's left flank, and all, both sick and well, raised a shout of, "Hurra! Smith! Smith!" Both sides thought Smith was arrived; and Wood, taking advantage of the confusion it caused, drew up his men in such a manner that he was able to repel all Hyder's subsequent attacks, and force him to retire with loss [3].

Some time after, Col. Wood, by making an attempt to relieve Oosoor, which Hyder was besieging, left Bâglôr exposed to attack, of which the active enemy took advantage; and the consequence was, that two thousand persons lost their lives in the rush which they made to get into the fort when the Mysoreans entered the town. Wood, on his return from Oosoor, again fell in with Hyder's army, and would probably have been defeated, had not Major Fitzgerald, on hearing the firing, hastened to the spot with the other division of the English army; and Hyder retired at his approach. Wood, though brave even to temerity, was now in such a state of despondence that, on the representations of Fitzgerald, he was removed from the command, and ordered to proceed to Madras under arrest.

The forts held by the English were now falling everywhere into the hands of Hyder. In December he entered the district of Baramahâl; and, as he was advancing to the reduction of Eroad, he fell in with a party of 50 Europeans and 200 Sepoys, under Capt. Nixon. When the enemy advanced to the attack, the Europeans fired, and

[2] It is lamentable to read that this gallant officer was afterwards tried by court martial, and convicted, of defrauding the Company by false returns.

[3] The Romans defeated the Samnites by a similar stratagem. See our History of Rome, p. 157.

then rushed on with the bayonet. They perished, oppressed by numbers; the Sepoys were cut down in their ranks; and of the whole party no one escaped but Lieutenant Goreham, whose knowledge of the language enabled him to obtain quarter from one of Hyder's officers. Hyder then made Goreham translate into English a summons to Capt. Orton to surrender Eroad, inviting him at the same time to come in person to Hyder's tent, and assuring him of liberty to depart if a surrender could not be arranged. Strange to say, he came, and was of course detained; for, as Hyder alleged, and as we regret to say was the case, Capt. Robinson, the second in command, had been taken some time before, and was dismissed under parole not to serve again during the war. Hyder, however, offered Orton leave to depart, if he would write an order for the surrender of the place, the garrison having liberty to retire with their property to Trichinopoly. He at first refused, but finally consented; and Robinson actually obeyed the order! The garrison, as might have been expected, were marched prisoners to Seringapatam, and there Robinson ended his days in a dungeon. The same was the fate of the garrison of another fort, which surrendered on the condition of being allowed to depart on parole; Robinson's conduct, and that of the government who employed him, being in both cases Hyder's excuse.

Nearly all their previous acquisitions had now been wrested from the Company; and in the beginning of 1768, Hyder sent one of his generals to Madura and Tinnivelly, while he himself ravaged the country about the Caveri. The Presidency, partly to save the unfortunate peasantry from ruin, partly urged by want of money—for they had been obliged to suspend their investments for England, and even so they had not funds to carry on the war more than four months—made proposals for an accommodation. At Hyder's desire Capt. Brooke was sent to him, on whose report of his intentions, Mr. Andrews, a member of council, repaired to his camp, and returned with proposals to be submitted to the Council. These, however, being deemed inadmissible, hostilities were resumed. Col. Smith again took the command of the army; but no encounter of any moment occurred. In the latter end of March, when the two armies were about 140 miles south of Madras, Hyder, suddenly dismissing his infantry and the greater part of his cavalry, put himself at the head of 6000 horse, and, on the 29th, he appeared on Mount St. Thomas, near Madras, whence he despatched a letter to the governor, requesting that Mr. Dupré, a member of council, might be sent to him. As it was in Hyder's power to plunder the town, ravage the country, and pillage and destroy the garden-houses of the president and council, before Smith's troops could arrive, his demand was complied with at once, and a treaty was concluded, of which the two principal articles were, a mutual restitution of conquests and mutual aid in defensive wars.

Thus was terminated, and with more advantage to the English than they had any reasonable right to expect, a war imprudently, if not unjustly commenced, and feebly and unskilfully conducted by the president[4] and council of Madras. The Directors threw much vague blame on them, especially for the very wisest part of their conduct, the conclusion of peace, which they said would tend to lower them in the eyes of the natives. The reply of the presidency was, that "they were compelled to make peace for want of money to wage war."

While such was the state of affairs in the Carnatic, Bengal was enjoying tranquillity. Clive had been succeeded by Mr. Verelst as chief governor; and at the close of the year 1769 this gentleman resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Cartier.

In 1767, the Dúranee Shah made the last of those expeditions with which India has been so often afflicted, from the mountains of Afghanistân. His march was directed for Delhi, in which case he would probably have encountered the troops of the English. But he did not come beyond the Punjâb, where he had some contests with the Sikhs. An expedition was soon after sent by the government of Calcutta to restore the rajah of Nepâl who had been expelled; but from the nature of the country it was unable to effect its purpose.

In 1768 came out a peremptory order to end the trade of the Company's servants in salt and the other articles, and to leave it entirely to the natives; the governor's one and one-eighth on the revenue was also to cease. To replace these, a commission of two and a half per cent. on the net produce of the dewannee revenues was granted, to be divided into one hundred equal shares, of which the governor was to have thirty-five, and others in proportion.

[4] The President was Mr. Palk, a clergyman, and a relative of Gen Lawrence.

CHAPTER XIII.

Revenues of Bengal—Proceedings in England—Appointment of Supervisors—Distress of the Company—Bills regulating it—New Government of Bengal.

When Clive obtained the *dewannee* of Bengal for the Company, he expressed a decided opinion that, after paying all the expenses of government, it would leave a considerable annual surplus revenue. Had Clive remained in India, and had his plans and suggestions been acted on by the Directors at home, such might have been the result. But this, as we have seen, was not done; adequate salaries were not secured to the servants of the Company; the restrictions on private trade were withdrawn, and, moreover, a new mode of diverting to individuals a large share of the revenue sprang up. This was the civil and military charges for buildings, &c. "Every man now," says Clive, "who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune."

The division of the powers of government between the Nabob and the Company was productive of mischief, and had its effect in diminishing the revenue, which was further reduced by the evasion of the payment of duties by the servants of the Company. Capital was continually going out of the country, for the investments to England and China, which now, instead of being purchased by goods and bullion sent from home, were to be furnished from the revenues of the province; and as these revenues were every day more absorbed in the expenses of government, and checked or intercepted in the ways we have mentioned, the diffi-

culty of obtaining the necessary sums continually increased. Add to this, that the war with Hyder was a great drain on the exchequer of Bengal.

Toward the end of 1769 it appeared that there was an excess of disbursements over receipts, and the remedy proposed was, "to open their treasury door for remittances;" that is, to receive the large sums which the servants of the Company were annually sending home, and to give bills for them on the Company in England. This was, no doubt, a very agreeable mode to all parties in Bengal, but it threw the Company at home into great difficulties when the amount of these bills happened to exceed that of the sale of the investments out of which they were to be paid. To prevent this evil, the Directors limited the amount for which they permitted the government of Bengal to draw bills on them, and their wealth-amassing servants then paid their surplus cash into the French and Dutch factories, getting in return bills on Europe, and thus these Companies were enabled, in a great measure, to trade on British capital.

Such was the condition of the finances of Bengal when Mr. Cartier succeeded to the office of governor on the 24th December, 1769. In the following year, the annual rains were withheld by Providence, and India was visited by dearth and famine, which swept away one-third of the population of Bengal, and made a proportionate reduction in the revenue. In the same year the young rajah died, and was succeeded by his brother Mubarak-ud-dowlah. The president and council continued the allowance to him which had been arranged by Clive, but the Directors wrote out that, as he was a minor, they thought sixteen lacs of rupees quite enough for his support, and ordered no more to be paid, and thus, how justly we need not say, they added thirty-four lacs a year to their revenues.

While such were the proceedings in India, the proprietors at home were not negligent of their own interests. Filled with vague notions of the inexhaustible wealth of the East, and having before their eyes the huge fortunes accumulated in a few years by the servants of the Company, and which were displayed in many cases with an Oriental pomp and magnificence, they panted for a share in the golden harvest. For some years past, the dividends on East India stock had been six per cent.; but, in 1766, a vote of the Court of Proprietors raised it at once to ten per cent. In vain did the Directors, who knew the real state of things, and that money must be taken up at a heavy rate of interest to pay this dividend, remonstrate; in a general court on the 6th May, 1767, a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. was voted[5]. But their cupidity was destined to meet a check. The idea of the wealth of India and the desire to partake in it, had also seized the ministers of the crown; a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the state of the Company had been voted by parliament, which met early in November, 1766, chiefly for this purpose, and a few days after the proprietors had voted themselves twelve and a half per cent., a bill passed the house forbidding any increase of dividend for the present, and directing that dividends should only be voted by ballot, and in general courts summoned expressly for the purpose. It was insisted on the part of the ministry, that the territorial acquisitions of the Company, or those of any subjects, belonged to the crown. But they did not observe that the *dewannee* was of quite a different nature; and that the Company was merely a zemindâr to the emperor, to whom, or to the Nabob, the *dewannee* should of right revert, if the Company were required to resign it, or if their charter should expire; and the only question was, whether the crown or the Company should have the surplus revenue of Bengal, a thing which, in reality, had no existence at the very time they were disputing about it. After a vast deal of argument and contention, an act was passed in April, 1769, allowing the Company to retain the revenues of Bengal for a term of five years, on condition of paying every year 400,000*l.* into the exchequer; they might, if the revenues allowed it, increase their dividends up to twelve and a half per cent., at the rate of one per cent. in each year; if the dividend fell below ten per cent., the payment into the exchequer should be reduced in proportion, and should cease altogether if it fell to six per cent. It was also provided that the Company should annually export a certain quantity of British goods, provide for the payment of their simple contract debts, the reduction of their bonded debt, &c. &c.

The whole blame of the disappointment of the golden dreams of India was thrown on those who had the management of the Company's affairs in that country, and it was resolved to institute a strict investigation on the spot. For this purpose, under the title of Supervisors, and vested with nearly the whole powers of the Company, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Col. Forde, all of whom had been high in office in India, were selected to proceed thither. They sailed in a frigate which was sent out at the desire of the Company; but the frigate and those on board of her were never heard of more. She probably foundered or went down in a hurricane.

The debt of the Company in India went on accumulating; they were utterly unable to provide for the bills drawn on them, and yet, with all their difficulties staring them in the face, the Directors had the temerity to propose to the proprietors, in 1770, to raise their dividend to 12, and in the two following years, to 12½ per cent. These augmentations were cheerfully voted; but such a desperate course had its inevitable results. In July, 1772, the deficit in their accounts was 1,293,000*l.* They applied to the Bank for a loan of 400,000*l.*, and when they had obtained this, for a further loan of 300,000*l.*, but that body would only give 200,000*l.*; and on the 10th August, the chairman and deputy waited on Lord North, the minister, and told him that nothing short of the loan of a million would save the Company from ruin.

The minister had the Company now completely in his power. There had been two committees sitting on the subject of Indian affairs; the one called the Secret, the other (which was open) the Select Committee; and thus some, though rather imperfect, knowledge of the subject had been eli-

[5] The Directors had instituted legal proceedings against Johnstone, and the others who had taken presents at Nujum ud-dowlah's accession. These men, who were now at home with plenty of money, and of course of influence, seized the present occasion of procuring a vote of the proprietors to drop the prosecutions. Life of Clive, iii. 185.

cited. The proposal of the Company to send out another set of supervisors was negatived, and a determination to regulate their affairs, whether they would or not, was openly expressed. A bill, embodying the views of the ministry, was brought in; and as by it the constitution of the Company would be greatly altered, all possible opposition to it was made, both in and out of Parliament. The Company and the shareholders who would be disfranchised by it petitioned, and were heard by counsel at the bar of both houses against it. The city of London also petitioned against it, as of dangerous consequence to all corporations whatever. But in vain: the propositions of the minister were carried by large majorities; and in June and July, 1773, two acts respecting the Company received the royal assent.

The first was financial. Government agreed to lend the Company 1,400,000*l.* at 4 per cent., and not to demand the 400,000*l.* a year till that debt had been discharged; the Company during that time was not to divide more than 6 per cent., and not more than 7 per cent. till their bond-debt was reduced to 1,500,000*l.* After this, the Government was to receive three-fourths of the surplus receipts, and the other fourth to go to the liquidation of the bond-debt, or to the formation of a fund for contingent expenses; the territorial possessions to remain to the Company for the remaining six years of their charter.

By the other bill, the qualification for voting in the Court of Proprietors was raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*; the holder of 3000*l.* stock to have two, of 6000*l.* three, and of 10,000*l.* four votes; the stock to have been in the possession of the voter for twelve months. The Directors were to be elected for four years, a fourth to go out annually. The government of Bengal, Bahâr, and Orissa was to be vested in a governor-general, with a salary of 25,000*l.* a year; and four councillors, with 8000*l.* a year each. The other presidencies were to be subordinate to that of Bengal. A supreme court of judicature was to be established at Calcutta, consisting of a chief justice, with 8000*l.* a year, and three puisne judges, with each 6000*l.* a year, to be appointed by the Crown. The first governor-general and councillors were to be named in the act, and were to hold their office for five years; the Company were then to appoint, subject to the approbation of the Crown. All the Indian correspondence relating to civil, military, or financial affairs was to be laid before the ministry. No person in the King's or Company's service was to receive presents; the governor, councillors, and judges were not to engage in trade.

Such were the legislative acts which led to a new æra in the history of the Company. For those who, writing long after the events, judge all measures and events by an imaginary standard of right, and make no allowance for human ignorance and fallibility, nothing is more easy than to find fault with, and condemn all these measures[6]; but to the eye of candour they will perhaps appear as good as could well have been devised at the time. The one which, as we shall see, proved the greatest failure, was the Supreme Court; but with the high ideas which prevailed, and still too much prevail, of the absolute perfection of English law, we need not wonder at its establishment.

The governor-general appointed under the act was Warren Hastings, Esq., the actual governor of Bengal; the councillors were Mr. Barwell, a civil servant of the Company, Gen. Clavering, Col. Monson[7], and Mr. Philip Francis[8]. The chief-justice was Sir Elijah Impey; the puisne judges, Messrs. Hyde, Lemaistre, and Chambers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Early History of Warren Hastings—New Mode of collecting the Revenue—New Courts of Justice—Arrest of Mohammed Reza Khân and Shitab Roy—Arrangement of the Nabob's Household—Emperor joins the Marattas—The Rohillas—Treaty of Benâres—Treatment of the Emperor—Extermination of the Rohillas.

Mr. Cartier was succeeded in the beginning of 1772, as governor of Bengal, by Warren Hastings, Esq., the second member of council at Madras.

This distinguished man, whose name will ever be associated with that of the British empire in India, was born in the year 1732, of an ancient, honourable, but greatly reduced family. After having been at one or two ordinary schools, he was placed by his uncle at that of Westminster. Here he greatly distinguished himself; but on the death of his uncle, the charge of him fell to a very distant relation, who being an East India Director, and not liking to be at the expense of giving him a classical education, resolved to send him out as a writer to Bengal.

Hastings reached Calcutta on the 8th October, 1750, just within two months of completing his eighteenth year. After stopping a couple of years in that city, he was sent to the factory of Cossimbazar, and he was there when it was taken by Sûraj-ud-dowlah. He was made a prisoner, but suffered to go at large, the chief of one of the Dutch factories giving bail for his appearance, and he remained at Moorshedabâd. He afterwards joined the fugitives from Calcutta at Fulta. In the subsequent negotiations with that prince, Hastings was joined with Mr. Amyatt, and after his overthrow he was placed as a kind of resident at the court of Meer Jaffier. Clive saw his talents, and seems to have reposed much confidence in him. After Clive's departure he remained at the court of Meer Jaffier, and had a share in the act of his deposition, though it does not appear that he approved of it. When Mr. Sumner and others were dismissed, he became a member of council at

[6] Mr. Mill is, if we may use the term, of the *Smell-fungus* school of philosophy, whose followers find fault with every thing, propose nothing, and their censures are frequently contradicted by experience. Thus he sneers at the idea of large salaries being any security against corruption, "as if there was a point of saturation in cupidity," yet experience, both in India and England, has shown that it *is* a security, and the best that could be devised. On one point Mr. Mill gives a decided opinion in favour of a measure, namely, the use of the ballot in popular elections; but with the example of the United States before our eyes, few now, we hope, will be found to share his admiration for that mode of voting.

[7] See above, p. 82.

[8] Suspected to be the author of The Letters of Junius. He had all the requisite malignity and disregard of truth.

Calcutta, and he there gave his support to Mr. Vansittart against the domineering majority. In 1762 he was sent on a mission to Meer Cossim; but his prudent and moderate suggestions were rejected by Johnstone and his party. In 1764, Mr. Hastings returned to England in the same ship with Mr. Vansittart. He was then the possessor of only a very moderate fortune, and no servant of the Company had ever left India with a fairer character.

The narrowness of his circumstances soon obliged Hastings to seek for employment again in India. The knowledge which he displayed when examined on Indian affairs in the House of Commons had increased his friends in the Direction; and in 1769 he was appointed second in council at Fort St. George, and a member of the select committee there, nominated for the purpose of restoring the Company's affairs in the Carnatic. His succession to the office of president after Mr. Dupré, the present occupant, was also secured to him.

In Madras, Hastings devoted his energies to improving the mode of providing the Company's investments; and his conduct gave so much satisfaction to the Directors, that, in 1771, they nominated him second in council in Bengal, with the assurance that, on Mr. Cartier's retirement, he should be his successor. This event took place early in 1772; and Hastings became governor of Bengal.

The plan of divided sovereignty between the Nabob and the Company, devised by Clive, had not been found to answer, and the produce of the *dewannee* was nothing like what had been calculated on. It was therefore deemed advisable in 1769 that servants of the Company, named supervisors, should be placed in each district, for the purpose of superintending the native functionaries; and two councils, with authority over the supervisors, be established, the one at Moorshedabâd, and the other at Patna. This plan, however, was not found to answer any better than the former; and the Directors, anxious to get an income in any way, determined to effect a social revolution, such as had never hitherto taken place in India, and, as they expressed it, "to stand forth as Dewan," and manage and collect the revenues by the direct agency of their own servants. The plan adopted by Mr. Hastings and the council for collecting the revenues was, to let the lands on leases of five years; a committee, composed of the president and four members of council, should make circuits of superintendence through the country; the supervisors should be named collectors, and each have a native dewan joined with him; no collector's *banyam* or servant should be allowed to form any part of the revenues, and no presents should be accepted by any person high or low; and no money be lent on interest to any persons connected with the land. As the terms offered for the lands did not prove satisfactory, the plan of letting them by auction was adopted, the preference being given to the actual zemindâr or other middleman, when he offered a fair value; if not, he was pensioned off, and the lands let to another. The ryot was secured against taxation by a lease.

The Khalsa, or supreme court of revenue, was removed to Calcutta; the office of Naib Dewan was abolished; the council formed a board of revenue; and a native functionary named Roy Royan acted in the Khalsa as superintendent of the district dewans.

As the new system did away with the zemindary courts, those great instruments of oppression, two new ones were appointed in each district; a criminal named Foujdaree Adawlut, presided over by the collector with the Câzee and Muftee of the district, and two Moolavees or Mohammedan lawyers; and a civil, named Mofussul Dewanee Adawlut, of which the collector also was president, aided by the dewan of the district, and other native officers. Two courts of appeal were established at Calcutta, a criminal, named Nizâmut Suddur Adawlut, and a civil, named Suddur Dewanee Adawlut.

The office of Naib Dewan of Bengal had been held by Mohammed Reza Khân, whom Clive had made Naib Nizâm to the young Nabob. Against this man serious charges, all apparently originating with the infamous Nundcomar, had reached the Directors, and they sent out strict orders to seize himself, his family, his partizans and adherents, and bring them prisoners to Calcutta. This business was managed with great secrecy and dispatch by Hastings; and one of the chief reasons he assigns for so doing is, that Mohammed Reza Khân must, from his great wealth, have established "an interest with such of the Company's agents, as, by actual authority, or by representations to the Honourable Company, might be able to promote or obstruct his views;" in plain English, he must have bought them. Shitab Roy, the upright and honourable Naib Dewan of Patna, probably as a partizan or adherent, was also arrested and sent to Calcutta. Neither of them, however, was thrown into prison, they were only required not to leave that city.

The charges against Mohammed Reza Khân were, monopoly of rice in the time of the famine, embezzlement of the money of the Nizâmut, a balance due and not accounted for by him since the death of Meer Jaffier, as renter of Dacca, and a correspondence with the emperor and the Marattas. On all these charges he was honourably acquitted, after all the evidence that could be obtained against him had been produced. Shitab Roy, against whom there was really no charge, was likewise acquitted, and he was immediately appointed Roy Royan and Naib Nazim of Bahâr; but he died soon after his arrival at Patna, and his son was appointed to succeed him in both his offices. It is due to Mr. Hastings to observe, that throughout all this business he seems to have acted with great fairness.

A very important part of the office of the Naib Nazîm was the superintendence of the person and household of the Nabob. This it was resolved to divide into two offices, analogous to the guardianships of the person and of the property appointed by our court of Chancery. There were two persons who seemed to have a claim to the former office; the mother of the Nabob, and his uncle Ateram-ud-Dowlah, the brother of Meer Jaffier. Yet both of these were set aside, and the office was bestowed on Mooni Begum, a second wife or concubine of Meer Jaffier's. The reason assigned was, the ascendancy she had over the mind of the Nabob, being the only person of whom he stood in awe, and her having no children of her own. *Hastings, in a private letter to the Directors, gives a further reason—her being the declared*

enemy of Mohammed Reza Khân, and therefore likely to be active in procuring evidence against him. As to the uncle, there was the danger of himself or his sons, as next heirs, practising against the life of the Nabob. The reasons for rejecting the mother do not appear.

The other office, Dewan of the household, was given to Rajah Goordass, the son of Nundcomar. The reason assigned was, their known enmity to Mohammed Reza Khân. It was expected that his own probity, joined with the talent of his father, by whom it was known he would be influenced, though it was hoped not controlled, would cause him to perform the duties of the office in a creditable manner [9].

The emperor Shâh Alum had, from the time that Clive had made the arrangement with him, been most anxious to prevail on the English to convey him to Delhi, and replace him on the throne of his ancestors. Unable to prevail on them, he had listened to the overtures of the Maratta chiefs Tûkajee Holkar, Madhajee Sindia, and Kishn Visajee, whom the Peishwa had sent with a large force into Hindûstan, in order to recover the influence lost at the battle of Pânîput, and to punish the Rohillas for their share in that event. They of course exacted hard conditions for their services; the emperor had no alternative but to submit, and on the 25th December, 1771, he made his entrance into Delhi. The Marattas, having suffered him to remain there only a few days, hurried him into the field, and their united force entered the nearest part of the Rohilla territory, Seheranpûr, the jagheer of the late minister, Nujub-ud-Dowlah, and which was now held by his son, Zabita Khân. This chief, though he made a spirited defence, was defeated and forced to fly to the camp of Shujah-ud-Dowlah, and his country was ravaged by the Marattas, who, regardless of their ally, kept all the plunder to themselves. The principal remaining Sirdar (*chief*) of the Rohillas now was Hafez Rahmut Khân; and through him an agreement was formed with Shujah-ud-Dowlah, by which, on the Rohillas engaging to pay him forty lacs of rupees, he undertook to cause the Marattas to retire from their country. Of these lacs Hafez paid five; and as the Marattas soon after retired of their own accord on account of the rains, he demanded that the bond should be cancelled; but the vizir still retained it. In all these transactions Sir Robert Barker acted a prominent part, with the approbation of the government of Calcutta.

The emperor had returned to Delhi, highly disgusted with his allies. On his refusal to comply with some more of their demands, they invested Delhi, and on the 22nd December, 1772, about a year from the time they had put him into possession of it, he was forced to surrender it to their arms. He became now a mere instrument in their hands, and the first use they made of their power was to force him to cede to them the provinces of Allahabâd and Corah.

The Marattas now prepared to cross the Ganges and enter Rohilcund again; and they made great offers to the Rohillas if they would give them a free passage through their country to Oude. The Rohillas temporized; the vizir exerted himself to prevent that union, and, as Hafez Rahmut asserts, offered to give up the forty lacs of rupees; and they finally united their troops with his and the English, when they entered their country, to oppose the passage of the Ganges by the Márattas. No action, however, took place; and in May, the state of their affairs in the Deckan obliged this people to return to their own country.

In all these transactions little, if any, blame attaches to the conduct of the Rohillas. But, as we have already seen [1], their country had always been an object of cupidity to the rulers of Oude. In a meeting between the vizir and Mr. Hastings at Benâres, in the month of September, the former asked for an English force to put him in possession of the Rohilla country. In this project he was actually encouraged by the latter; and it was finally arranged that he should bear all the expenses of the English troops which should be given him, and pay the Company forty lacs of rupees on the accomplishment of the enterprise.

In his own account of this transaction, Mr. Hastings never says one word of its justice or the contrary; he only speaks of expediency. The vizir, he says, was the only useful ally of the Company; the acquisition of the Rohilla country would be very beneficial to him and the Company; and he dwells on the advantage of getting forty lacs of rupees, and having a large portion of their army supported at the expense of their ally. When writing an account of this Benâres treaty (the whole of which we have not yet seen), he says, "I am not apt to attribute a large share of merit to my own actions; but I own that this is one of the few to which I can, with confidence, affix my own approbation."

The remaining part of the treaty related to the emperor. On the pretext of his having joined the enemies of the Company, and given to them the provinces which had been assigned him, they were resumed, and were given to the vizir for fifty lacs of rupees, twenty to be paid down, and the remainder in two equal annual instalments. On the application of the emperor for the arrears of his tribute, and his demand of punctual payment in future, Mr. Hastings' reply was, that he "would not consent to let a rupee pass out of Bengal, till it had recovered from its distresses, which had been principally occasioned by the vast drains that had been made of its specie, for his remittances;" in other words, that he should get nothing more from the Company.

No act more flagrantly unjust than this is to be found in history. The emperor's right to confer the dewannee, and other advantages acquired for the Company, was undoubted, and the annual sum which he was to receive was their own offer. There was no condition made with him that he should not attempt to regain possession of his paternal dominions; and though the Company might consider the Marattas dangerous, they were not, properly speaking, their enemies. As to his cession of the provinces, it was well known to have been an act of compulsion; and from the specimen he had had of the Marattas, there was little likeli-

[9] Some members of the Council objected to this appointment, on account of the political character of Nundcomar. Hastings, in reply, asserted that it was without blemish, "though," he adds, "he will not take on him to vindicate his moral character."

[1] See above, p. 46.

hood of his again seeking their friendship, and as the vizîr was unable to defend his own dominions without the help of the English, they might as well defend the two provinces for the descendant of Timûr as for him. But even granting a political necessity in this matter, the refusal of the tribute was robbery and breach of faith. Still the whole of the guilt must not fall on Hastings, who in this, as in so many other points, only carried out the wishes of his masters, who had long been watching for a pretext to stop the payment of the tribute. On the 11th November, 1768, they had written out, "If the emperor flings himself into the hands of the Marattas, or any other power, we are disengaged from him, and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacs we now pay him." And on the treaty of Benâres they bestowed their entire approbation.

Another point arranged with the vizîr in the Benares conference was, the appointment of a civil agent to reside at his court and be the medium of communication between him and the governor. This task had hitherto been usually executed by the military officer on the spot, but it was a part of Hastings' policy to raise the civil over the military power. The first resident, as these agents were called, at the court of the Vizîr was Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, and he was directed to communicate secretly with the governor.

The vizir did not seem inclined to attack the Rohillas at once. He advanced towards Delhi, and assisted the emperor in taking Agra from the Jâts, gave him some money, and finally concluded a treaty by which the troops of the emperor were to join him against the Rohillas, and he was in return to have a share of the plunder, and half the conquered country.

In November the vizîr unexpectedly called on the president for the promised aid. Hastings had some difficulty in obtaining the assent of his colleagues; but in January, 1774, the second brigade received orders to join the vizir; in February Col. Champion came and took the command of it, and it entered the territory of Oude, and on the 17th of April the allied forces entered the Rohilla country. On the 19th, Col. Champion wrote to the president, stating that the Rohilla chiefs were most anxious for accommodation, but that the demands of the vizîr had now risen to *two crores* of rupees!

Aware now that arms, not equity, must decide their fate, the Rohillas prepared for action. On the morning of the 23rd, the English advanced to the attack. Col. Champion, as a generous enemy, bestows the highest praise on the desperate valour and even the military skill displayed by the Rohillas and their leaders. But valour was unavailing; and after a severe contest of nearly three hours, they fled, leaving 2000 slain, including many Sirdars, among whom were the gallant Hafez Rahmut and one of his sons. The doughty vizir, it will easily be believed, had no share in this victory. He had even refused to lend some of his cannon, and broke his promise of being at hand with his cavalry. But when the victory was gained, and plunder was in prospect, then his troops put forth their activity, and, says Col. Champion, "We had the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit." According to the same authority, the excesses committed by the vizîr and his troops, and his barbarous treatment, not only of the Rohillas, but of the innocent Hindoo cultivators, were shocking to humanity [2].

The army shortly after marched to Bissouly, in the centre of the Rohilla country, where they found the emperor's general, Nujuf Khân, with his army. As the country might now be regarded as conquered, and as the emperor had performed his part of the treaty, though the rapidity of the English had prevented his sharing in the conquest, Nujuf Khân demanded for him his share of the country and of the plunder. The vizîr was unable to deny the treaty; but positive orders came from Calcutta to the English commander, to support him in the violation of it; and of course it was set at nought.

A Rohilla chief, named Fyzoola Khân, was still in arms at the foot of the mountains. He sent, offering to hold his district as a renter from the vizîr; but the latter positively declared that he would suffer no Rohilla chief to remain beyond the Ganges. The army was then put in motion to attack him; but when they came near to where he was posted, the vizîr, from some unexplained reason, became anxious for accommodation. After a good deal of negotiation, it was agreed that Fyzoola Khân should surrender one half of his effects to the vizîr, and receive in return a jagheer of nearly fifteen lacs of rupees in Rohilcund.

CHAPTER XV.

Arrival of Members of Council—Quarrels with Hastings—Death of the Vizîr—Abrogation of Treaty—Charges against Hastings—His Conduct—Execution of Nundcomar for Forgery—Death of Col. Monson—Hastings' tendered Resignation—His Exercise of Power—Reconciliation with Francis—Monstrous Pretensions of the Supreme Court—Appointment of the Chief-Justice to a new office—Duel between Hastings and Francis.

On the 14th October, the vessel carrying the new members of council and the judges of the Supreme Court anchored in the Hooghly. Mr. Hastings immediately sent the second member of council to congratulate them on their safe arrival. They landed at Calcutta on the 19th, under a salute from the batteries, and were conducted by an officer of the governor's staff to his private residence, where all the members of the government were assembled to receive them. But courtesies of this kind had little effect on the minds of those to whom they were shown. The men whom Parliament in its wisdom (that is, the favour of the minister) had selected to regulate the affairs of an empire, had remarked on their landing that the batteries had fired only seventeen, instead of twenty-one guns, and that no guard of honour had met them on the beach; and they showed much real or affected indignation.

[2] In the correspondence between Hastings and the vizîr in 1773, there occur these terms, *thoroughly exterminate* the Rohillas, and *exterminate them out of the country*. Mill takes the word *exterminate* in its ordinary English sense, of *destroy*; while Wilson would take it in its (algebraic) sense, of *remove, drive away*. The former seems to us the more natural sense.

Next morning a council was held, and the commission and the Company's letter were read. The latter strongly inculcated unanimity and concord among the members of the government; it also directed that past abuses and oppressions should be inquired into, and their recurrence be prevented. It would seem that the three new members conceived their chief business to be to listen to all kinds of charges from all quarters against the governor-general, and to be at concord only among themselves, and to unite in showing him neither favour nor justice. At least so we might infer from their conduct; and henceforth we shall have to contemplate acts and scenes discreditable to the English name.

They would fain have set about their self-imposed task at once; but on Hastings' observing that Mr. Barwell was at some distance, they agreed to wait till the 25th for his return. On that day was read a minute of the governor's, giving a view of his policy and conduct since the time of his appointment. They denounced the treaty of Benâres as impolitic, and the war not only so, but unjust. But to understand the matter clearly, they required the whole of Mr. Middleton's correspondence to be laid before them. This Hastings refused, as that correspondence having been secret, it must have contained many other matters which it would not have been honourable, or perhaps even safe, to make public; but he offered to produce every part of it that related to the subject under consideration. Not content with expressing their indignation and hinting their suspicions, the majority, as we shall henceforth call the three, voted Middleton's immediate recall.

It might be supposed, that men who had so peremptorily pronounced on the injustice of the Rohilla war, would have been anxious to obliterate the disgrace of the British name, to cause the innocent Rohillas to be restored to their country, and to force the vizir to make them some compensation. But their justice and humanity were of a different kind; and it sufficed them if they could blacken the governor's character. They forthwith wrote, without knowing whether the war was ended or not, to Col. Champion, who was to take Middleton's place for the present, to insist on immediate payment of the forty lacs, the price of the extermination of the Rohillas, and of all other sums due by the vizir on other accounts. He was also to lead his troops, within fourteen days, into Oude; and in case of the vizir's not complying with his demands, to withdraw from him, and enter the Company's territories. Hastings remonstrated, but of course in vain, against these measures, as precipitate, and dangerous to the Company's interests.

In the beginning of 1775 the vizir died, and was succeeded as Sûbahdâr of Oude by his son, who took the title of Asof-ud-dowlah, to whom also, after some delay, the emperor granted the office of vizir. In public treaties it is generally understood, that they are to be of a permanent character, and not to depend on the life of the persons making them; those therefore made with Shujah-ud-dowlah should in justice extend to his successor. But the majority took a different view. They maintained, that all engagements with the late Sûbahdâr were personal, and that the present one must make new terms for himself; and through Mr. Bristow, whom they had sent to replace Mr. Middleton, they forced a new treaty on Asof-ud-dowlah. By this the Company were to guarantee him Corah and Allahabâd, and he in return was to cede to them the territory of Benâres, held by Rajah Cheit Sing, raise the allowance to their troops to 260,000 rupees a month, and pay all the money due by his late father. Mr. Hastings refused to concur in these terms, as in themselves unjust, and beyond the power of Azof-ud-dowlah to fulfil. The Directors, in their first letter on the subject, disapproved of the conduct of the council, holding their engagements with Shujah-ud dowlah to be permanent. But in their second, after they had heard of the increase of revenue, and of pay of the troops, they signified their *entire approbation* of the treaty that had been concluded. In fact, at this time, the Directors were sure to approve of every measure, however unjust, that brought money to their treasury.

Every one who could frame a charge of any nature against the governor-general met with favour from the majority, who received all sorts of persons for this purpose at their private residences. Thither then repaired discontented or place-seeking Englishmen, and crafty natives, especially Nundcomar; and charges of peculation soon began to be brought forward. The first accusation came from the Ranee of Burdwân, the widow of the rajah who had held the zemindary of that district. Her son, a minor, had been at first left under her guardianship, but he had afterwards been withdrawn from it, and the affairs of the zemindary were managed by persons appointed by the English. She now accused the Dewan of corruption, and Mr. Graham, the resident, of supporting him for the sake of the bribes which he obtained from him. The majority resolved that the Dewan should be removed, at least for a time, and that the Rance should, as she desired, be allowed to come to Calcutta with her son. Hastings and Barwell opposed these measures, as unjust or unnecessary. Mr. Graham made an indignant reply. Among other things, he showed that he had left Burdwân six weeks after the rajah's death, an event antedated three years by the Ranee, for the sake of making out a case against him. He also required that the Ranee should give security to pay an equivalent penalty, in case she failed to establish her charges. This was a law or usage of the country, in order to put a check to false or calumnious accusations. The majority, however, would not impose it. A variety of accounts were presented, in which were entered various sums paid by the Dewan to the servants of the Company, among which was a petty sum of 1500 rupees to Mr. Hastings himself! The whole amounted to upwards of nine lacs; but nothing could be proved.

This charge having failed, a new one was brought forward. A statement was made by a native, that the foujdar of Hooghly was paid by the Company 72,000 rupees a year, and that out of this he annually paid the governor 36,000, and his native secretary 4000, having only 32,000 for himself; for which sum the accuser would undertake to do the duties of the office, and thus save the Company 40,000 rupees a year, of which they were now defrauded by Mr. Hastings. The motives of this person are tolerably clear; yet the majority went

into the case. The foujdar having objected to be sworn, which Hindoos of high caste regard as a degradation, he was held to be guilty, and dismissed, and the office was given to another—not, however, the accuser—at 36,000 rupees a year.

Any one, we are persuaded, who considers the preceding conduct of the majority, must feel that it was malignity toward Hastings, and not a love of justice, that actuated them. This was certainly Hastings' own feeling; he viewed them as his enemies and his accusers, and would not allow them to be his judges. He denied their right, sitting in council and in his presence, to receive charges against him, and asserted that he would not lower the dignity of his office by answering charges made by any one who chose to come before them. If they wanted to inquire into his conduct, let them resolve themselves into a committee, and then lay the charges before the Supreme Court or the Directors. And he declared his resolution to dissolve the council as soon as they should enter on any inquiry relating to himself. This he always did, and he and Mr. Barwell retired; but the majority then voted Gen. Clavering into the chair and proceeded.

On the 11th March, Mr. Francis stated to the Board that he had been waited on that morning by Nundcomar, who had delivered him a paper which he requested him to lay before them. He did not think, he added, that he had a right to refuse a person of Nundcomar's rank. As to the contents of the paper, he knew them not, but had a suspicion that it contained charges against the governor of taking bribes from himself and from Munnee Begum. Some days after, another paper from Nundcomar was presented; and Monson then moved that he should be called before them to substantiate his charge. Hastings refused in very strong terms, and he dwelt indignantly on the unworthy conduct of Francis. He said he had expected this attack; for he had seen a paper containing many accusations against him, which he was told had been carried to Col. Monson by Nundcomar, who had been some hours in private with him, explaining the charges. Monson denied having seen any paper containing charges against the governor-general (perhaps he meant he had not read such a paper); but he made no reply to the charge of the private interview. The motion, however, was carried of course; Hastings and Barwell retired; Nundcomar was then examined, and a resolution was passed, that Hastings had received 3,54,000 rupees, which of right belonged to the Company; and by another resolution he was called on to refund them. Hastings refused to receive or answer these resolutions; and it was then resolved that the proceedings should be transmitted to the Company's attorney, to consult counsel how to proceed for the recovery of the money.

The facts of the case were these. After Nundcomar had opened the business, as above related, Mr. Grant, accountant to the council at Moorshedabâd, sent some accounts which he said he had received from a native who had been a clerk in the Nabob's treasury, from which it appeared that Munnee Begum had received 9,67,963 rupees more than she had accounted for. The clerk, when examined, stated that her head-eunuch had endeavoured to induce him to restore the papers and return to her service; and Mr. Grant declared himself willing to swear that similar attempts had been made on himself. The majority, Hastings and Barwell in vain opposing, determined to send Mr. Goring to investigate the conduct of the Begum, whose power was meanwhile to be withdrawn from her and committed to Rajah Goordass. The instructions to Mr. Goring were, to receive from the Begum all the accounts of the Nizâmut for the last eight years, and deliver them to gentlemen who were to examine and report on them to the Board. This might be expected to occupy some time; but he reached Moorshedabâd on the 20th May, and on the 22nd he sent to Calcutta memorandums of payments to Hastings and others, obtained, as it seems, by intimidation, and with a view to the inculpation of Hastings. In these it was stated that 1,50,000 rupees had been given to the governor, as entertainment money, when he went to Moorshedabâd, in 1772, and a similar sum to Mr. Middleton. The latter, we may here observe, was never denied; the former Mr. Hastings, at a subsequent period, acknowledged and attempted to justify[3].

The prime mover in all this business, as we may see, was Nundcomar. Him Hastings regarded as his deadly enemy, and him, he owns[4], he hated above all men living. We must therefore be cautious in examining every thing relating to this man.

In the month of April an indictment was preferred against Nundcomar, and Messrs. Joseph and Francis Fowke, in the Supreme Court, at the instance of Mr. Hastings, Mr. Barwell, Mr. G. Vansittart, Mr. Hastings' banyan, and the Roy Royan of Calcutta, for a conspiracy, to force a man named Cummâl-ud-dîn to write a petition against them. After the examination before the judges, Mr. F. Fowke was discharged, and Nundcomar and Mr. J. Fowke were held to bail, at the suit of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Vansittart, the other parties having withdrawn their names. On the following day the majority paid Nundcomar a visit of ceremony.

A few days after (May 6) Nundcomar was arrested, on a charge of forgery, at the suit of a native named Mohun Persâd, and committed to the common gaol, notwithstanding his wealth, his rank, and his being a Brahmin by caste. The majority, of course, declared on his side; and while he lay in prison, as we have seen, they promoted his son Goordass. He was brought to trial, tried by a jury of Englishmen, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. None of the natives, however, had the slightest idea that the sentence would be carried into execution. The fatal day (Aug. 5) at length arrived, and there was no reprieve. Nundcomar

[3] In his Defence before the House of Lords. He said that the Act of Parliament prohibiting the receipt of presents had not been passed at that time; that it was the custom of the country, and that the Nabob, when he visited Calcutta, received one thousand rupees a-day on this account; that he added nothing to his fortune by it, and must have charged the Company as large a sum if he had not received it. This, however, was two thousand rupees a-day for the time he was at Moorshedabâd; but Hastings was notorious for want of economy in his own affairs, and did not look closely after the expenditure of those about him. Mr. Wilson (Mill, iii. 635), if we rightly understand him, says that this money "was acknowledged, and carried to account."

[4] See his letter in Gleig.

took a solemn leave of his friends, and then occupied himself writing notes and examining accounts. He mounted the palankeen which was to convey him to the place of execution, and ascended the steps of the scaffold with the utmost firmness, in the presence of an immense crowd. When all was ready the drop fell, and Nundcomar soon ceased to exist. The Hindoos uttered a wild and piercing cry, and fled from the spot; and none remained but the officers of justice, and a few Brahmins, who were to take charge of the body.

The execution of Nundcomar, it is well known, was the subject of much discussion, and even of a parliamentary impeachment, where Mr. Burke did not hesitate to assert that Mr. Hastings had murdered him by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey. We will, therefore, dwell a little on the subject.

The crime for which Nundcomar suffered, was unknown as a capital offence to either Hindoo or Mohammedan laws. The act with which he was charged took place in 1770, and the supreme court with its powers was not created till 1774, he, therefore, it would appear, suffered on an *ex post facto* law. Further, the law making forgery capital, did not extend to India, as the colonies are never included unless expressly named in the statute, and one Indian for an offence against another Indian should have been tried by a native tribunal. Such were the arguments of those who asserted the injustice of the sentence; to which it was replied by Sir Elijah Impey, that Nundcomar, by making Calcutta his residence, was amenable to English law, and that the doctrine was false of a penal statute not extending to a colony not named in it; that natives had hitherto been subject to, and tried by English law in the courts of Calcutta, and that ignorance of the law is no excuse for the breach of it. As to this last argument, we may observe, that nothing but narrow-minded legal pedantry would cause any man to make use of it; the preceding one has more apparent weight; for owing to an omission in the charter of justice granted in 1753, the company's servants had sometimes extended the penalties of English law to natives, and one native had not long before been tried and convicted of forgery and sentenced to death by the mayor's court, but he had been recommended to mercy and pardoned. On the whole, by the mere letter of the law, the court that condemned Nundcomar was not to blame. By this alone the judges, who were mere lawyers, were guided; the spirit of the law, and the principles of equity, seem to have been unknown to them; and when the counsel for the prisoner asked the foreman of the jury to join in an application to the judges for mercy, the chief-justice censured him severely in open court.

On Hastings this event has cast a shade of suspicion which, perhaps, will never be dispelled. Nundcomar was his accuser; he had instituted legal proceedings against him, which were likely to fail; when a native, who could hardly be supposed to know or admire English law, charges him with an offence committed some years before [5]; the chief justice, who was Hastings' school-fellow and friend, acts with extreme rigour; Hastings who had power to respite, declines to exercise it, and rather submits to lie under the imputation of removing in this manner a dangerous witness, and of thus deterring others from appearing against him. The very circumstance of the prisoner being his enemy would, we think, have caused a man of generous feelings to make every effort to save his life [6].

As to the majority, who certainly must have had the power to prevent the execution of the sentence, we fear that we must agree with Hastings' biographer, in suspecting that they let Nundcomar perish, in order to have a charge against Hastings.

Charges, now that Nundcomar was gone, ceased to come in against the governor-general. By an order of the Court of Directors, Mohammed Reza Khân was appointed to the offices held by Goordass, and the latter was made Roy Royan. The Directors also censured Hastings for allowing his banyan to farm several districts in Bengal, contrary to the finance regulations of 1772. His defence was, that he himself had no share in the profits, of which, in fact, there were little or none [7].

The plan which had been devised for collecting the revenue had proved a failure; the produce was not what had been anticipated, for the farmers in general had contracted for more than they were able to pay. Angry debates, of course, took place in the Council. Hastings then proposed that each member should devise a plan, to be forwarded to the Directors. That of himself and Mr. Barwell

[5] Mr. Wilson, however, says that proceedings had been commenced by Mohammed Persâd, in the Dewannee Adawlut, and Nundcomar had been confined, but was liberated by Hastings; the forged instrument had been deposited in the mayor's court, and was transferred with all its other papers to the Supreme Court, on whose very first sitting of oyer and terminer the indictment was prepared and tried. This would, indeed, exonerate Hastings completely; but is it not most strange, that neither he himself nor any of his defenders should have noticed the circumstance? Mill, Gleig, and Thornton, seem all equally ignorant of it.

It is said, no doubt, that he could not interfere with the proceedings of the Supreme Court; but he showed in a subsequent case that he could, and would interfere.

It is a remarkable trait in Hastings' character, that he never seems to have been conscious of acting wrong. This may, as is asserted, have proceeded from his enormous self-esteem; but he appears also to have held, that whatever law allows is right. The circumstances of his marriage seem to show this. In the ship in which he sailed to India, in 1769, there was as a passenger a German baron, named Imhoff, who was going out as a portrait painter to Madras. He was accompanied by his wife, a very attractive young woman, and by whose charms Hastings was captivated. She attended him in an illness on board. The intimacy was continued at Madras; they accompanied him to Bengal. There is no reason to suppose there was any thing improper between Hastings and the baroness; but all this time, a suit for a divorce was going on in the courts of Franconia; and when it was obtained, Hastings married the lady, taking also her three children, and in the words of the gentle biographer, "the baron returned to his native country a richer man than he ever could have hoped to become, by the mere exercise of his skill as a painter;" *i.e* he sold his wife, almost like the former Smithfield sales of wives. It is worthy of remark, that Hastings was the most affectionate of husbands, and that their union was eminently happy. He acted like a father to her children.

[6] Mr. Wilson says he needed to make no defence, as it was collectors that were mentioned (see p. 101), and he was no collector. But surely he acted against the spirit of the law.

was to let the districts on leases for life, or for two joint-lives, giving the preference always to the Zemindar, when his offer was a fair one. Mr. Francis, going on the erroneous principle, that the property in the land was neither in the sovereign nor in the cultivator, but in the Zemindar, proposed a land-tax, fixed once for all, and never to be changed, on the Zemindars, the ryots to be protected against them by leases. The Directors did not deem it advisable to adopt either of these plans; but directed that the lands should be let for one year, on the most advantageous terms, but not by auction. The average of the collections of the preceding years was finally made the basis of the new arrangement, and this continued to be the mode for some years.

In the beginning of September, 1776, Col. Monson died; and as this event made the two parties equal in number at the board, and the governor necessarily had the casting voice, Hastings became once more supreme. A very curious and obscure transaction is connected with this affair.

In 1775 Hastings, when galled by the mode in which he was continually thwarted by the majority, empowered Mr. Graham and a Col. M'Lean, who were returning to Europe, to tender his resignation unless certain conditions therein specified could be obtained. It is to be observed that Lord North's ministry, partly in consequence of the accounts they received from the majority, partly from their desire to get the patronage of India, were hostile to Hastings. The same was the case with some of the most influential Directors. On the 8th of May, 1776, a motion was carried in the Court of Directors to address his majesty, praying him to remove Hastings and Barwell from office. But in a Court of Proprietors on the 15th, a motion that the Directors should be recommended to reconsider their resolution, was carried by a majority of 106, though the whole strength of the ministry and their adherents was put forth to defeat it. The resolution respecting the removal of Hastings and Barwell was afterwards rescinded; but still some of Hastings' friends did not think he could hold out against his powerful enemies, and they endeavoured to secure for him an honourable retreat. Matters were in part arranged with the minister, and then M'Lean wrote to the Court of Directors, stating that he was authorised to offer the governor-general's resignation, and requesting them to nominate a successor. On the 18th December, the letter was taken into consideration, and M'Lean was called in and questioned as to his authority. He offered to give it; but as in the papers to which he must refer, it was mixed up with very confidential matters, he requested to be allowed to submit them to only three of the Directors. The chairman, deputy, and Mr. Becher were appointed to confer with him, and they reported (Mr. Becher, however, not concurring) that they had seen Mr. Hastings' instructions in his own handwriting, declaring that he would resign if conditions ("of which," they add, "there is no probability") could not be obtained; that Mr. G. Vansittart declared that he was present when the instructions were given, and that Mr. Stuart declared that Mr. Hastings had told him he had given them. It was then unanimously resolved, that the resignation should be accepted, and Mr. Wheeler was nominated to fill the vacant place in the council, and the consent of the crown to the appointment was obtained.

On the 19th June, 1777, the intelligence reached Bengal. Hastings immediately declared that he had not resigned, and would not resign; Clavering maintained that he himself was now governor-general: Barwell adhered to the one, Francis to the other. There were two councils and two governors-general. Orders and counter-orders were issued. There seemed to be no mode of decision but an appeal to force; when Hastings proposed, and the other party agreed to leave the matter to the decision of the judges of the Supreme Court. This decision was, as in justice it must have been, in favour of Hastings; for, in the Directors' letter, his resignation was spoken of not as a thing that had occurred, but which was expected to occur; and Gen. Clavering had no right whatever to assume the office till Hastings had formally resigned it to him. But in their mutual desire of annoying each other, neither party thought much of what was right and proper.

This soon appeared by the way in which Hastings used his victory. He and Barwell immediately passed a series of violent and absurd resolutions, declaring that Gen. Clavering, by his late usurpation, had forfeited his office of senior councillor, and his place of commander-in-chief, &c. Mr. Francis tried to act as mediator, and exhibited on the occasion a good deal of sense and judgment; but Hastings would listen to no arguments. The judges were again appealed to, and they again decided agreeably to laws and justice, declaring that Gen. Clavering had not forfeited his offices. Hastings was obliged to yield to this authority: but Barwell soon obtained the post he coveted, for Gen. Clavering died in August, his death being, as it was thought, accelerated by the irritation of his mind, caused by the constant state of warfare in which he was kept; for he seems to have been in the main an honest well-meaning man. Mr. Wheeler now came into the council, and, as he usually sided with Francis, the council was divided as heretofore.

One of the first acts of Hastings, after the death of Col. Monson, had been to remove Mr. Bristow from the residency of Oude, and re-appoint his friend Middleton. He owned he had no fault to find with Mr. Bristow: and the act need not be too severely censured, as it was merely what takes place in a change of ministry at home. Hastings at the same time reversed another appointment of the majority by recalling Mr. F. Fowke, who had been placed as a kind of resident at Benâres in 1775. His pretext was, that the mission had been special, and that its purposes had been accomplished. Next day, however, he moved, and, of course, carried a resolution, that a civil servant of the Company's, with an assistant, should be sent to reside at Benâres! The name of the former was Graham, of the latter Barwell. Justly might Gen. Clavering, in his minute, call this "a vindictive measure, couched under the appearance of a public service." The Directors expressed their strong disapprobation of these measures, and ordered both those gentlemen to be re-instated; but Hastings took no heed of their commands. Here again we are not to condemn him too unconditionally;

[8] See p. 28.

the majority in the Direction were his personal enemies, and were glad of any opportunity of mortifying him; and it was to the Proprietors, and not to the Directors, that he looked for support and approbation.

Soon after Mr. Wheeler took his seat in council, Mr. Hastings laid before the Board a letter from the young Nabob, complaining of Mohammed Reza Khân's severity, and praying that, as he was now twenty years old, he might be allowed to administer his own government and affairs. Francis and Wheeler said, as that regulation had been made by the Company, the letter should be transmitted to the Directors; Hastings and Barwell maintained that justice admitted of no delay. Each party on this occasion used the arguments of their opponents on the subject in 1775. The prayer of the Nabob was granted; and then letters came from him requesting that Munnee Begum should have the management of the Nizâmut, without the interference of any person. Accordingly Goordass and others were reinstated in their offices, and their united salaries came to 18,000 rupees more than Mohammed Reza Khân had received, and the affairs of the country soon fell into a precious state of confusion. A due regard for his own character, and the opinion of the world, would have withheld a man of more prudence than Mr. Hastings from engaging in such a business as this [9].

Strange quarrels and as strange reconciliations take place among public men; we need not therefore be surprised to find Hastings and Francis reconciled. The occasion was as follows. Mr. Barwell, who had made a large fortune in India, where he had spent three and twenty years, was anxious to return to Europe, and Hastings would thus lose his main support; for though Sir Eyre Coote, who had come out as commander-in-chief with a seat in council, voted in general with the governor, he was a crotchety man, and could not always be relied on. It was, therefore, natural that Hastings should wish to soften down the enmity of Francis, who on his part was anxious to see Barwell depart from India, where he still lingered at the earnest wish of Hastings. An arrangement was effected by which, on the governor's agreeing to re-instate Bristow, Fowke, and Mohammed Reza Khân, Francis engaged not to oppose him in certain important matters. Mr. Barwell then set sail for Europe.

Soon after this a compromise was effected with the chief-justice, which put an end to pretensions of the Supreme Court, which had threatened to ruin the whole of Bengal.

When the Supreme Court was instituted it was given most extensive power. It was a court of common law and of equity, of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, of admiralty and ecclesiastic affairs. Its criminal jurisdiction, however, was confined to British subjects, or to those in their service; its civil, to those and to such of the natives as had agreed to submit to its decision.

The division of labour among the members of the English bar is very complete; the man who practises in one court rarely enters another. To find men possessing the knowledge requisite for the judges of the Supreme Court, and with minds sufficiently enlarged to believe that there might be something agreeable to reason, and adapted to the state of the country and of society in India in the native laws, was no doubt nearly impossible. It is probable, however, that the ministry gave themselves little trouble on this head; and the men that had interest got the appointments without any great regard to their fitness. Four more unfit men certainly could not have been selected. They were perfect specimens of the narrow-minded, self-sufficient, domineering English lawyer, who, regarding the law of England as being what lawyers, and lawyers alone, proclaim it to be—the perfection of reason,—and holding every other system in sovereign contempt, would force it and their own authority on all those whom, by any legal quirks and subtleties, they could draw within its sphere. When such were the judges, and when we add that a host of attorneys came to India in their train, the reader may be prepared for the results that followed.

We have seen an instance of their criminal justice in the case of Nundcomar. In civil matters they had hardly commenced their duties, when their writs flew about in all directions; zemindars, and other persons residing at a distance, were ousted on the oath of any person, however mean and discreditable, dragged up to Calcutta, and if they could not give bail, often to a large amount, flung into the noisome prison of that city. Gloom overspread the whole country; the English law, with all its dark enigmas and inconceivable technicalities, hanging over it like a murky cloud. The revenue seemed about to cease altogether; for the authority of the zemindar was subverted, and the ryot withheld his rent. The provincial courts of Dewannee Adawlut were also rendered inoperative; for there were attorneys everywhere to advise the defaulters who were brought before them to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus* in the Supreme Court.

The Nizâmut, or penal jurisdiction exercised in the name of the Nabob, the Supreme Court disdained to recognize. "The Act of Parliament," said one judge, "does not consider him as a sovereign prince; the jurisdiction of this court extends over all his dominions." "This phantom, this man of straw," said another, "it is an insult to the understanding of the Court to have made the question of his sovereignty." As to the Dewannee of the Company, one of the judges declared that there could be no distinction in law or justice between the Company, as a trading Company, and as Dewan of these provinces, and that in their management of the revenues they were subject to the jurisdiction of the king's court. Thus, in effect, did those four presumptuous, inflated men, assume to themselves the government of the three provinces.

We will now give some specimens of their proceedings. On the 2nd January, 1777, a suit commenced before the Provincial Council of Patna, between the widow and the nephew and adopted son of a Mohammedan of rank and property. The widow produced a will in her favour, the nephew maintained it was a forgery, and that at all events his uncle had been for some time of weak intellect. The case was, in the usual manner, referred to the

[9] "We always have, and always shall consider a letter of *business from that Nabob, the same as a letter from the* Governor-general and the Council," said the Judges of the Supreme Court, in 1775.

Câzee and other fit persons to investigate and report on. Their opinion was, that neither party had established their claims; and they recommended that the estate should be divided, the widow, as was the law, to get a fourth, and the remainder to go to the brother of the deceased, namely, the father of the nephew. This was done, the widow giving every opposition in her power, and finally refusing to accept her share, or give up the title-deeds which she had secured. The nephew petitioned the council; and the Câzee and Muftees were directed to use measures to force her to compliance; and they set a guard over her, according to the rule of Mohammedan law.

The widow now was advised to bring an action in the Supreme Court against the nephew, the Câzee, and the Muftees; and she laid her damages at 600,000 rupees. The nephew was pronounced subject to the jurisdiction of the Court; for, as a renter, it was asserted he was a servant of the Company. The plea of the others, that they had acted in obedience of their lawful superiors, was answered by the legal maxim, *Delegatus non potest delegare.* They were arrested; judgment was given against them, damages 300,000 rupees with costs; they were brought to Calcutta (the Câzee, an old man, dying on the way) and thrown into prison, where they remained till released by Parliament, in 1781. The widow also obtained 15,000 rupees damages against Mr. Law and two other members of the council of Patna; which money was paid by the Company.

In September, 1777, an attorney at Dacca proceeded to arrest the dewan of the foujdar, at the suit of a common *pyke*, who had been confined for a misdemeanour and had brought his action for false imprisonment. His bailiff, who produced no warrant, having been repelled, he himself, attended by a parcel of his followers, went to the house of the foujdar, broke open the gates, and forced his way in. A scuffle ensued, in which the attorney himself shot the foujdar with a pistol in the body. One of the judges wrote to the military officer at Dacca, highly commending the conduct of the attorney, and requiring him to give him assistance. The Provincial Council gave bail for the dewan.

At length the Supreme Court and the government came into direct collision. Cossinât Baboo, a wealthy native, brought an action against the rajah of Cossijura, and a *capias* was issued. The rajah, however, had absconded; a writ was then issued to sequester his property, and the sheriff's officer, attended by about sixty Sepoys and armed seamen, proceeded to execute it. They broke into the house, forced their way into the *zenana*, or woman's apartment, so sacred in the East, and arrested the rajah's dewan. The government, however, acting on the opinion of Sir John Day, their legal adviser, that zemindars were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, had given orders to Col. Achmuty to send soldiers and seize the whole party, which was done. Notice was then given by the government to all zemindars and landholders, directing them not in any way to recognize the authority of the Supreme Court over them. The Court, in return, prepared to issue attachments against the officer commanding the *military party, Mr. Naylor, the Company's attorney,* and others, and even the governor-general and Mr. Barwell. Cossinât Baboo, at the same time, brought an action of trespass against the governor and council. They refused to plead; the Court grew furious, and declared that they would proceed in the case as in any similar one. Men's minds were in expectation of something direful, when suddenly the storm dispelled: Cossinât Baboo, no one then could tell why, discontinued all legal proceedings against the rajah and all others.

A measure was effected very soon after, which may throw some light on that transaction. The courts of Dewannee Adawlut, it was said, had proved inconvenient and even dangerous, and the court of Suddur Dewannee Adawlut had never been brought into operation. Hastings then proposed to the council that the constitution of this court should be changed, and the chief justice be vested with its powers, to hold them during the pleasure of the governor and council. A large salary was of course to be annexed, and Hastings expressed his belief that this "would prove an instrument of conciliation between the council and the court;" that is, that the chief justice, when thus holding office and salary at their will, would never dare to oppose them. Francis and Wheeler of course disagreed with the governor-general, and their arguments were cogent and well-founded. But Hastings was a more practical statesman, and he knew the man he had to deal with; for Sir Elijah Impey saw at once the great advantages of the plan, and willingly consented to accept the office with a salary of 60,000 sicca rupees, and 7200 as rent for an office; thus, for paltry lucre, freely giving up all claim to respect, and all chance of his preceding conduct being judged charitably. He did not even long enjoy his new office: for in May, 1782, an address to the Crown for his recal, on account of it, was voted by the House of Commons, and he was menaced with an impeachment[10].

Throughout the whole of this contest with the judges the conduct of Hastings is entitled to praise. The last measure must make necessity its plea for justification.

Before the arrangement with the chief justice was completed, Mr. Francis quitted India, where his presence had certainly produced little good. It seems to us almost certain, that in the arrangement made previous to the departure of Mr. Barwell, he had promised to give the governor no opposition on the subject of the Maratta war. In fact, if he did not, Hastings must have conceded every thing and he nothing. Hastings asserted that he had, Francis denied it; and the result was, that one day, when the council had risen, Mr. Francis requested a private interview with the governor. They retired, and he then handed him a written challenge. Hastings accepted it; and two mornings after (July 17, 1780,) they met and exchanged shots. Francis was wounded in the side, but not dangerously. In the following month of December he sailed for England.

[10] His successor was the learned, accomplished, and virtuous Sir William Jones. What a contrast!

CHAPTER XVI.

Affairs of the Marattas—Treaty of Poorundur—Capitulation at Wargâm—March of Col Goddard—Takes Scindia's Camp—Exploits of Capt Popham—Capture of Gwalior—Of Bassein—Ascent of the Ghats—Treaties with the Marattas.

HAVING brought the affairs of Bengal down thus far, we must now occupy ourselves for some time with those of the other two presidencies, commencing with that of Bombay, which had hitherto engaged little in the game of Indian politics.

This presidency was quite surrounded by the dominions of the Marattas. These comprised the original Maratta state, of which Sattâra and Poona were the capitals; Berar and Orissa, held by the family of Ragujee Bôsla; the possessions of Morari Râo in the South, and those of Holkar and Scindia in Malwa, and Gûzerât ruled by the Guicawar family.

On the death of the Peishwa, Balajee Râo I, leaving two sons, Madhoo Râo and Narrain Râo, both minors, the power of the state was for some years wielded by his brother Ragonath Râo, commonly called Ragoba, as regent. After some time Madhoo was enabled to take the reins of government into his own hands. But he died in 1772, and was succeeded by his brother Narrain. This prince, however, was shortly after murdered in consequence of a plot which Ragoba, though without intending such a consummation, had formed against him. Ragoba then was acknowledged as Peishwa; but it appeared soon after, that the widow of Narrain was with child. The ministers of the late Peishwa proclaimed the event, and carried her to the fort of Poorundur for safety. Ragoba, who was absent, endeavouring to obtain arrears of *chout* from Hyder Ally, and Mohammed Ally, returned with his army and defeated that of the ministers; but hearing that Holkar and Scindia had been gained by them, he took panic and fled to Gûzerât. The widow was delivered of a son, who was generally acknowledged as Peishwa (May 1774).

Ragoba now addressed himself to the English at Bombay, who readily listened to his overtures; for they were very anxious to obtain possession of the isle of Salsette, of Bassein, and some other places in their neighbourhood, which the Marattas had taken from the Portuguese. They had already offered the Maratta government, in exchange for them, Baroach (which they had lately seized) and some places on the coast, but to no purpose. While they were now in treaty with Ragoba, they learned from Goa, that the Portuguese were fitting out an expedition for their recovery. They therefore hesitated no longer, but, signifying both to Ragoba and to the government at Poona, that it was merely a matter of precaution, they landed troops in Salsette, and having reduced the fort of Tanna, became masters of the island. Ragoba, however, did not appear at all inclined to cede this place; but he and his allies from Gûzerât having sustained a defeat from the troops of the ministers, he was glad to get the aid of the English on any terms, and on the 6th March, 1775, a treaty was

See p. 48.

concluded by which he yielded up Salsette and Bassein, with the Maratta share of the revenue of Surat, Baroach, and other places. He was also to bear the expenses of the troops sent to his aid, to pay other sums of money, &c. &c.

Matters being thus arranged, Ragoba, who was in the vicinity of Cambay, was joined on the 19th April by a force of 580 Europeans and 1560 native troops, with a train of artillery under Col. Keating. It then moved southwards; and on the 18th May it encountered the troops of the ministers, and, owing to a panic caused by a mistake made by an officer of the grenadiers, the British lost seven officers, eighty Europeans, and two hundred Sepoys, and want of cavalry prevented their deriving the due advantage from their victory. As Ragoba's own troops refused to cross the Nerbudda till their arrears of pay were discharged, and as the rains were at hand, the troops were put into quarters about fifty miles north of Baroach.

The government of Bengal, to which the other presidencies were now subordinate, had highly disapproved of the treaty with Ragoba. Hastings proposed that it should be cancelled and the troops withdrawn, except under certain circumstances. But the majority ordered the withdrawal of the troops at once, provided it would be safe; and then having condemned the government of Bombay for taking part with one side, they took the other, voting that a negotiation should be opened with the ministers in order to obtain Salsette and Bassein. They resolved to send for this purpose an agent of their own. Hastings proposed Col. Dow, they named Col. Upton. The latter, of course, was appointed, and he set out for Poona on the 17th July. The government of Bombay sent Mr. Tayler, a member of council, to Calcutta, to try to obtain aid in men and money; and it was Hastings' opinion, that they should be supported, but the majority were inexorable.

Col. Upton did not reach Poona till the beginning of January, 1776. The ministers assumed a high tone with him; they asked why the government of Bengal, which so strongly condemned the war, should seek to avail themselves of the advantages of it. They finally declared that they knew of no alternative but war. On the receipt of this intelligence, the government of Bengal resolved (March 7) to make the most vigorous preparations for the conflict. But soon after (April 1) came a letter from Col. Upton, to say that the ministers had yielded, and that a treaty was in progress. The English renounced their claim on Bassein, of which they never, it appeared, had had possession, and were confirmed in that of Salsette, and the little islands about it. Altogether, the treaty named of Poorundur, was far less advantageous than that with Ragoba; and, strange enough, just as it was concluded, came the Directors' letter approving of that treaty.

Matters remained tolerably tranquil till 1778, when intelligence came of the arrival of a French ship in one of the Maratta ports, having on board a French agent, who had proceeded to Poona, where he was received with much favour. This proved to be an adventurer, already well known in India. He called himself the chevalier St. Lubin, and he had persuaded the minister of marine that he could effect much by means of the Marattas. While the government of Bengal was deliberating

on the best course to pursue, a split in the ministry at Poona occurred, and one party, headed by Succaram Baboo, declared for Ragoba. The Presidency of Bombay was empowered to treat with them, and a new arrangement was made, by which Ragoba was to act as regent, in the name of the young Peishwa. But the party of Siccaram Baboo soon appeared so strong, that it seemed likely to be able to dispense with Ragoba and the English. Scindia, however, threw his weight into the opposite scale, and the party, headed by Nana Furnovees, became ascendant; and their rivals now called on the English.

A division of the army which had been assembled, was immediately sent forward. It consisted of about 4500 men, under the command of Col. Egerton, an inefficient officer; and to make matters worse, Mr. Mostyn, late resident at Poona, and Mr. Carnac, a member of Council, were sent as field-deputies, who, with the commander, were to form a committee for controlling all matters. They set out about the beginning of December, advanced slowly through the Cônean, and on the 23rd they had ascended the Ghât, and reached Condola. They were now within about thirty-five miles of Poona, for which place they set out on the 4th January, 1779, with provisions for twenty-five days. Mr. Mostyn, from illness, returned to Bombay; and the same cause obliged Col Egerton to resign the command to Col. Cockburn, though he still continued to act in committee. On the 9th (for they moved at a snail's pace) they were within sixteen miles of Poona, where they found an army prepared to oppose them. Ragoba had sought to impress them with the necessity of gaining some advantage, in order to induce his friends to declare for them; but now, on its being announced that there were only provisions for eighteen days remaining, and on Cockburn's asserting that he could not protect the baggage, without a body of horse, the committee resolved to retreat! On the night of the 11th, having thrown the heavy guns into a tank, and burnt the stores, the army commenced this disgraceful movement. They thought to have gone off unobserved; but before daybreak the enemy was upon them, and continued to harass them till four in the afternoon of the second day (13th), when they reached Wargâm. Here the commander-in-chief declared that it was impossible to bring back the army to Bombay. Capt. Hartley, who had commanded the rear, proposed a plan by which it might be effected, but in vain; it was resolved to negotiate. The surrender of Ragoba was made a preliminary; this they agreed to; but he had already secured himself with Scindia. In fine, a treaty was concluded, by which Salsette and the other places were to be restored, the march of the troops that were coming from Bengal to be stopped, Baroach to be given up to Scindia, and two gentlemen left as hostages. On these terms the army was allowed to depart. The Directors, when they heard of this disgraceful affair, dismissed, and most justly, Egerton and Cockburn from their service, and degraded Mr. Carnac.

When the government of Bengal was informed by that of Bombay of the proposals made for the restoration of Ragoba, aware that war had now broken out between France and England, and that it was therefore of the utmost consequence to destroy the French influence at Poona, they authorised them to join in the plan, and promised to assist them with men and money. With this view a detachment, commanded by Col. Leslie, was assembled at Calpee, in order to be sent to Bombay. On the 19th May it commenced its march; but Leslie, instead of advancing, as he was directed, with as much speed as possible, actually wasted four months in Bundelcund, trying to make up the quarrels in the family of the rajah, and negotiate useless treaties. In consequence of this "wild conduct," as Hastings terms it, the board unanimously agreed to recal him (October 9), and give the command to Lieut.-Col. Goddard, a man of a very different character[2], who marched without delay for the Nerbudda, where he was to enter the dominions of Moodajee, the ruler of Berar. For Hastings had long been in treaty with this chief, with the design of aiding him to obtain the office of rajah of Sattâra, as being of the family of Sevajee.

On the 1st of December Goddard crossed the Nerbudda. He found that Moodajee was not inclined to contract any engagement, but that he would act in a friendly manner. He there received letters from Bombay urging him to advance without loss of time. He set out on the 16th of January (1779), and on the 22nd he was at Charwa, on the road to Bûrhanpûr. Here he received letters from the committee of the Bombay army dated the 11th, telling him not to advance, and one next day from Bombay, urging him to it. Though perplexed he went on, and on the 30th he reached Bûrhanpûr. On the 6th of February, having received certain intelligence of the disaster of the Bombay army, he marched for Surat. By the celerity of his movements he escaped a body of 20,000 horse sent from Poona to intercept him; and by the discipline which he maintained the people of the country were induced to stay in their houses and supply the army with all it required. He reached Surat on the 30th[3], whence he proceeded to Bombay; and though his troops were not to be placed under the orders of that presidency, but to be solely under the authority of the Supreme Council, he was requested to sit with the council, and recommended for the post of commander-in-chief.

Mr. Hornby the governor refused to ratify the convention of the 11th of January. In this he was perfectly justified, for the committee had clearly stated that they had not power to conclude a definitive treaty; but he was willing to ratify the treaty with Scindia. On both points the Supreme Council agreed with him. The good sense, moderation, and dignity shown by Hastings in his conduct toward the Bombay authorities who had committed such gross errors, do him great honour. No taunts, no insults, no reproaches escaped his lips or his pen.

Early in 1780, Goddard (now a general,) put his troops in motion, and on the 15th of February he took Ahmedabâd in Gûzerât by assault. Meantime Scindia and Holkar were advancing with 40,000 men towards Surat. By rapid marches Goddard arrived on the 8th of March in the vicinity of their camp and was preparing to attack

[2] Leslie died a few days after. Hastings speaks of his "sordid disposition, and morose and disgusting manners."

[3] This was the first British force that marched across India.

it in the night, when Scindia released the two English hostages, and sent a Vakeel with them to open a negotiation. But Goddard could place no reliance in him; and after several fruitless attempts to bring him to action, he succeeded in entering his camp before dawn on the 3rd of April, and reached the very centre of it before he was perceived. Hardly any resistance was made, and the whole Maratta army fled, leaving the English in possession of both their camp and the country. As the rains commenced soon after, both sides retired; and Goddard sending back the Madras troops, put his own detachment into cantonments.

Hastings had some time before formed an alliance with a Rajpût rajah named the Rana of Gôhud, whose territories lay between those of Scindia and the Jumna. In consequence of an invasion of the Marattas, the Rana called on the English for aid, and Capt. Popham, who was in command of a detachment intended to reinforce Goddard, was ordered to lead it to his assistance. Popham soon drove off the Marattas, and then entering their own territory, laid siege to the fort of Lahâr. Having no heavy guns he was unable to effect a sufficient breach; but having made an imperfect one with his light guns he resolved to storm. The garrison made a most gallant resistance, and did not yield till nearly the whole of them were slain. The English loss was 125 men.

Popham soon after achieved a far more brilliant conquest. The fortress of Gwaliôr in Gôhud, now held by the Marattas, had always been regarded as impregnable. It lay on a lofty insulated rock, scarped nearly all round, and was garrisoned by 1000 men. Sir Eyre Coote had pronounced it absolute madness to attack it with so feeble a detachment as Popham's; yet this gallant officer resolved to make the attempt. Taking his position in a village at a little distance from the fort, he kept spies constantly employed in examining it. They at length reported that there was one place which seemed practicable. At that place the height of the scarp was sixteen feet; from thence to the wall the steep rock was forty yards, and the wall was thirty feet high. Popham resolved to attempt that place, and made all the requisite preparations; and at daybreak on the 3rd August, the storming party, led by Capt. Bruce, arrived at the foot of the rock. By means of wooden ladders they mounted to the top of the scarp; they then clambered up to the foot of the wall, and the spies having climbed up and fixed rope-ladders to it, the Sepoys ascended with great rapidity. They then pushed on for the main body of the place; the garrison fled after a brief resistance, and thus the formidable Gwaliôr was captured. Popham was raised to the rank of major for this splendid achievment, at the fame of which the Marattas quitted all the surrounding country.

In October, Gen. Goddard being reinforced from Madras, moved from Surat in order to attack Bassein. Owing to the state of the roads and the rivers he did not arrive before it till the 13th November. As the place was strong and the garrison numerous, he resolved to proceed with caution and regularity, and began to erect batteries. The approaches were duly made: on the 10th December a breach had been effected, and next day the enemy surrendered at discretion. While Goddard was thus engaged, a division of the Bombay army under Col. Hartley remained in the Côncan to secure the collection of the revenues, and to cover the siege of Bassein. Hartley defeated a large Maratta force, and finally falling back to within nine miles of Bassein, repelled all the attacks of an army of 20,000 men that was coming to raise the siege.

The affairs of the Carnatic were at this time in a dreadful condition, and a union of all the great powers of the Deckan against the English was to be apprehended. This, with the want of funds, and the violent and unprincipled opposition which he experienced from Francis, made Hastings most anxious to conclude a peace with the Marattas. He thought to effect it through the mediation of the rajah of Bêrar; but that chief appeared now quite lukewarm in his friendship. As a means of forcing the Marattas to conclude a peace, he sent directions for Gen. Goddard to direct his march for Poona. The general, then leaving Bassein, and driving the Maratta army before him, reached the foot of the pass named the Bhore Ghât on the 8th February. Aware of the importance of dispatch, he sent forward that very night a party of grenadiers under Capt. Parker to force the pass. The enemy was driven from all his posts, and next day the whole army reached the summit. Negotiations were then entered into with Nana Furnovees, but no terms could be arranged; and as the enemy had determined to burn Poona if the English advanced to it, and no advantage seemed likely to be derived from remaining above the Ghâts, Gen. Goddard resolved to descend and make the war merely a defensive one. On the night of the 17th April the troops secretly descended the Ghât, and though harassed by the desultory attacks of the Marattas in the Concan, they reached their destination without any great loss of men or stores.

Meantime a force from Bengal under Col. Carnac of five battalions, including Popham's detachment, had entered Scindia's territories to make a diversion in favour of Goddard. On reaching Serônj, Carnac found himself surrounded by a powerful army, his supplies cut off, and the rajah, whom he had expected to join him, keeping aloof. Having continued for some weeks in that situation, vainly expecting to be joined by Col. Muir from Gôhud, he called a council of war. Capt. Bruce, who had commanded the storming party at Gwaliôr, recommended a night attack on Scindia's camp. The plan was adopted and executed the next night (Mar. 24) with the usual success, the enemy flying and leaving every thing behind. Soon after Col. Muir joined and took the chief command. The two armies lay near each other for some months, but no action took place; and in October a treaty was concluded, the English restoring to Scindia all their conquests beyond the Jumna, except what had been given to the Rana of Gôhud.

On the 17th May, 1782, a treaty was also concluded with the Poona government. The English resigned Bassein and all their other conquests made since the treaty of Poorundur; the Marattas engaged on their side to make Hyder give up all his conquests in the Carnatic. No Europeans but the Portuguese were to have factories within the Maratta dominions. Scindia was to have Baroach, and Rageba was to have 25,000 rupees a month from the Peishwa, if he would reside in Scindia's dominions.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mohammed Ally's Agent in England—Powers given to Sir John Lindsay—Reduction of Tanjore—Mr. Paul Benfield—Arrest and Death of Lord Pigot—Strange Conduct of Hastings—Capture of the French Possessions—Quarrel with the Nizâm—War with Hyder Ally—Destruction of Baillie's Detachment—Arrival of Coote—Defence of Wandewash—Victories of the English—Lord Macartney—Reduction of the Dutch Settlements—Destruction of Braithwaite's Detachment—Encounters of French and English Fleets—Storm and Famine at Madras—Death of Hyder—Death of Coote—Attack on Cuddalore—Dismissal of Gen. Stuart—Operations on West Coast—Surrender of Bednore—Of Mangelore—Peace with Tippoo.

In the Carnatic, to which we now return, events of importance had been taking place, and war, with all its horrors, had been renewed.

A Scottish adventurer in India, named John Macpherson, having ingratiated himself with Mohammed Ally, was empowered by him to go to England and try to obtain from the crown the justice which he fancied was denied him by the Company. The Duke of Grafton was premier when Macpherson arrived in England; and in his interviews with this minister, he did not suffer truth to stand in his way when pleading the cause of his employer, whom he represented as a man of unsullied honour, an accomplished statesman and gentleman, one to whom Britain owed the rise of her power in India. He had even the courage to offer the duke what he calls "the credential presents" of Mohammed Ally; and on his refusal, he endeavoured to force them on his secretary, Mr. Bradshaw, but without effect. He then offered, in the name of the Nabob (who was a beggar), to invest seventy lacs of rupees in any funds the minister would name, or to lend that or even a larger sum to government at two per cent. He wrote pamphlets and articles in newspapers, and caused them to be written by others. He sought by all means to cause dissension between the ministry and the Company, and at length succeeded so far that the ministry resolved to support Mohammed Ally.

The mode of carrying their resolution into effect adopted by the ministry, was not a very creditable one. The Directors having applied to them for some ships of the line, they agreed to give them, provided their commander should have a large and conspicuous share in all treaties with native princes, as, by the peace of Paris, they said, the crown was bound to maintain the rights of certain Indian princes. The Directors refused; the ministry affected to acquiesce, but they secretly gave these powers to Sir John Lindsay, who was sent out in command. This officer arrived at Madras on the 26th July, 1770, and astonished the servants of the Company by announcing his powers, and calling on them to appear in his train when he went in state to deliver to the Nabob his Majesty's letter and presents. They declined, assigning very sufficient reasons. In the correspondence which ensued, Sir John exhibited abundance of the unreasoning insolence then almost characteristic of the British naval commanders. He attached himself blindly to the cause of the Nabob, lent a credulous ear to all the representations of him, and the flock of European vultures which filled his court; and in his letters home to the ministers, represented him as the most excellent and the most ill-used of princes.

In the treaty concluded with Hyder Ally there was, as we have seen, a stipulation of defensive alliance, and at this time, being hard pressed by the Marattas, he called on the English for aid, to which he had a manifest right. At the same time the Marattas, by threats of invading the Carnatic, tried to draw the English to their side. The Nabob, supported by Lindsay, was urgent with the presidency to join the Marattas; but they decided on neutrality, inclining rather to the side of Hyder. Meantime the ministry, somewhat alarmed at the accounts of the dissensions at Madras, adopted the sage expedient of recalling the person, but leaving the authority. The result was what any person of sense might have anticipated. Lindsay's successor, Sir Robert Harland, proved to be violent and intemperate, even beyond his predecessor. He zealously seconded the Nabob in his efforts to make the presidency accept the alliance of the Marattas, who were now masters of all Mysore except the fortresses; but they still remained firm, and at length, in 1772, the Marattas were induced to conclude a peace with Hyder on receiving from him both money and territory to a large amount.

Mohammed Ally, amidst all his difficulties, had never his eyes off the fertile little realm of Tanjore, on which in reality he had no just claim whatever. In 1771, he induced the presidency to aid him in overrunning that kingdom. Toward the end of September, Gen. Smith reduced the strong fortress of Vellum; he then marched against the city of Tanjore. By the end of October his batteries had effected a breach, and he was preparing to storm, when he learned that Omdut-ul-Omrah, the Nabob's son, by whom he was accompanied, had concluded a peace with the rajah, and thus deprived the troops of the plunder they had expected.

The rajah had, of course, been obliged to promise to pay large sums of money. In 1773 his debt was brought down to ten lacs of rupees. He either actually had applied to the Marattas and Hyder for protection, or, as it is asserted, the artifices of the Nabob had made the Presidency believe he had done so, conduct which they themselves declared was not to be at all wondered at, as they could not support him against the Nabob. Still they resolved to take the present opportunity of destroying him, lest, as they could not give him "a firm promise of support in his just rights," he might on some future occasion join the French, or some native power. Actuated by these motives, they made all the requisite arrangements with the Nabob, and early in August, 1773, the British forces appeared before the city of Tanjore. On the 16th September the place was taken, by the stratagem of making the assault in the heat of the day, when the greater part of the garrison had retired for shelter or refreshment. The rajah and his family being made prisoners were delivered up to the Nabob, who was also put into possession of the whole of that prince's dominions.

Owing to various causes it was not till April, 1775, that the Court of Directors were able to come to a decision on the subject. They then condemned the whole transaction as unjust and dan-

gerous, removed Mr. Wynch, the President, from his office, and reprimanded the other members of the Council. Lord Pigot[4], who, by a vote of the proprietors, was appointed governor, was directed to restore the rajah of Tanjore, and to carry out all needful reforms in the affairs of the Company.

Pigot, like Clive, on his arrival at Madras, in the end of 1775, found, as he says, that "a general reform was necessary, to preserve the Company from ruin;" and he knew, of course, that his attempt to effect it would raise him a host of enemies. The first thing to be done was to restore the rajah; to prevent this the Nabob made every conceivable effort, using every argument that could be devised, but all in vain. In April, 1776, the governor went in person to Tanjore, and put the rajah in possession of his former dominions. The Company's troops were to protect the country, for which the rajah was to pay four lacs of pagodas a year.

One of the reasons assigned by the Nabob, why he should not be deprived of Tanjore, was, that in that case he should not be able to pay the many Englishmen to whom he was indebted. While Lord Pigot was at Tanjore, he received a letter from a Mr. Paul Benfield, informing him that he had assignments on the revenues of Tanjore for 405,000 pagodas lent to the Nabob, and on the present crop, for 180,000 lent to individuals, in all equal to the no small sum of 234,000*l*. To any one curious to know who this man of wealth was, it may be replied, that he was a junior servant of the Company, with a salary of a few hundred pounds a year, and that he kept the finest horses and carriages in Madras.

On the return of the governor to Madras, Mr. Benfield was called on to produce his vouchers, but he had none to produce. As to the debts of individuals, which had now dwindled down to 30,000 pagodas, he expected his bare word to be taken; and as to that of the Nabob, he referred to the books of the Cutcherry (which, however, were never produced), and he said the Nabob would acknowledge them. A majority of the Council, headed by Mr. Stratton, decided that they could not sanction any of his claims. Five days after, however, Mr. Benfield, having in the interval employed perhaps some arguments of known potency, this very same majority resolved against Lord Pigot, that the growing crops in Tanjore belonged to the Nabob, and that Benfield's claims against him were public, not merely private, and were therefore to be maintained. The next question was about a resident at Tanjore; Lord Pigot proposed Mr. Russell, a friend of his own; the majority supported Col. Stuart, who was to command the troops in Tanjore.

Lord Pigot was now in the same condition as Warren Hastings, opposed by a violent, and apparently unprincipled majority; but he did not act with the same prudence as Hastings. Assuming that the President was an integrant part of the Council, and that no act was valid without his sanction, he resolved not to concur in measures he did not approve. He therefore refused to sign the instructions to Col. Stuart, and a letter to the commandant at Tanjore. The majority hesitated, and the Council was adjourned for two days. When they again met (August 22), they resolved that the concurrence of the President was not necessary, and they wrote a letter to the secretary, directing him to sign those papers in the name of the Council. The letter was written, and two of them had signed it, when Lord Pigot snatched the paper, and produced a written charge against these two members for the act they were committing. As this charge precluded them from voting, the governor had now a majority by his casting vote, and it was voted to suspend them. When the Council met next day, the members of the late majority instead of attending, sent a protest declaring themselves the government, and claiming obedience from all persons in authority. By a vote of the Council they were then all suspended, and Sir Robert Fletcher[5], the commander-in-chief, was ordered into arrest, in order to be tried by court-martial. The opposite party then resolved on the bold measure of arresting the governor himself. As Fletcher was ill, and so could not have the gratification of executing the mandate, it was given to Col. Stuart. This officer next day breakfasted and dined with Lord Pigot; he was also engaged to sup with him; and as they were going home together in his lordship's carriage it was stopped by the troops, whom the colonel had appointed for the service, and the arrest was made. It does not appear that the governor was treated with any harshness during the eight months that he was kept in custody, till released by death, brought on by wounded feelings, preying on a frame debilitated by age and the climate.

As in all such cases, there were faults on both sides, but those of lord Pigot were venial in comparison. His last measures were all irregular and imprudent no doubt, but they did not justify in any degree the violence of his opponents. There is no proof of his having, as they asserted, urged the appointment of Mr. Russell with the design of drawing money from the rajah; and his brother Adm. Pigot asserted in parliament that he was offered 600,000*l*. to delay his restoration. On the other side were the supporters of Benfield and the Nabob; and it was quite natural for them to desire to have a resident at Tanjore who would not oppose their views. It is remarkable, however, that their courage failed them; and they did not venture to carry out their resolution that the growing crops belonged to the nabob. They were left with the rajah, and Benfield's claim remained unsatisfied.

It is remarkable also that Mr. Hastings, contrary

[4] The Mr. Pigot of the preceding pages. He had gone out as a writer to Madras, in 1736, and returned to England in 1763, with a fortune of 400,000*l*., almost wholly gained by private trade. He was first created a baronet, and then an Irish peer.

[5] This exciter of mutiny (see p. 93), who, if he had had his deserts would have been shot, was actually some time before, by the influence of himself and friends in the Court of Proprietors, appointed to the chief command in Madras, with a seat in Council. True to his character, he soon quarrelled with the governor, and being ordered to Trichinopoly, he demanded a passage to England to attend his duty in Parliament, in which *he*, degraded as he had been, had a seat! He was told that he might perhaps have it, when he had set an example of military obedience. He then *did* obey, and soon the Council, out of respect to the House of Commons, permitted his departure. He had since returned, and acted as might have been expected.

to what might have been anticipated, took a most decided part against Lord Pigot, readily acknowledged the authority of Mr. Stratton and the majority, and declared it to be his duty to encourage them by every means in his power, from dread of the evils of civil dissension; though he owns that he perceived that they "had personal interests to attend to, which might influence their public conduct," which probably means that he knew well the real state of things at Madras. But it is impossible to account for many of Hastings' acts.

At home the deed was heard with both surprise and indignation. One-half of the Directors, however, were on the side of the usurpers; and it was only by a casting vote that the wish of the proprietors for the restoration of Lord Pigot, and the suspension of the majority, was carried; and a vote of censure was at the same time passed on Lord Pigot. Orders were sent out for Lord Pigot and the civilians of the majority to return to England[6], and the military officers concerned in the arrest and confinement were to be tried by court-martial in India. Mr. Rumbold was appointed to succeed Lord Pigot, Mr. Whitehill to be second in council, and Major-General Hector Munro to be commander-in-chief with the third seat in council.

War having broke out between France and England in 1778, it was resolved to lose no time in reducing the French possessions in India. Chandernagore in Bengal offered no resistance, and in August Gen. Munro led his troops against Pondicherry; a small fleet under Sir Edward Vernon was to aid the attack. A French fleet under M. Tronjolly engaged that of Vernon, and having had the worst of it, retired to Pondicherry; but its commander feared to stay, and soon after, in the usual French way, stole away to the Islands. Munro having taken the boundary-hedge, erected his batteries, and played on the fort: the governor, M. Ballecont, made a gallant defence; but the English, though impeded by the weather, still gained ground, and Munro at length determined on a general assault. The governor, however, offered to capitulate. Very favourable terms were granted; the Europeans of the garrison were to be sent to France, the Sepoys to be disbanded. All marched out with the honours of war; the regiment of Pondicherry was allowed to retain its colours. The fortifications were afterwards destroyed.

Caracal and Masulipatam had already surrendered; and nothing remained to the French in India but Mahé, on the coast of Malabar. Though Hyder Ally declared that he would resent an attack on this place, it was resolved to make it. The command was given to Col. Braithwaite; the European troops were sent by sea, the Sepoys over land; they both reached safely the place of rendezvous, and Mahé surrendered (March 19, 1779,) before a shot was fired. As Braithwaite was ordered to join Gen. Goddard at Surat, the fort was blown up in November. But just then Braithwaite was summoned by the chief and the factory of Telicherry to their defence, against some native chiefs incited by Hyder, and other troops were sent from Madras to Bombay.

The refusal of the English to aid him against the Marattas had long rankled in Hyder's mind; the capture of Mahé further annoyed him; and at length, an attempt to march troops through a part of his territory further exasperated him. The occasion was as follows.

Basâlut Jung, who held the Guntoor circar, had some French in his service which the government of Madras wished to have removed, and applied to Nizâm Ally for the purpose. He promised every thing, and did nothing. When the war with France broke out, a treaty was made with Basâlut Jung, by which he was to dismiss the French, and the Company were to send him some of their own troops. As it was apprehended that Hyder might make some attempt on his territories, a detachment was sent, under Lieut.-Col. Harper, which was to proceed from Guntoor to his other dominions. He expressed great joy at its approach, and pointed out the best route. But Harper soon discovered that this route led through Hyder's dominions, whose officers refused a passage. He sent to Madras for instructions, and was ordered to advance; he proceeded till he was near being surrounded, and he then fell back into Guntoor.

There was at this time, as envoy from Madras, at the court of Nizâm Ally, Mr. Hollond, a civilian. As that prince complained that the tribute for the circars had been withheld, Hollond was directed to ascribe it to Basâlut Jung's encouragement of the French, but to assure him that it would be punctually paid in future. This was in the end of February, 1779; and in the beginning of the following June, Governor Rumbold gave it as his opinion that Nizâm Ally had no right to it, that it was disgraceful to them to pay it, and that they ought now, as the time was favourable, "to throw off so heavy a burden." The council gave a cheerful assent, and Mr. Hollond was instructed to break the matter to Nizâm Ally as gently as possible. But Nizâm Ally stormed, and would not be pacified, and menaced war if he were not paid.

To any one who recollects the situation of the Company's affairs in India at the time, this conduct will appear little short of insanity; but cupidity is often blind. Hastings now resolved to interfere. He wrote to soothe the Nizâm, assuring him that he misconstrued the propositions made to him, and that the Company had no idea of receding from their treaty. When this was communicated to the government of Madras, Sir Thomas Rumbold (for he was now a baronet), who was just departing for Europe, proposed to recall and suspend Mr. Hollond. Mr. Whitehill, his successor, did so; but Mr. Hastings directed Hollond to remain, as representing the general government. When Basâlut Jung, in awe of Hyder and the Nizâm, demanded the restoration of Guntoor, the government of Madras refused, but that of Bengal gave orders to restore it.

Up to the day of his leaving India, Sir Thomas Rumbold kept assuring the Directors that there was no danger of war in the Carnatic; and in his last minute in council, he declared that all was calm, and likely to remain so. Yet he must have known that all this was delusive; for he had already sent privately the celebrated missionary, Schwartz, and afterwards Mr. Gray, to Seringapatam; and he knew that Hyder's thoughts were any thing but pacific; and the Nabob, who usually

[6] Stratton and three others were afterwards brought to trial in England, found guilty, and fined 1000*l.* each! a mere trifle to men of their property.

had good intelligence, had informed him in November that Hyder, the Nizâm, and the Marattas, had formed a treaty to oppose the English. He, however, gave no heed, and he sailed home to enjoy his wealth[7], leaving others to reap the harvest of war whose seeds he had sown (1780).

Mr. Whitehill partook of this security. At length, about the middle of June, he was induced to make some slight exertion, and he sent orders to Col. Baillie, who commanded the troops in Guntoor, to recross the Kistna. On the 17th July, two members of the Select Committee urged to prepare against the danger of invasion, which they said was imminent; but the governor and the general, who acted together, and who formed the majority by the casting vote of the former, declared these apprehensions groundless. On the 21st, intelligence came from Amboor that Hyder and the greater part of his army had descended the pass; on the 23rd, Lord Macleod, who commanded a regiment lately come from Europe, represented to the governor that that report *might* be true, and that some measures for defence should be adopted. "What can we do? we have no money," was the reply. "We mean, however, to assemble an army, and you are to command it." Next day came news of Conjeveram, only fifty miles from Madras, and Porto Novo, on the coast, having been plundered by the enemy.

The army of Hyder counted 100,000 men. Of these, 20,000 were infantry, mostly commanded by Europeans; and he had also 10,000 Carnatic cavalry, who had been disciplined by the English for the Nabob, but had deserted or been disbanded. His artillery of 100 guns was served by Europeans, or by natives who also had been trained by the English; and the corps of 400 Europeans, commanded by M. Lally, which Basâlut Jung had been made to dismiss, was now in his service.

His ravages were carried on in the same manner as in the preceding war. His cavalry spread in all directions; the towns, villages, and houses were burned, the crops were destroyed, and the people forced to fly to the woods with their cattle, or to seek refuge in Madras and other towns. Yet, though such devastation was committed, so much had the people suffered under the joint misgovernment of the English and the Nabob, that they almost looked upon Hyder as a deliverer, and conveyed to him the most accurate intelligence of the movements of the English troops.

The governor and general resolved that the troops recalled from various parts should be assembled near Conjeveram under the command of Lord Macleod; for the general was to remain at Madras to keep up the majority in the committees. But that officer declined the responsibility of executing a plan of which he did not approve, and the general himself was obliged to take the command. To maintain the majority still in committee, the novel plan was adopted of appointing a *locum tenens* for him till his return; and when a member made some severe remarks on such conduct, the majority suspended him, and the general sent him a challenge.

Sir Hector Munro soon found that he was wrong in making Conjeveram the place of rendezvous, and St. Thomas' Mount near Madras was fixed on. Here a force of upwards of 5000 men, of which about a third were English, was collected by drawing troops from the garrisons; but instead of waiting for Col. Baillie, who, it is asserted, could have joined him there with safety, he marched (Aug. 26) for Conjeveram, directing Baillie to join him at that place. The swelling of a river had, however, stopped that officer's march; and Hyder, leaving Arcot, which he was investing, came (Sept. 3) and encamped within five miles of Munro's army. On that very day, Baillie got over the river, and when he had come to within about fifteen miles of the main army, he was attacked by a large force under Hyder's eldest son, Tippoo Saïb. After sustaining its assaults for several hours, he finally repelled it; but judging himself too weak to be able to force his way, he wrote on the 8th to Munro, asking him to advance to his aid. The latter, though he ran imminent risk of having his whole army destroyed by dividing it, sent Col. Fletcher forward that very night with a detachment of 1000 men. Hyder, whose information was most accurate, prepared to intercept them; but Fletcher, who, distrusting his guides, had taken a different road, eluded him, and joined Baillie in the morning. Hyder's European officers were quite confounded at this movement, which they regarded as a consummate piece of generalship with a view to a simultaneous attack in front and rear, and they advised an immediate retreat. But Hyder, whose spies assured him that the main army seemed to have no intention of moving, was of a different opinion, and he prepared to attack Baillie on his march.

At nine o'clock in the evening of the 9th, Baillie commenced his march. He soon fell in with the light troops of the enemy, who annoyed him for some way. The enemy at length brought some artillery to bear on them, but their guns were soon silenced by the superior firing of the English. For this purpose a halt had necessarily been made, but now, instead of seizing the opportunity of making a rapid advance so as to get within reach of the aid of the main army, Baillie committed the fatal error of prolonging the halt. This gave the enemy time to remove their cannon to another point, and enabled Hyder to bring his whole force down on them.

At daybreak the march was resumed. A fire was opened on them from fifty pieces of cannon, while masses of horse and foot kept pressing on all sides. Nothing could exceed the steadiness of the British troops; they repelled all the attacks of the enemy, and Hyder was even thinking of drawing off his troops, when the blowing-up of two of their

[7] During the brief period of his government he remitted to England 164,000*l.*, though his salary was only 20,000*l.* a year, the sum now given to Presidents. He endeavoured to show that he had had for some years property to a large amount in Bengal; but, according to the new regulations, he should have given an account of that property on oath when he entered on his office, which he did not do. Mr. Wilson undertakes his defence in some measure, but he cannot show that he had more than 40,000*l.* in Bengal, in 1778, and as the whole salary which he received was only 49,000*l.*, from which his living and other expenses were to be deducted, a large sum remains unaccounted for. The Directors dismissed him from their service; and he, Mr. Whitehill, and a Mr. Perring, were threatened with a bill of pains and penalties, but the proceedings were suddenly stopped, he himself perhaps could best tell how.

tumbrils deprived them of ammunition, and broke their line. Still the enemy feared to close, and kept up a perpetual discharge of cannon and rockets. At length when they had thus greatly diminished their numbers they began to charge them with columns of horse, while bodies of infantry kept up a constant fire. When the Sepoys had been nearly all destroyed or dispersed, and the Europeans were reduced to about 400, Baillie advanced waving his handkerchief as a demand for quarter, and supposing it granted, ordered his men to lay down their arms. But the savage troops of Hyder rushed on them now defenceless, and slaughtered them whole and wounded, sick and well alike; and but for the exertions of the French officers, not a man would probably have been spared. Of eighty-six British officers thirty-six were slain or died of their wounds, among the former was the gallant Fletcher, and only sixteen were unhurt. The whole number of Europeans who survived was about two hundred.

In Hyder's bosom there dwelt no nobleness or generosity. The treatment of the prisoners was barbarous in the extreme. The wounded, after being left lying on the field for hours, were all crowded together in one tent and got no relief. The prisoners were then marched to Bangalore and other places, where they were kept till the end of the war, exposed to every indignity, insult, and degradation that could be devised, in order to force them to enter the tyrant's service and fight against their country. The only alleviation of their sufferings arose from the kindness and humanity of the French officers, without whose aid they must have perished.

Had Munro advanced and attacked Hyder's army while engaged with Baillie, the probability is, that it might have been totally routed and Baillie's detachment saved. But fear of losing some imaginary stores of paddy [8] (for there really were none) paralyzed his movements; and after advancing some way and ascertaining at last (for he would not credit any account he got) the destruction of that force, he moved to Chingleput and thence to Mount St. Thomas, leaving behind him the sick and part of his baggage. At Madras all was grief and consternation, and had Hyder advanced with the whole of his army, there is no saying what might have been the consequence.

When intelligence of these disasters in the Carnatic reached Bengal, Hastings resolved at once to make every effort to retrieve them. He moved that fifteen lacs of rupees, and troops, both European and native, should be sent to Madras, and Sir Eyre Coote be requested to take the command. He was also to have the control over the money that was supplied, and Mr. Whitehill was suspended for not having restored the Guntoor Circar [9]. The Sepoys, as they had a prejudice against the sea, were to proceed by land; a fleet took Sir Eyre Coote and the Europeans on board, and they reached Madras on the 5th of November. Arcot had surrendered to Hyder just two days before, and his troops now cut off all communication between Madras and such places as still held out.

Coote found the troops in want of almost every thing, so that immediate action was out of the question. The rainy season, however, formed a good excuse for delay, and by the end of the year the necessary preparations had been made. He then held a council of war composed of himself, Munro, Stuart, and Macleod, and laid a paper before them containing his plan of operations, and requesting their opinions separately in writing. His plan was approved unanimously by these officers, and also by the Select Committee, to whom also he communicated it; and it was resolved to proceed at once to the relief of the fortresses that were invested. Amboor, one of them, however, fell before the troops were able to take the field, which was not till the 17th January, 1781. The whole army did not exceed 7000 men, of whom not more than 1500 were Europeans.

On the 19th, Chingleput was relieved; and the next night, a false report having reached the general that the enemy's garrison was quitting Carangoly, thirteen miles distant, and carrying off the grain, he sent 1000 men, under Capt. Davis, to stop them, while he himself advanced with the main army. Davis, on coming to the fort, found the report false and the garrison ready to receive him; but as there was no drawbridge, he ran a twelve pounder up to the first gate, and blew it open so far as to admit a single man. He did the same with the second and third gates, though under a severe fire, which caused much loss of men. The garrison then made their escape by ladders on the opposite side. Much grain was found here, and this gallant exploit revived the fame of the English. The army marched thence to the relief of Wandewash, twenty-three miles distant. When Hyder entered the Carnatic, he had easily induced the Nabob's officers to surrender their trusts. To prevent this, English officers were sent to these places with small detachments. Lieut. Flint was the person sent to Wandewash with 100 men. The Killidâr, who had already made his bargain with Hyder, threatened to fire on him if he approached; but he still advanced, and when a native officer came to stop him, he persuaded him he had mistaken his orders, and sent him back for explanations. He did the same with others; and when within musket-shot of the ramparts, he halted and demanded admission for himself and a few attendants, to deliver a letter from the Nabob. The Killidâr, after some hesitation, agreed to receive it between the gate and the barrier, where he seated himself on a carpet, surrounded by thirty swordsmen and one hundred Sepoys. Flint advanced with only four Sepoys. He told the Killidâr he had no letter from the Nabob; but, what was the same, he had one from his own government. Of this, however, he made light, and was preparing to retire, when Flint sprang on and seized him, and the four Sepoys pointed their bayonets at his breast. His

[8] Rice in the husk.

[9] The Directors dismissed him their service, and he was afterwards included with Sir Thomas Rumbold and Mr. Perring in a bill of pains and penalties. He was also concerned in what is called the *Noozeed affair*. This related to a debt, said to have been due to him and some others by the zemindar of Noozeed, and which, by what Thornton styles "one of the most iniquitous acts ever passed," and of which he adds, "the cause is not easy to explain," parliament in 1832, in spite of the Company, compelled the people of Ind'a to pay to the representatives of one of them, Mr. Hodges, who had died in 1794.

men stood paralyzed; for Flint declared that his instant death should follow any attempt to rescue him. Meantime the rest of the detachment entered; and the gates were opened. That very day the Killidâr was to have sealed the act of surrender. Hyder, in consequence, invested Wandewash, which Flint gallantly defended. He was now anxiously looking for succour, when, long before daybreak on the 17th, a heavy firing of musketry and cannon was heard in the direction whence relief was expected; and at daybreak, a body of about 3000 Sepoys, with English colours, appeared, and began firing their cannon at bodies of horse that seemed preparing to charge them. At the same time the besieging troops quitted their trenches, and marched for Arcot. The garrison became confident of relief; but Flint had his doubts. He observed that the Sepoys fired from a greater distance than was usual with the British artillery, and that they fired wide of the bodies of horse; and he thence suspected some stratagem. He, however, sent some troops to destroy the abandoned works; and the smoke which arose revealed the truth, by calling forth to their defence large bodies of men who had been placed in ambush. On the 23rd, the besiegers retired; and on the following day—the anniversary of his victory on that spot twenty-one years before—Coote arrived. The garrison had only ammunition for one day remaining.

A French squadron now anchored at Pondicherry, and Hyder came with his army quite close to the English, who were encamped near that town. Coote marched parallel with him to near Cuddalore, and then, for three successive days, offered battle; but Hyder declined the challenge, and the French fleet made sail as usual for the Islands. Hyder now reduced the fort of Thiagar; his cavalry ravaged Tanjore; and Tippoo invested Wandewash.

On the 14th June, Adm. Sir Edw. Hughes, came with reinforcements from Bombay. Coote then proceeded to Porto Novo, with the intention of marching to the defence of Trichinopoly. On the 18th, he headed in person an attack on the fortified pagoda of Chilambram, but was repulsed with great loss. This elevated Hyder's hopes, and he resolved to hazard a general engagement. With this view he occupied and strongly fortified a position on the road by which the English must march to Cuddalore. On the 1st July, they marched from Porto Novo, keeping close to the sea; and, after advancing for about an hour, they saw a large body of cavalry drawn up in the plain. Coote formed his army in two lines, and advanced in order of battle. A heavy cannonade dispersed the cavalry, and then the redoubts of the enemy, commanding the road, and their troops stretching away as far as the eye could reach to the right and left, came in view. At this sight the general ordered a halt, and called the principal officers to council. The situation of the army was critical; in front were numerous batteries, the sea enclosed them on the right, and a high range of sandhills on the left, while the men had only four days' provision, which they carried on their backs. But while the council was deliberating, an officer, walking toward the hills, discovered a road which Hyder had cut through them, in order to be able to take the English in flank while engaged in storming the redoubts. Orders were given for the troops to march by that road, and the Sepoys, unharnessing the wretched oxen, drew the artillery themselves. The first line, led by Munro, passed the hills, and then turning, faced the enemy who had marched parallel with them on finding their stratagem discovered. When Coote had ascertained that the second line under Stuart had occupied the sandhills, he gave orders to advance and open a fire from all the guns. Hyder tried to force a division of his army between the two lines, and he sent another division against the second line. During six hours the battle raged in every part; at length victory crowned the exertions of the English. The enemy fled with a loss of 10,000 men, while the killed and wounded on the side of the victors did not exceed 300, and not including any officer of rank. The relative numbers of the troops engaged are said to have been 8000 and 80,000. Tippoo soon after raised the siege of Wandewash, and joined his father at Arcot.

In August the corps of Sepoys from Bengal reached Madras, greatly diminished in number by disease and desertion. As the recovery of Arcot was greatly desired, it was resolved to try to obtain the requisite stores by reducing Tripassore, where Hyder was supposed to have laid up great quantities. Thither Coote led his forces, and the place had just surrendered, when Hyder's army came in view. On seeing that the place was taken, he fell back a few miles to the spot where he had defeated Baillie. His position was remarkably strong, the ground on his front and flanks being intersected with ditches and watercourses, and his guns placed in embrasures cut in mounds of earth, behind which his troops sheltered. Here he was attacked by Coote at ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th August, and the cannonade was continued throughout the day, the enemy retiring to the shelter of the ditches and banks as the British advanced. At sunset they were driven from them all, and fled in confusion. But as the victory was not very decisive, the Mysorean accounts termed it a drawn battle. The total British loss was between 400 and 500 men.

Such was the want of provisions experienced by the army, and so much were all operations thereby impeded, that Coote, quite wearied out, proceeded to Madras in order to resign the command. But Lord Macartney, the new governor, prevailed on him to retain it; and stores being collected for the relief of Vellore, he undertook to convoy them thither. He found (Sept. 27th) Hyder encamped at the pass of Sholingur. The Mysorean was taken quite by surprise, and his only thought was how to save his guns. For this purpose he resolved to sacrifice his cavalry by making them charge in three bodies on the English army, where they were mowed down by grape and musketry. He thus carried off his guns with the loss of 5000 men. That of the English was about 100. Coote then relieved Vellore, and captured Chittore, and as the rains were now coming on, he put his troops into cantonments.

Lord Macartney is the first example of a governor sent to India, who had not been in the service of the Company. The conduct, in fact, of most governors, had of late been so shamefully corrupt, that many even of the Directors and Proprietors saw the necessity of selecting some man with a

reputation, not merely for talent, but for honour and integrity, and who therefore had a character to lose, a person hardly to be found among the servants of the Company. Lord Macartney, who had acquired reputation by negotiating a commercial treaty with Russia, was the person selected, and he had arrived at Madras on the 22nd June.

As England was now at war with the Dutch also, Lord Macartney had been directed to reduce their settlements. Sadras yielded when summoned; and the governor, putting himself at the head of the militia of Madras, advanced against Pulicat, which also surrendered, on condition of security to private property. He then tried to induce the general to attack Negapatam; but he positively refused, and pronounced that any such attempt would prove a lamentable failure. Lord Macartney thought differently; and having induced Sir Hector Munro to take the command of such troops as he could collect, without asking any from the general, on the 21st October, marines and seamen having been landed from the fleet to aid, the siege was commenced. On the 12th November the place capitulated. The number of the troops which surrendered, 6551, was far greater than that of the besieging army. The quantity of goods and military stores taken was considerable. The success of this undertaking augmented the old general's pettishness. He found fault with every thing; and even wrote to Bengal to say, that if not made quite independent he would resign. Lord Macartney, on the other hand, aware of the evils of dissension, and of the value of Coote's name, did all he could to keep him in good humour. "I court him like a mistress," said he, "and humour him like a child."

On the 2nd January, 1782, the general put himself at the head of his army to convey provisions to Vellore, which could not hold out beyond the 11th, if not relieved. On the 5th he had a violent apoplectic fit, but next day he was able to proceed; and having relieved the fort in spite of Hyder, he led his army safely back to Madras.

During these events in the Carnatic, Tellicherry was besieged, first by the Nairs of the coast, and then by one of Hyder's generals. It was ably defended by Major Abingdon, and at length, having received a reinforcement from Bombay, this gallant officer made a sally on the night of the 7th January, entered the camp of the enemy, who fled in the utmost confusion, and made their leader a prisoner. He now restored the various chiefs whom Hyder had driven away, and (Feb. 12) reduced the city of Calicut. On the 18th Col. Humberston, lately come from England, landed with about 1000 men, and taking the command, invaded Hyder's territories.

The very day that Col. Humberston landed, a disaster, to be compared with that of Baillie, befel the English division, under Col. Braithwaite, in Tanjore. This officer was encamped on the banks of the Colaroon, with a force of 100 Europeans, and 1500 foot, and 300 native horse. Here he was suddenly surrounded by Tippoo, with 20,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and Lally's corps of Europeans, with twenty pieces of cannon. On the 16th the attacks began, and were continued till the 18th. Braithwaite formed his men into a hollow square, with the artillery in the face, and the cavalry in the centre. Tippoo kept up a constant fire of artillery, and when he thought he had made a breach, he urged his cavalry on to the attack, with promises, threats, and blows. But in vain, they were repelled with showers of grape and musketry, and then the British cavalry issued forth, pursued, and cut them down. At length Lally, supported by large masses of horse and foot, led his Europeans on with fixed bayonets. At this sight the nerve of the Sepoys failed, and they fell into confusion. The barbarians rushed in on them, and would have massacred them, but for the exertions of Lally, who even slew some of the assailants with his own hand. It is but justice to Tippoo, to add, that he treated the survivors with humanity. Mill justly observes, that "the annals of war can seldom exhibit a parallel to the firmness and perseverance" of this little army; and we must remember that it was almost wholly composed of Sepoys.

Both France and England had sent out fleets and troops to India. That of the former was commanded by M. Suffrein, one of the ablest naval officers that France has ever possessed; and Bussy was to take the command of the land forces. The English fleet joined that of Sir Edward Hughes; the troops on board were commanded by Gen. Medows. On the 17th February the two fleets fought in the usual indecisive manner, and as the English retired to Trincomalee, in Ceylon, Suffrein landed 2000 French and 1000 Caffre soldiers at Porto Novo, where they were joined by Tippoo, and on the 3rd April they captured Cuddalore and Permacoil. They then advanced to Wandewash, but on the approach of Coote they withdrew to Pondicherry. Coote then moved toward Arnee, which the Killidâr had engaged to surrender; but the presence of Hyder deterred him from performing his promise. Hyder made an attack on the British army, but was repulsed with loss. Some days after a regiment of European cavalry, which Coote named his grand guard, was drawn into an ambuscade, and the whole of it killed or made prisoners. The army then being sickly, was led back to Madras (June 20).

A plan for a combined attack on Negapatam had been arranged between Hyder and the French admiral. But as the latter was proceeding thither, he was descried by the English admiral, and a close and warm action ensued (July 4); change in the wind deprived the English of a glorious victory, and the fleets separated. Suffrein having repaired his ships with great rapidity, put again to sea, while Hughes, though urged by the government of Madras, remained inactive till the 20th August. He then sailed for Trincomalee, but found the French colours flying on it. The day after his arrival (September 3) he engaged the French fleet, and the action, one of the hardest ever fought, was terminated by the night. Hughes then returned to Madras.

The admiral was now requested to join in an attack on Cuddalore; but he gave a point blank refusal, and moreover declared his intention of proceeding to Bombay, and thus leaving the coast unprotected. Remonstrance availed not with him, and he set sail on the 15th October, as the sky menaced a storm. The tempest came, and next day the beach at Madras was strewn with the wrecks of shipping, among which were several laden with rice, to which the inhabitants looked for their sole support. The town was surcharged

with population, such numbers of the people of the country had sought refuge in it from the ravages of Hyder. Famine now appeared in all its horrors, and the number of deaths were from 1200 to 1500 a week, though pestilence had not yet appeared. At length supplies began to arrive from Bengal and the Circars; for fortunately the French were not aware of the condition of Madras.

Sir Eyre Coote at this time sailed to Bengal, and the chief command remained with Gen. Stuart.

In the month of December an event occurred which seemed likely to have a considerable effect on the British interests in India,—the formidable Hyder Ally breathed his last at Chittore, having, it is said, reached an age beyond eighty years[1]. As it was of the utmost importance to conceal that event till the return of Tippoo, who was acting against the English on the west coast, the body was placed in a chest filled with spices, and sent away as if it had been treasure. The business of state went on as usual: it was given out that Hyder, though weak, was recovering, and as the army moved toward Mysore no one was allowed to approach the palankeen in which he was supposed to be lying. At length Tippoo arrived and assumed the sovereignty.

Lord Macartney, aware of the confusion which takes place in an Eastern army on the death of its chief, was anxious to take advantage of that of Hyder to strike some important blow. But Gen. Stuart presumed to judge and act for himself, refused to obey orders, and thus let the occasion slip. We have often seen how injurious were the claims of independent authority set up by the king's officers serving in India. The independent power which Hastings found it necessary to bestow on Sir Eyre Coote had been useful while Madras was in the hands of a set of usurers, but proved hurtful in the case of a man of honour like Lord Macartney; and this nobleman, though he thought it expedient to manage Coote, would not submit to the assumptions of Stuart, and he found means to reduce him to obedience. In the beginning of the next year (1783) this officer at length took the field, and on the 13th February he offered Tippoo battle near Wandewash, which he declined and retired. The general then, in compliance with the wishes of the governor, executed the most injudicious measure of blowing up the fortifications of that place and of Carangoly, and then marched for Arcot, where he learned that Tippoo had left the Carnatic, having ordered Arcot to be evacuated and part of its works destroyed.

Sir Eyre Coote was returning once more to the Carnatic, the scene of his glory. The ship he was on board of being chased for two days and nights, he stayed almost constantly on deck, exposed to the heat of the sun and the damp of the night. This, joined with mental anxiety, was too much for his enfeebled frame; and he expired (April 26), two days after reaching Madras. His character as an officer stood high, and he had gained greater victories than any European commander yet had done in India.

Bussy had now arrived with reinforcements from the Islands, and taken the command at Cuddalore. It was a great object with the governor to reduce that place before the return of Tippoo and the French troops who were with him; but it proved impossible to get the general to move before the 21st April, and he spent forty days in traversing the 100 miles between Madras and Cuddalore. On the 13th June, he made an attack on the works thrown up there, and carried them, though with much loss, and the French retired into the town. Next day, the two hostile fleets arrived. Suffrein here took on board 1200 men; and on the 20th, the fleets engaged with the usual success—hard fighting, and no ultimate advantage on either side. The English then having returned to Madras, Suffrein re-landed the 1200 with 2400 of his own men, and preparations were made for a vigorous attack on the besieging army. On the 25th, Bussy made a sortie with his best troops; but was repulsed with loss[2]. He was preparing for a grand effort on the 4th July; but meantime intelligence came of the signing of peace between France and England, and he cheerfully agreed to a cessation of arms, and engaged to send orders to the French in Tippoo's service to retire from it immediately.

General Stuart was now summoned to Madras, to answer for his contumacy and disobedience. After some delay, he proceeded thither. The usual disputes ensued; but the governor and council finally resolved to dismiss him the service. He, however, declared that he would retain the command of the king's troops; and Sir John Burgoyne, the second in command, declared that *he* would continue to obey his orders. Decision was now necessary; the general was arrested at his country house, and brought to the fort, and a few days after he was embarked for England. It will be recollected that he was the man who so treacherously had arrested Lord Pigot.

Operations were in the meantime going on, on the west coast. Col. Humberston, who had made an inroad into the country southwards of Calient, had been obliged to retire with loss before Tippoo to Paniani, at the mouth of a river of that name. Col. Macleod came thither from Madras and took the command, and Sir Edward Hughes when passing landed 450 of his men. An assault on their lines by a part of Tippoo's troops led by Lally having been repelled, that prince was preparing to make another attempt, when the news arrived of his father's death. He drew off his army, and as soon as he was gone the Sepoys marched by land to Tellicherry, while the Europeans went by sea to Merjee, higher up on the coast. In January, Gen. Matthews came from Bombay with more troops, and taking the command, reduced Onore and some other forts. He then moved to the pass named Hussan Gurry Ghât, and though it was five miles long and the winding road defended by batteries at every turning, the troops carried every thing at the point of the bayonet, and reached the

[1] Yet he was only twenty-seven, it would appear, in 1749. See above, p. 95.

[2] It was on this occasion that Bernadotte, afterwards a marshal and king of Sweden, then a mere sergeant, was wounded and made a prisoner. Col. Wangenheim, who commanded the Hanoverian troops, struck with his appearance, had him taken to his own tent, and properly attended to till his recovery. Many years after, when Bernadotte commanded the French army in Hanover, and Wangenheim attended his levée, he reminded him of his kindness, and expressed his gratitude.

summit. They then marched for Bednore, which the governor, who feared for his life from Tippoo, surrendered to them. Most of the other forts opened their gates. Ananpore was taken by storm; Mangalore, on the coast, yielded when a breach had been effected. As Matthews refused to distribute the treasure said to be found at Bednore, a quarrel broke out between him and his troops. He was harsh and they refractory. They were scattered in small parties through the country, and nothing was dreamed of but riches; when suddenly (April 9) Tippoo appeared before Bednore and invested the fort. The English garrison grown sickly, and without ammunition, surrendered on the 3rd May; but instead of being conducted to the coast as was promised, they were marched off in irons to the fortresses of Mysore[3].

Tippoo now laid siege to Mangalore. His own troops exceeded 100,000 men, and he had more than 1000 French in his army; the garrison numbered only 696 Europeans and 2850 Sepoys commanded by Col. Campbell. Numerous batteries were raised, and all the arts of attack were employed, but the resistance of the gallant garrison could not be overcome. At length Bussy's orders to the French to retire arrived, and Tippoo then consented to an armistice (Aug. 2) during the term of which the garrison was to be supplied with provisions three times a week at a fair rate. But this was evaded; provisions were at first excessively dear, and then the supply ceased altogether, and they were reduced to the use of the vilest of food. No effectual attempt to supply them was made from Bombay or Madras; and at length (Jan. 30, 1784) they capitulated, being allowed to march to Telicherry with all the honours of war. The gallant Campbell breathed his last on the 23rd of the following March.

While Tippoo was engaged in the siege of Mangalore, Col. Fullarton was acting against the southern part of his dominions, and he had reduced Dindigul and other forts. On the 2nd June he had captured Darapôram, and was advancing into Mysore, when orders from Gen. Stuart recalled him. He employed himself in regulating Madura and Tinivelly till August, when, being reinforced, he moved towards Mysore. About the middle of October, hearing of the violation of the armistice at Mangalore by Tippoo, he resolved to make a push for Seringapatam. With this view he reduced the fort of Palacatchery, after which that of Coimbatore surrendered. The road to Seringapatam was now open; Mangalore occupied Tippoo, Gen. Macleod had an army on the coast, the Madras army was acting in Cudipah, the Hindoo population was disaffected, and it was proposed to set up the deposed rajah. Every thing seemed to promise success, when (Nov. 28) Fullarton received orders from the commissioners sent to treat with Tippoo to restore all the places lately reduced, and retire within the limits occupied on the 26th July. He at first hesitated to obey; but on receiving orders to the same effect from Madras, he complied with them. On his march he met the missionary Schwartz. "And is the peace so certain," said that good man, "that you quit all before the negotiation is ended? The possession of these rich countries would have kept Tippoo in awe, and inclined him to reasonable terms. But you quit the reins, and how will you manage the beast?" "I cannot help it," was the only reply. Soon after Fullarton received orders to keep all that was to have been given up!

The commissioners, Messrs. Sadlier, Staunton, and Huddlestone, had been treated with indignity and insult on their way; their letters were opened, and they were not allowed to communicate with their captive countrymen. They were forced to go to Tippoo's camp at Mangalore, which they were not allowed to reach till after the fort had surrendered. A gibbet was there erected before each of their tents, and they learned that Gen. Matthews and other officers had been murdered in prison. Fearing a similar fate for themselves, they planned an escape to one of the English ships lying in the roads, leaving their escort to its fate. But their design coming by accident to the knowledge of the officer commanding the escort, they were obliged to abandon it[4]; and Tippoo not proving quite so ferocious as they had anticipated, a treaty was signed on the 11th May, on the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests.

[3] Tippoo justified this breach of the law of nations, by asserting that they had robbed the public treasure, and it *is* true that it was distributed among them, after the capitulation had been determined on.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Treatment of Cheit Sing—Treaty of Chunar—Treatment of the Begums—Of Fyzoola Khân—The Nabob of Arcot—The residency of Oude—Departure of Hastings—Succeeded by Mr Macpherson.

THE unjust and expensive wars into which the presidencies of Madras and Bombay had plunged, caused great labour and uneasiness to Mr. Hastings, but gave him an opportunity of displaying mental powers of a high order, and the utmost zeal for the interests of the Company. The manner in which he succeeded in preventing the Nizâm and the Marattas from uniting with Hyder Ally, exhibits him as the able diplomatist; and the way in which he supported those presidencies, proves his abilities as a statesman. We are now to consider some of the means he adopted in order to obtain the funds necessary for the great military efforts he was obliged to make.

We have seen that, in 1774, Cheit Sing, the rajah or zemindar of Benâres became immediately subject to the Company. A fixed tribute was agreed on, which, he was assured, as long as he paid regularly, no other demands of any kind should be made on him. This tribute he had paid regularly up to 1778; when Mr. Hastings, who was now supreme in the council, and who, there is reason to think, had a spleen against him[5], pro-

[4] See the note in Thornton, ii. 286.

[5] "It is a fact," said Hastings, "that when the unhappy divisions of our government had proceeded to an extremity, bordering on civil violence, by the attempt to wrest from me my authority, in June, 1777 [see above, p. 107], he had deputed a man named Sumboonaut, with an express commission to my opponent, and the man had proceeded as far as Moorshedabâd, when, hearing of the change of affairs,

posed that he should be called on to pay five lacs a year for the support of three battalions of Sepoys during the war. He yielded, however, to Francis so far as to agree that that sum should be asked of the rajah as an aid. After some attempt to get an abatement, Cheit Sing consented; but he expressly declared that it was only for a single year. He asked also for time, pleading poverty; but the governor was inexorable, and only five days were given. The next year the demand was renewed. He appealed to the treaty[6]; but troops were marched against him, and he was obliged to pay, the expenses of the troops included. In 1780 he was called on again, and he sent an agent to Calcutta to try to obtain a remission, and bearing a present of two lacs to the governor, who took the money, intending, as he said, to apply it to the public service[7]. As he did not, however, express this intention, it was natural for the agent to suppose that he meant to do what was expected from him. The contribution, however, was exacted, and in addition one lac more by way of fine. This was still not deemed sufficient; and in 1781 he was called upon, beside paying his tribute and the five lacs, to furnish a body of 2000 cavalry. This demand was reduced to 1000, and he prepared that number, half horse, half matchlock-men. But this would not content the governor: "I was resolved," says he, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses. In a word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." In a word Mr. Hastings was resolved to imitate the Oriental despotisms in one of their worst features, use the right of the stronger, and when he wanted money, take it by force from whoever possessed it. As to the rajah's guilt, what was it if not the desire to escape from being fleeced?

The rajah, being terrified, offered twenty lacs of rupees, but Mr. Hastings insisted on fifty, and even was in treaty for the sale of his territories to the Nabob of Oude, after he should have seized his treasures. As a preliminary to his further proceedings, he removed Mr. Fowke from Benâres, and sent thither in his place one of his own adherents, Mr. Markham, son of the Archbishop of York; he then set out for that place in person. The rajah met him at Buxar, was very submissive, and even went so far as to place his turban in his lap; an act regarded as very significant of sincerity. Hastings, however, dismissed him, and went on to Benâres, which he reached on the 14th August. He then wrote to the rajah; and his answer not proving satisfactory, he gave orders to Mr. Markham to arrest him, and he was accordingly placed under a guard in his own house.

This guard consisted of two companies of Sepoys, and, strange to say, they had been sent without ammunition. They were stationed in the square of the rajah's house; where they were soon surrounded by bodies of armed men. When this was known, orders were sent to another company to come and bring them ammunition. But on their arrival they found all the avenues blocked up, and saw no means of relieving their companions, who were speedily destroyed by the assailants. Had Cheit Sing been a man of sense and spirit, he would now have put himself at their head, and gone to Hastings' quarters, where he might easily have seized him as a hostage for his safety. But he made his escape by a back wicket, and letting himself down the bank of the river by turbans tied together, escaped to the other side, whither the multitude followed him, leaving the palace to the English.

Every effort was now made to assemble troops for the protection of the Governor-general; and as soon as a sufficient number had arrived, it was resolved to make an attempt on Ramnaghur, a fortified palace of the rajah's, on the opposite side of the river. But without waiting for Major Popham who was to command, or for the effects of a cannonade, Capt. Mayaffre led the troops against it through the narrow streets of the town, and himself and many of his men having fallen, the troops were forced to retire. As disaffection was now spreading on all sides, Hastings not considering himself safe at Benâres, made his escape by night to the strong fortress of Chunar. Cheit Sing now by letters, and by the mediation of influential persons, did all in his power to obtain peace; but Hastings would not even give him a reply. Hopeless of pardon, he then assembled all the troops he could, and resolved on the appeal to arms. But his fortress of Pateeta was stormed by Major Popham, the pass of Siekroot was carried by Major Crabbe, and he fled for safety to the fort of Bidjeghur, where a great part of his treasure lay, being followed by Major Popham. Mr. Hastings returned to Benâres, where he issued a proclamation offering pardon to all but Cheit Sing and his brother. A grandson of Bulwunt Sing by one of his daughters was made rajah; and as he was only eighteen, his father was appointed his Naib. The tribute was raised to forty lacs; and the police, and civil, and criminal jurisdiction were taken from the rajah.

Cheit Sing fled from Bidjeghur with his treasure to Bundelcund, leaving his mother, his wife, and other females in the fort. They offered to surrender on being secured in their persons and property. To these terms Hastings would not listen; and it was finally agreed that they should give up the fort on condition of being allowed to depart without being searched. But even this condition was violated by the captors; and female searchers were appointed to examine them as they issued, and see that they carried away nothing of value.

The fort, we may observe, was not taken by assault; and it may therefore appear surprising that, as was the case, the captors seized and divided among themselves the whole of the booty. But here we have another specimen of Hastings' inexplicable conduct. In his reply to Popham's letter respecting the surrender, are these words: "I apprehend that she [the Ranee] will contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable part of the

he stopped, and the rajah recalled him." They know little of Hastings, who fancy he would forgive this conduct.

[6] "There was no treaty," says Wilson, who goes on to say that a *sunnud* (what he had) is only a grant, or patent, from a superior, and that there was no pledge that it should not be altered. What then, we may ask, was the use of it? But surely the honour of the Council was pledged.

[7] There is great ambiguity about this money, which was applied to the support of Carnac's division, apparently, as if lent or given by Hastings himself. Wilson is obliged to own, that the transaction was "exceptionable in many respects."

booty, by being suffered to retire *without examination*. But this is your consideration and not mine. I should be very sorry that your officers and soldiers lost any part of the reward to which they are so well entitled." Surely the inference from this is irresistible, that he understood and intended that the *whole* of the booty should belong to the military. Yet he talks of "uncandid advantage having been taken of a private letter written by him to Popham *on another occasion* [which it was not] during the heat of the siege," and of trying if the law would not compel them to refund. He did not, however, risk the attempt, and he afterwards made no reply to Mr. Burke's charge on this subject. Perhaps the best solution of the problem is, that he merely wished "to stimulate the zeal of the military by the prospect of reward, of which, at a future time, he could determine the amount, and even adjudicate on the validity of the claim[8]." But the military knew him and their own interest too well; for it is said, he had played this game with them before in the Rohilla war. At all events Hastings gained nothing but the gratification of his vengeance, by the deposition of Cheit Sing; for the raising of the annual tribute proved an illusory measure.

The principal grounds on which Hastings and his advocates rely, for the justification of his treatment of Cheit Sing, are, that he was meditating rebellion, and that he was bound to contribute to the expenses of the wars in which the Company engaged. As to the first, we have only Mr. Hastings' own assertion, negatived by his conduct in going to Benâres without troops, and a set of rumours and reports embodied in affidavits. As to the second, we doubt its applicability. The Company were not yet sovereigns in India; they held of the emperor, and yet they refused to assist him with troops, or to pay him his tribute. Why then should they exact from their vassal, what they refused to their liege? Further, though Cheit Sing might be bound to aid in the preservation of the Company's territories in Hindustan and Bengal, it is not equally clear, that because they chose to waste their resources in unjust wars in the Deckan, he was to be called on for additional contributions.

While Hastings was at Chunar he received a visit from the vizîr of Oude, to whose capital he had intended to proceed, in order to arrange some matters of importance, to facilitate which he had removed Bristow, and sent his friend Nat. Middleton again there, as resident. A treaty was arranged, the chief object of which was the relief of the vizîr's pecuniary difficulties, which were very great. Yet, amidst all his distress, he offered Hastings a present of ten lacs of rupees. This present was accepted, and was applied to the public service; but when advising the Directors of it four months afterwards, Hastings expressed a wish to be allowed to keep it as the reward of his labours. This was certainly one of the weakest acts of which he ever was guilty. The Company at that time was in the utmost want of money; and as yet the Court of Directors hardly knew what the word generosity meant. We need therefore hardly add, that he met with a most decided refusal.

The distress of the vizîr was occasioned partly by his own vices, weakness, extravagance, and misgovernment, and still more by the heavy burdens imposed on him by the Company, and the rapacity of their servants. By the treaty with the late vizîr, a brigade of the Company's troops was to be kept in Oude at his expense. In 1777 a second, called the *temporary brigade*, was added, which he was to pay as long as he should require its services. Then several detached corps in the Company's service were placed in his pay, and a great part of his own troops were put under the command of British officers. Beside these, there was an immense civil establishment for the resident, and another for another agent of the Company; and there were pensions, allowances, and gifts to the various persons, civil and military, in the Company's service. When all these are considered, we need not be surprised to find the vizîr, in 1779, deeply in arrear, and imploring to be relieved from the expense of the temporary brigade, and the detached corps, which he declared to be not merely useless, but even injurious. Hastings, however, refused any alleviation, declared he was a vassal of the Company, and that it was for them, not him, to determine respecting those troops. He further asserted in council, that ambiguities had been left in the treaty (which was not the case), and that it was the part of the strongest to affix to them what meaning they pleased—a general political maxim, no doubt, but not often so frankly avowed.

In 1780, the Nabob was 1,100,000*l.* in arrear, and it went on advancing. The governor-general then began to believe that his distress was real, and one of the objects of this journey to the upper provinces was his relief.

By the treaty of Chunar the vizîr was relieved from the expense of all the British troops, except the original brigade, and a regiment of Sepoys for the resident's guard, and from all payments to English gentlemen, except those of the resident's office. He was further permitted to resume all the jagheers that he pleased, giving a pension equal to the net amount, to such of the holders as had the Company's guarantee. Finally, too, he was to be allowed to resume that of Fyzoola Khân, and to give him instead of it a pension.

In this treaty the governor-general appears extremely liberal and disinterested; all is for the advantage of the vizîr, nothing for that of the Company. But the reality was widely different. Two of the greatest jagheerdars were the two Begums, or princesses, that is, the mother and the grandmother of the vizîr, to whom their husbands had given jagheers, and left treasures which their savings had augmented to a large amount, and of which it was now proposed to strip them, and to hand the money over to the Company in payment of the vizîr's arrears. To justify this, it was asserted that they had no right to this property[9], as a widow could only inherit an eighth by Mohammedan law; but against this there was length of undisturbed possession, and in the case of the younger, most unfortunately for Mr. Hastings and his advocates, the positive guarantee of the British government in 1775, which cost her thirty lacs of rupees, and which was solemnly recognized in 1778 by the governor and council. This, how-

[8] Thornton, ii. 303.

[9] We know not Mr. Gleig's authority for asserting, that the wills under which they claimed were forgeries.

ever, Mr. Hastings spurns in 1781, on the allegation that they were aiding and abetting the rebellion of Cheit Sing. This last, observe, broke out on the 14th August, and the treaty of Chunar was signed on the 19th September. When the work of spoliation had been effected, Mr. Hastings' friend, the chief-justice, who had come to Benáres to take affidavits, in order to justify the treatment of Cheit Sing, suggested, that as possibly the people of England might not give implicit credit to the governor-general's own assertions, it would be as well to get up a body of affidavits in this case also; and he complaisantly offered to go in person to Lucknow for the purpose. He went; and a goodly number was procured, through the efforts of the resident and others [1]; but still all was nothing but rumour and report.

The vizír, on his return from Chunar to Lucknow, passed through Fyzabád, the residence of the Begums, with a small party, perfectly unmolested. At his departure Hastings had urged him in the strongest terms, to lose not a moment in stripping these ladies of their property. Yet he appeared in no hurry to begin, either through shame, or, as Hastings says, lest he should have to resume the jagheers granted to the companions of his looser hours. Hastings then directed Middleton to take the matter on himself, and the vizir at length gave a nominal consent, declaring that he did it on compulsion.

On the 8th January, 1782, the vizír and the resident reached Fyzabád, with a body of English troops. On the 12th the troops were ordered to storm, but no opposition was made, and they took possession of the palaces of the Begums. But as the treasure was in the *zenana*, and they scrupled to violate it, the plan was adopted of seizing and confining two old eunuchs, who were the Begums' principal agents. This had its effect, the elder Begum, in whose custody the money was, paid a large sum in order to relieve them. But this did not suffice, more money was demanded; the Begum declared she had nothing now but her furniture and household utensils. These the resident refused, and he wrote on the 20th to the officer in charge of the eunuchs. "I have to desire that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them from all food, &c., agreeable to my instructions of yesterday." These severities drew from the eunuchs an engagement to pay the required sum from their own resources, but still they were not released. By the end of February, the resident had received in all 500,000*l.* The balance now, at the utmost, did not exceed 50,000*l.*, yet, on the 18th May, Mr. Middleton would not relax so far as to let the irons be taken off, and the two old men, whose health was giving way, be suffered to walk about the garden. Soon after they were removed to Lucknow; and the assistant resident wrote to the English officer commanding the guard, desiring him, as the Nabob had determined to inflict corporal punishment on them, to let his officers have free access to them, and be permitted to do with them as they should see proper. Whether they were tortured or not we are not informed; they were kept in confinement till the end of the year, during which period the Begums were blockaded in their palace, and often, it is said, very short of provisions. The resident finding then that nothing more was to be obtained by severity, withdrew the guard from the palace, and released the eunuchs, taking care to inform them and their mistresses, that it was solely to the governor-general they were to ascribe this favour.

We now come to Fyzoola Khân. By the treaty made with the vizir, in 1774, this chief was to *keep up* 5000 troops, and assist him with 2000 or 3000 of them whenever he should make war; and this treaty was guaranteed by the Company, on which account he paid them a lac of rupees. In November, 1780, Hastings desired him to furnish a body of 5000 *horse*, "as the quota stipulated by treaty for the service of the vizir." Fyzoola showed that it was *troops*, not *horse*, and 2000 or 3000, not 5000, that were in the treaty. This Mr. Hastings could not deny, but he ascribes the mistake to the hurry of business. In February, 1781, he directed the Nabob and Mr. Middleton to demand from Fyzoola Khân an instant delivery of 3000 *horse;* and if he evaded or refused compliance, a formal protest for breach of treaty should be delivered. Fyzoola Khân offered to raise the 1000 cavalry he had already agreed for to 2000, and add 1000 foot; but this was refused, the protest was made, and the treaty of Chunar followed.

In that treaty it is positively asserted, that Fyzoola Khân had committed a breach of treaty, and thereby forfeited the protection of the English government, and that his continuing in his present independent state caused great alarm and detriment to the vizir. In his remarks on the treaty sent to the council, Mr. Hastings says that his conduct was not an absolute breach of treaty, but only evasive and uncandid, and marks his unfriendly disposition, though it may not impeach his fidelity; and, finally, that neither the vizir's nor the Company's interests would be promoted by depriving him of his independency.

The end of the business was, that Fyzoola Khân paid fifteen lacs, on condition of being exempted from all future claims of military service. Hastings' agent, Major Palmer, then proposed to him to give fifteen lacs more, and his jagheer should be converted into a perpetual hereditary possession; but he declined this advantageous offer, on the plea of want of money.

In this memorable year Hastings also had a dispute with Lord Macartney. The contemptible Nabob, Mohammed Ally, or as he now called himself, Walla Jáh, had taken up his residence at Madras, where his *durbar* was a focus of intrigues. Weak in mind, he was completely governed by his second son, Ameer-ul-Omrah, and Paul Benfield, of whom, says Mill, "the former is described as excelling in all the arts of eastern, the latter in all the arts of western villainy." These worthies were combined to get him to appoint the former his heir. With a view to obtaining the support of the English, the prince was zealous in getting his father to make them an assignment of his revenues; but when that was effected, and he found that he had thereby gained no greater influence with Lord Macartney, he began to form plans of vengeance,

[1] It is said that much of this evidence was furnished by Col. Hannay, and his officers. This person had left the Company's service for that of the vizir, in 1778, from whom he rented the districts of Goruckpore and Baraitch; and though he was a distressed man then, he was, when dismissed in 1781, worth 300,000*l.* gained by severity and oppression.

in which he was zealously supported by Benfield, whom the governor had deprived of some offices which he held under the Company.

Their first plan was, by intrigues with the renters, to make the revenues as unproductive as possible. The Nabob then offered Sir Eyre Coote full power over the officers of his government and revenue; but, fond as the old general was of power, he would not take this bait, to which he knew such an annoyance was attached. It was then discovered that the Governor-general was not very friendly toward Lord Macartney, and letters in the Nabob's name, accusing that nobleman, were sent in abundance to Bengal. When it was thought that a sufficient impression had been made on the mind of Mr. Hastings, Mr. R. Sulivan and a native named Assam Khân were sent in January, 1783, to Calcutta, to solicit the restoration of the revenues, and a surrender of the assignment. Whatever these two persons chose to assert was received without examination, and orders were sent to Madras to restore his revenues to the Nabob. But despatches from the Court of Directors had just arrived there approving of the assignment, and commanding the government of Bengal to aid in rendering it effectual. Application was, therefore, made to the Supreme Council for the assistance they were commanded to yield. Their reply was a reiterated order to surrender the revenues. But Lord Macartney preferred obeying their superiors; and Hastings, who saw a storm brewing for him at home, gave up the contest.

Few, we believe, will feel inclined to accuse Mr. Middleton of want of strictness and energy in the affair of plundering the Begums; yet Mr. Hastings seems to have thought that he should have violated the *zenâna*, and almost accuses him of taking bribes for his forbearance. He therefore recalled him, and sent to replace him at Lucknow Mr. Bristow! a man whom he had declared he would not employ if his life was to be the forfeit. What his motive was, it is not easy to divine. It is true the Directors sent out orders for his restoration; but no one can suspect Warren Hastings of being influenced by them. Some time after, however, he adopted a usual expedient of his; he caused the vizîr to write to him complaining of Bristow, and he then decided that there should no longer be a resident in Oude.

Hastings then proposed to the Council that he should proceed in person to Lucknow; and having obtained their consent, he set out in February, 1784. When he came to Benâres, he beheld in a state of desolation the country which he had found so flourishing only two years before. For the first Naib had been dismissed because he failed in making up the excessive tribute imposed, and his successor, in order to realize it, reduced the cultivators to ruin. At Lucknow he agreed to a further reduction of the troops to be maintained by the vizîr, and he executed the order of the Directors for the restoration of their jagheers to the Begums, taking care, however, that they should make "a *voluntary* concession of a *large* portion" of them. He returned to Calcutta in November, and on the 8th February, 1785, he resigned his office, and embarked for England.

It may excite surprise to learn that Hastings' successor was Mr. Macpherson, the late agent of the Nabob of Arcot. He had first appeared in India as purser of an Indiaman commanded by his uncle. He then, as we have seen, became the Nabob's agent. Through the influence of the Duke of Grafton he was sent out as a writer to Madras; but a memorial of his services, which he presented to the Nabob, having fallen into Lord Pigot's hands, he was dismissed the service and sent home. He remained better than three years in England, when through the influence of Lord North[2], he was sent out to replace Mr. Barwell as a member of council in Bengal; and when Hastings departed, Mr. Wheeler being dead, he succeeded him, as being senior member of council. His administration was judicious, and he effected great improvements in the management of the finances.

CHAPTER XIX.

Fox's India Bill—Pitt's India Bill—Board of Control—Nabob of Arcot's Debts—Impeachment of Hastings—His Character.

The appointment of Mr. Hastings as governor-general, with a council, having been only for a period of five years, had terminated in 1779, but by successive acts of parliament it had been continued from year to year. In 1781, the charter of the Company was renewed, and their rights confirmed to them to the expiration of a three years' notice, to be given after the 1st March, 1791. Two committees were at this time appointed on Indian affairs by the House of Commons, the one Select, proposed by the opposition, the other Secret, by the minister. Each committee made voluminous reports. In May, 1782, a resolution condemnatory of Hastings was voted, and the Directors proposed to recall him; but this measure was reversed by the Court of Proprietors. At this time, also, Sir Elijah Impey was recalled and menaced with impeachment.

In 1783, the notorious coalition-ministry was formed; and, in November, Mr. Fox, one of the secretaries of state, brought in bills for the better government of the British possessions in India. By these bills the present Court of Directors was to be abolished, and in their place seven commissioners, to be named in the act, that is, appointed by parliament, that is, by the ministry, to be invested with full powers for administering the territories, revenues, and commerce of India, and of appointing or removing all persons in the service of the Company in England or in India. Vacancies in this body were to be supplied by the king, that is the minister, and the members could only be removed by the king on the address of either house. For managing the details of commerce there was to be a subordinate board composed of nine Directors, also to be named in the act, and who were to be proprietors of at least 2000*l.* in India stock. Vacancies in this body were to be supplied by the proprietors voting in open poll. This was the principal part of the first bill; the second

[2] Macpherson was member for Cricklade, and he supported the minister by his votes and speeches, and also with his pen.

sought to provide remedies for the various abuses then prevalent in India.

The fate of this measure is well known. It caused the downfall of the coalition-ministry, the king, at the suggestion of Earl Temple, having even gone so far as to violate the forms of the constitution by allowing that nobleman to inform the House of Peers that he should regard as his enemies those who should support the India bill. It was therefore lost; and the king, without a moment's delay, dismissed the ministry, and appointed a new one, with Mr. William Pitt, then only three-and-twenty, at its head. A dissolution of parliament followed, and the new cabinet gained a large majority in the Commons.

This last fact proves that the king knew he was safe in what he had done; for even then the crown could not form and dismiss ministries at its pleasure. But the nation had been thoroughly disgusted by the coalition, for the sake of place and power, formed between two hostile parties, one of which, at least, had been most violent in its denunciations of the profligacy of the other; the character of Fox, too, as a notorious gambler, inspired men with distrust, and the Indian interests, now able to command numerous boroughs, was exerted to the very uttermost. As to the measure itself, giving its authors all due claims for good intentions, it bore on the face of it the design of transferring to the present ministers the whole Indian patronage, and of thus rendering their power permanent. We are not, therefore, to be surprised at the nation's taking fright at such an apparent bold stroke of the great whig oligarchy, to make themselves lords over the king and people; though experience shows us that there is a compensating and adjusting power in the British constitution, or rather in human nature itself, which would have warded off all the threatened consequences.

Mr. Pitt lost no time in bringing in an India bill, and on the 13th August, 1784, it was passed. This bill left the Courts of Directors and Proprietors; but it in reality annihilated the powers of both, almost as completely as Fox's bill would have done. A Board of Control was formed, which was to consist of six members of the Privy Council, chosen by the king, *i.e.* the minister, of whom the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Secretaries of State, were to be two, in whose absence the senior of the other four was to preside. And as, in fact, those ministers never did attend, that member under the title of President of the Board of Control, became in reality a Secretary for Indian affairs, and is always one of the ministry. To this Board, or Secretary, was given power over all the concerns of the Company, except their commerce. All the correspondence, letters and all, between it and India, and all the proceedings of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors were to be communicated to it, and it was to have access to all the Company's papers and records. The Directors were bound to obey all commands of the Board, and the Board might send out orders to India without informing the Directors. Where then, it may be asked, was the power of the Court of Directors? It was gone. Henceforth the Directors have only so much power as the Board chooses to leave them, and it has always left them the details of management and the minor patronage; but all the greater patronage, and as much of the minor as he chooses to have, is with the minister. And yet, by that principle which we have mentioned, which is the cause that a great legislative measure never produces perhaps a twentieth part of the good or evil that was anticipated, the Indian patronage does not add very considerably to the power of the minister, and the government of India has gone on continually improving.

To facilitate the working of the Board, and the Court of Directors, the latter was to choose a Committee of Secrecy, not to consist of more than three, to which in effect the Court was reduced. Acts proceeding from the Directors, and approved of by the Board, could not be annulled or altered by the Court of Proprietors.

All servants of the Company were to give an inventory on oath, of all the property they brought from India, and a new tribunal was constituted for the trial of English offenders in India. But the former clause was soon after repealed, and the new court was never called into operation.

The notorious debts of the Nabob of Arcot also came under consideration. The act directed that they should be investigated, and the Directors sent out orders to that effect to Madras. But the Board declared that no inquiry was necessary, and dividing the debts into three classes, with interest on them, directed that a portion of the revenues of the Carnatic should be annually set apart for their liquidation.

The President of the Board was Mr. H. Dundas, who, as chairman of the Select Committee, had some years before proposed an inquiry into the nature, origin, and amount of those debts. The motive assigned by Burke for this change, and we fear the true one, is *parliamentary influence.* "Paul Benfield," said that great orator, "made, reckoning himself, no fewer than eight members in the *last* parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have transfused into the veins of the *present?*" But as Benfield was in India at the time of the elections, the person with whom the ministry dealt directly was his agent, Mr. Richard Atkinson, who, in Burke's glowing language, held out "the golden cup of abominations of the Eastern harlot, which so many of the people, so many of the nobles of the land, drained to the very dregs," *i.e.* who had purchased the seats. And thus did Mr. Pitt, for the sake of this unhallowed support, perpetrate as foul a job as minister ever has screened or sanctioned[3]. The Directors remonstrated, the opposition exposed the transaction, but the minister relied on his majority.

In all the proceedings in Parliament relating to India and Mr. Hastings, Mr. Burke had been prominent; he spared neither his time nor his labour to collect and digest information on the subject, and from the purest, we believe, of motives. But it was unfortunately his intellectual constitution, that imagination was so strong, that it frequently predominated over judgment; and the violence of his passions at times swept him beyond the bounds of prudence. Objects acquired a disproportionate magnitude in his eyes; he yielded too ready a belief to the statements of careless or interested persons. In the reports which he had drawn up, he had frequently assailed the acts of

[3] Next to Benfield's, the names of Taylor, Majendie, and Call, figure in the usurious transactions at Madras.

Hastings, and on his return from India he declared, that if no one else did it, he himself would stand forth as his accuser.

Yet this might have proved nothing more than an idle threat; for Fox, and the other friends of Burke, did not share his enthusiasm or his virtuous indignation. But Hastings, strong as he supposed in ministerial support, and in the Indian interest[4], and stronger still in his self-esteem, which would allow him to see nothing wrong in any thing he had ever done, and who challenged honours and titles, as the rewards of his merits, would not, like Rumbold, and other less ambitious men, be content with impunity, but dared his accusers to the combat, not perhaps without the secret hope that they would decline the challenge.

In the beginning of the session of 1786, Hastings' agent, Major Scott, who, like other Indian agents, had a seat in the house, reminded Mr. Burke of his promise. There was now no receding; and after some preliminary motions, and a declaration of an intention to impeach him, Mr. Hastings was heard in his defence on his petition. On the 2nd June, on a motion on the subject of the Rohilla war, the ministry supported Hastings; but on the 13th, on one relating to Cheit Sing, Mr. Pitt declared his intention of voting with the accusers. The impeachment now was inevitable, and Hastings, though he affected to make light of it, probably regretted in secret that he had ever provoked it. His friends were furious at the change, the treachery, as they termed it, of the minister; and it is a thing which has never yet been accounted for in an adequate manner.

On the 10th May, 1787, the House of Commons proceeded to the bar of the House of Peers, and Mr. Burke, in their name, impeached Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. The trial commenced on the 13th February, 1788, in Westminster-hall. The managers on the part of the Commons were Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, Grey, and fourteen other members. During four days, Mr. Burke was engaged in giving a general view of the charge. His appeals to the passions were all-powerful, his glowing imagination conjured up scenes of horror and oppression, that harrowed the feelings, and overcame the senses, but which proved ultimately injurious to the cause, as they were not by any means borne out to the same extent by the evidence. The charges were numerous, but only four were gone into; the treatment of Cheit Sing, of the Begums, the receipt of presents, corruption in various forms. The trial went on from session to session, and on the 23rd April, 1795, Hastings was acquitted by the House of Lords.

We have seen how Hastings acted in the cases for which he was prosecuted, the kind of necessity under which he lay, and the approbation his conduct in general received. We doubt much, therefore, if he deserved impeachment; and we consider the conduct of his accusers often imprudent, sometimes blameable. But on the other hand, from a man of Mr. Hastings' high claims of merit and self-belief, of most perfect innocence, we should have expected a higher and more dignified line of defence than that which he adopted. Instead of seeking to suppress evidence, and having recourse to all the shifts and artifices that his astute lawyers could devise, he should have concealed nothing, and have relied on the justice and honour of his noble judges. In truth, he would have had little to fear, in our opinion, from this course, for they seemed almost predetermined to acquit him. Instead of standing on the broad basis of universal truth and equity, they guided themselves by the narrowest rules of the common-law courts[5], and as far as was possible rejected all evidence likely to injure the accused. The royal family, too, was known to be favourable to him; the *Indian interest*, as Burke truly said, "had penetrated into every branch of the constitution, and was felt from the Needles at the Isle of Wight, to John O'Groat's house." The press, too, was most active in his favour, and there were many other causes which will account for his acquittal.

After all that has been urged in his defence, and the panegyrics that have been bestowed on him, we still regard Hastings as morally a bad man, as one who, in the gratification of his vengeance, or when acting under any supposed state-necessity, would not lightly be impeded by any moral principle; who generally preferred the tortuous to the direct course, and loved to envelope himself in mystery; who, if not corrupt himself, had no scruple to lavish the revenues of the state on his adherents, or on those whose support he hoped to gain. But at the same time we willingly do homage to his high mental powers, his unyielding courage, his fertility of resource, his clearness of view. We think, that had he not been forced into war by the folly of the other Presidencies, and thwarted by violent and unscrupulous colleagues, while ill-supported from home, that he would have averted much evil from India, and rendered the British empire there a blessing to the country; for Hastings never pursued evil but from an idea of necessity. It was he who first devised the systems of judicature, and of collection of the revenue, which are still in use; and he was the first who induced the servants of the Company to seek to acquire a knowledge of the native jurisprudence and literature. On his trial, abundant native testimonials in his favour were produced, and his name is at the present day highly popular with the native population. Still his character, though so much to be admired, does not win on our sympathies like that of Clive. He was cold and stately; he was too fond of dwelling on his own merits, and asserting the purity of his motives; and perhaps he made too much display of his respect for religion, to allow us to regard it as being perfectly sincere[6].

Hastings survived his acquittal more than twenty years. In 1813 he was examined on Indian affairs before the House of Commons, and as he was re-

[4] We suppose this is what Lord Thurlow meant, when he asserted so frequently, that it was Hastings that had brought himself and his colleagues into power.

[5] "We cannot hear, but with the utmost astonishment and apprehension, that the supreme court of judicature is to be concluded, by the instituted rules of the practice of inferior courts." Lords' Protest, 1788.

[6] Hastings has lately found two zealous defenders, the one his biographer, the Rev. Mr. Gleig, in whose pages his character, both public and private, is all but immaculate; the other, Mr. Wilson, in his notes on Mill. But Mr. Wilson's arguments are, in our eyes, at times sophistical, and his defence goes a little too much on the principle of ends sanctioning means.

tiring, the members all rose from their seats to do him honour. As the expenses of the trial had exceeded all the money he possessed, the Company in 1796 granted him an annuity of 4000*l.* a year, and lent him 50,000*l.* without interest, the greater part of which was afterwards remitted. Although thus a pensioner, and without heirs, he clung almost to the last, to the fond hope of being raised to the peerage. Mr. Pitt's behaviour to him was certainly not praiseworthy.

PART III.

BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA—SECOND PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Cornwallis appointed Governor-General — Affairs of Oude—Tippoo's Invasion of Travancore—War resumed with him—Operations of the Army under Gen Medows —Lord Cornwallis takes the Chief Command Advance to Seringapatam — Retreat from that City — Reduction of Savandroog, and other hill-forts—Second Advance to Seringapatam—Attack on Tippoo's Lines—Preparations for the Siege—Treaty concluded with Tippoo—Departure of Lord Cornwallis—Sir John Shore, Governor-General—Affairs of the Nizâm—Death of Mohammed Ally—Affairs of Oude.

With the formation of the Board of Control, a new æra commences in the history of British India. The ministry, and not the Company, appoints the governors at the three Presidencies; the native powers have no longer to contend merely with the often inefficient means of the Company, but with the power of the British empire, and they thus lose all chance of success. At the same time, more of justice and honour is displayed in all transactions with them. The rapacity of the Company's servants, also gradually ceases from want of aliment, or from the greater vigour of the government, and improvement of all kinds advances.

Soon after Hastings had left India, Lord Macartney having, as he had wished, had a successor at Madras appointed, proceeded to Bengal for the benefit of his health. While there he was nominated by Mr. Pitt, on the unbiassed recommendation of Mr. Dundas, to be governor-general. He declined, however, both on account of his health, and his desire to have some changes effected, to accept the appointment at that time; and he sailed for England, where he arrived in January, 1786. In a conference with the chairman of the Court of Directors, he represented two matters as essential for good government in India; the entire dependence of the military on the civil power, and the abandonment of the practice of promoting the servants of the Company by mere seniority, without regard to talent. He would also expect to have the power of deciding against the opinion of the council, and some changes to be made among the higher servants. At an interview with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas (Feb. 20), he further hinted, that in order to counteract the influence of Mr. Hastings and his friends, it would be advisable to grant him, what he termed "some distinguished mark of favour," meaning an English peerage, for he was only an Irish peer. The vanity of the two ministers was hurt by this condition, and three days after, Lord Macartney learned that Lord Cornwallis was appointed governor-general of Bengal.

Lord Cornwallis was the nobleman, whose surrender at Yorktown with his army, had been the closing event of the American war, and he is the first instance of a military man sent to govern India. He was furnished with copious instructions for his guidance, both by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, and he reached Calcutta in September, 1786. As the first years of his government were free from war, he devoted his attention chiefly to internal affairs; and as, unlike Hastings, he had no colleagues to thwart him, and was cordially supported at home, he had none but the necessary and inherent difficulties to encounter.

The affairs of Oude early claimed his attention, and he made with the Nabob a subsidiary treaty; the first of those with the princes of India, which afterwards became so common. By this the English undertook to defend his territory, he defraying all the real expense, while the internal government was left entirely to his own direction.

Lord Cornwallis being strictly charged to abstain from war, felt much embarrassed by a proposal from the Nizâm, for an alliance against Tippoo Sultân. He endeavoured to get out of the difficulty, by declaring the treaty of 1768 to be still in force. In this the Nizâm had given the Company the Dewannee of a part of Hyder Ally's territory; but, on the other hand, they had since made treaties with Hyder and his son, as the lawful masters of that territory. In fact, the whole transaction was the very thing most likely to cause, what the English were most anxious to avoid, a rupture with Tippoo Sultân.

Among the allies of the English, included in the treaty of 1784, was the rajah of Travancore, which country, commencing about twenty miles to the north of Cochin, runs to the extremity of the peninsula, lying between the sea and the Ghâts, which last separate it from Tinnivelly. In order to secure his territory from invasion, the rajah had run on his northern frontier a line of defence from the sea to the mountains, consisting of a ditch sixteen feet wide, and twenty deep, a strong

bamboo-hedge, and a rampart with bastions. It thus included part of the territory of the rajah of Cochin, who, to save his territory outside of it, had been obliged to become the tributary of Hyder. Tippoo was most anxious to obtain possession of Travancore, which would give him the whole western coast, and bring him into contact with the English at Tinnivelly; and in 1788 he told the rajah of Cochin, that he must reclaim the districts which he had given to the rajah of Travancore, for which he should have the aid of the Mysorean troops. The menaced rajah applied for some aid to Madras, and two battalions of Sepoys were sent from Bombay. In May, 1789, Tippoo descended to the coast, and summoned the Dutch fort of Cranganore, which lay close to the lines of Travancore, and which, with the Dutch fort of Jaycotta, the rajah regarded as the key of his dominions. He prepared to join the Dutch in its defence, and he applied to Madras for more assistance. But the governor, Mr. Holland, replied, that he could only aid him in the defence of *his own* dominions, and counselled him not to irritate Tippoo. The rajah then purchased those places; but Mr. Holland ordered him to restore them, and Tippoo claimed them as being built on ground belonging to the rajah of Cochin, and therefore part of the kingdom of Mysore. But the rajah of Travancore showed clearly that the Dutch had conquered them from the Portuguese, to whom the rajah of Cochin had been tributary.

On the 14th December, Tippoo encamped within twenty-five miles of the lines, and sent a *vakeel* to the rajah, requiring him, among other things, to withdraw his forces from Cranganore, and to demolish that part of his lines which was on the territory of Cochin. The rajah refused compliance, and on the night of the 28th Tippoo made an assault, and gained a large part of the rampart. But a panic arising among his troops, they fell back in confusion, and numbers of them perished in the ditch, trampled to death by their comrades. The Sultân himself was thrown out of his palankeen, and suffered personal injuries, of which he never perfectly recovered.

When intelligence of this event reached Calcutta (Jan. 26, 1790), the governor-general resolved to exact full reparation from Tippoo. He had already directed the government of Madras to stop the payment of the Nabob's creditors, and the Company's investment; and he now resolved to form alliances with the Nizâm and the Marattas, treaties for which were signed the following summer. Gen. Medows, who commanded the Bombay army, was appointed to succeed Mr. Holland at Madras. The plan formed for the campaign was, that Medows should take possession of the Coimbatore country, and endeavour to penetrate Mysore through the Gujelhutty pass, while Gen. Abercrombie, with the Bombay troops, should reduce the coast of Malabar, and join Medows if necessary; and Col. Kelly should remain with a small army, for the defence of the Carnatic, near the principal pass from Mysore.

Tippoo had disavowed the attack on the Travancore lines, in which he had failed. Nevertheless, in March he again appeared before them, and early in May he had reduced them and Cranganore, and seized on the north of Travancore. He was then recalled to the defence of Mysore against the British army of 15,000 men, under Gen. Medows, who, having marched from Trichinopoly (26th), were now advancing toward Coimbatore. The forts of Caroor, Aravarcouchy, and Darapooram, were reduced, and the army reached Coimbatore (July 21), whence Col. Stuart was sent against Palligât and Dindigul, both of which were reduced by the end of September; Eroad had already surrendered to Col. Oldham, and Sattimungul, near the bottom of the Gujelhutty pass, had been taken by Col. Floyd. The English had thus established their line of communication with the Carnatic, and it only remained to ascend the pass, and enter Mysore. Tippoo, resolving to anticipate the enemy, poured his troops down along the pass (Sept. 13), and cannonaded Floyd's detachment for an entire day. In the night the British held a council of war, and it was determined to retreat, and join Gen. Medows. The garrison was withdrawn from Sattimungul, and they commenced the retreat at first in three columns, and then in one. Tippoo pursued, and came up with them next day, and attacked them with every prospect of success. But a report of the approach of Gen. Medows having been spread, and received with cheers in the British ranks, he gave credit to it, and drew off his forces.

Medows, on being joined by the divisions of Floyd and Stuart, sought, but in vain, to bring the Sultân to a general engagement. Tippoo had recovered some of the forts; when, hearing that the army of the Carnatic, which, Kelly being dead, was now commanded by Col. Maxwell, had entered Baramahâl, he marched thither with the greater part of his army, leaving a portion to watch Gen. Medows. Col. Maxwell eluded with great skill all his efforts to bring him to action, and soon after he was joined by Gen. Medows, who had ascended by the pass of Tapoor. For this pass, both Tippoo and the English general now directed their course. The former reached it first, and made at once for Trichinopoly; he was followed thither by Medows, and then turning northward, he made an attempt on Thiagar, but was repulsed by the gallant Capt. Flint, the commandant. He reduced Trinomalee and Permacoil, and then went to Pondicherry, in the hope of gaining the French to his side. Medows followed him to Trinomalee; and being summoned to Madras, he left his army at Velout, eighteen miles from that town (Jan. 27, 1791). While Tippoo had thus been occupied by the army of Medows, Col. Hartley had routed his troops on the Malabar coast; and Gen. Abercrombie having reduced Cannanore, the whole of the Malabar coast, where the Sultân was detested on account of his religious bigotry and intolerance, became subject to the British.

Lord Cornwallis was now at Madras, whither he had come with the intention of taking the command in person. In the matter of finance, he found it necessary to re-establish the assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic, which Lord Macartney had effected, and which the Board of Control, in their wisdom, had set aside; and the Directors highly approved of his conduct. The Nabob made all the resistance in his power, but having no superior now to appeal to, he was forced to submit.

On the 29th, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army at Velout. Instead of taking the same route as Medows, in the last campaign,

he resolved to enter Mysore by the way of Vellore and Amboor; and by feints having eluded the vigilance of Tippoo, who had reascended the Ghâts, and was watching the ordinary passes, he ascended by the less used one of Mooglee, and thus reached the table-land without encountering any resistance. He immediately marched for the strong fortress of Bangalore. The *pettah*, or town, which lay to the north of it, was the first object of attack. One of its gates was forced, and the troops poured in and carried it. Tippoo, who was at hand, sent orders to Bahadar Khân, the gallant Killidar of the fort, to recover it. He made the attempt, and the contest was dubious, as long as confined to firing; but when the English charged with bayonets, the Mysoreans broke and fled to the fort, with a loss of 2000 killed and wounded; that of the English was only trifling.

Batteries were now erected against the fort, a breach was made, and on the night of March 20th, a storming party advanced to the attack. They at first experienced little opposition, but the Killidar, in whom age had not quenched his courage, soon appeared at the head of his men. One short hour, however, terminated the conflict, and the garrison fled, leaving 1000 slain, among whom was the brave Bahadar Khân, who fell sword in hand after his men had abandoned him. The victors buried him with every token of respect.

On the 22nd March, Lord Cornwallis marched from Bangalore northwards, in order to form a junction with a corps of the Nizâm's cavalry. This body consisted of about 10,000 men, well-mounted, and armed with the strangest variety of arms and weapons that ever was beheld. But in the field they proved utterly useless. He was also joined by a valuable convoy, and a force of 4000 or 5000 men, under Lieut.-Col. Oldham, and on the 28th April he returned to Bangalore.

Lord Cornwallis was not enterprising by nature, and the want of draft-cattle was such, as almost to preclude the idea of any advance into Mysore. But, on the other hand, the turn which affairs had lately taken in France, made it highly probable, that if Tippoo were not reduced in time, he might get aid from that country; and there was, also, the powerful motive of expense, and therefore the policy of bringing the war to a close as speedily as possible. He accordingly resolved to march for Seringapatam, and leaving Bangalore on the 4th May, and passing through a country wasted and destroyed by the enemy, he arrived on the 13th at Arikera, nine miles east of that capital. Meantime, Gen. Abercrombie had ascended from Malabar, and was now about forty miles to the west of that city.

Tippoo had a well-founded dislike to general actions, which he said had always been fatal to his father. But now urged by shame, and by the remonstrances of his officers, and, as is said, of the ladies of his harem, he resolved to venture on one. He posted his army between the invaders and the city, with its right protected by the Caveri, and its left by a range of hills, while a deep swampy ravine ran all along its front. To attack them in this position was highly perilous; but Lord Cornwallis discovered that it would be possible by marching to the right during the night, and taking another road leading to Seringapatam, to get by daylight between the enemy and the city. Accordingly, on the night of the 13th, he put himself at the head of a part of his army, and set forth in the midst of a terrific tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain. The difficulties encountered were tremendous, and daylight came before he was able to effect his purpose. He resolved, however, not to abandon it, and descending the heights, made for a hill commanding the left of the enemy; but Tippoo, by highly skilful manœuvres, anticipated him, and posted a strong detachment on that hill. A division, under Col. Maxwell, however, soon drove them off, and seized it. The rest of the troops had meantime been formed in two lines, the first under Gen. Medows and Col. Stuart; the second, under Col. Harris, and the battle now became general. Tippoo's cavalry made no stand; his infantry behaved gallantly, but were at length driven off, and forced to seek shelter under the batteries of the island of Seringapatam, leaving victory to the English. The victory would have been more complete, were it not for the conduct of the Nizâm's cavalry, who flung themselves in a mass, and on ground where they could not act, even if so inclined, before the left wing of the British, and thus impeded their advance. The fairest construction was put on this conduct at the time; but there is good reason to think that it was designed, and was the result of treachery.

The English were victorious, but their victory was of little use. An old officer quoted Coote's words on a similar occasion, "I would gladly exchange all these trophies, and the reputation of victory, for a few days' rice." In want of supplies, and in still greater want of cattle, they marched to the ford at Caniambaddy, and there Lord Cornwallis resolved on retreat. He sent orders to Abercrombie to retire also, and on the 26th, having destroyed the whole of the battering-train and heavy equipments, he began to march for Bangalore. Toward the close of the first day's march, a large body of horse was seen to the right, and supposing them to belong to Tippoo, Col. Stuart, who commanded in the rear, prepared to engage them. But they proved to be their Maratta friends, accompanied by a British detachment. They had sent forward more than a hundred messengers to announce their approach, every one of whom had been intercepted by Tippoo's light troops.

The Marattas had sent two armies to the field, the one commanded by Hurry Punt, the other by Purserâm Bhâo. The latter had been joined by a British detachment from Bombay, and they had reduced the fort of Darwar, and all other places north of the Toombuddra. Their junction now, though rather late, was most welcome; for they brought a supply of bullocks, and abundance of all necessary stores. The armies marched together, and on the 11th June they reached Bangalore. On the march the plan of the next campaign was arranged, for which Lord Cornwallis was obliged to engage to lend the Marattas twelve lacs of rupees, to obtain which, he sent orders to Madras to take the treasure out of the China-ships, and coin it, and send it to him. Had Hastings ventured on such a measure as this, could any thing have averted his ruin?

Hurry Punt and his army remained with the governor-general; that of the Bhâo, with the Bombay corps, commanded by Capt. Little, went off to Sera, to act in the north-west; the Nizâm's

cavalry was to join his other forces, and to act in the north-east; while the army of Lord Cornwallis was to keep between the enemy and the Carnatic.

In order to secure the Policade pass, Lord Cornwallis moved against the forts of Orsoor and Rayacottah, which commanded it. The former was evacuated at his approach; the latter was taken by a party under Major Gowdie. The minor forts all surrendered; and the pass being now free, a convoy that was waiting at Amboor, the largest sent as yet to an English camp in India, ascended to the table-land. In order to keep up the communication with the Nizam's army, it was deemed necessary to reduce the various hill-forts to the north of Bangalore. The chief of these, named Nundidroog, was situated on a granite-rock of great height, and every means had been employed to increase its strength; Major Gowdie was sent against it; and having, with excessive labour, got his guns up the side of the rock, he effected two breaches. On the approach of Lord Cornwallis with the army, orders were given for the assault (Oct. 19), and after a spirited, but brief resistance, the place was carried. Col. Maxwell was now sent with a detachment into Baramahâl, where he reduced the mud-fort of Penagra, but he failed in an attempt on the rock of Kistnagheri, where, however, he burned the *pettah*. Having driven the enemy out of the whole district, he rejoined the main army, which now reinforced from England, and from the other presidencies, was preparing to march once more against Seringapatam.

Between Bangalore and that city, about eighteen miles from the former, lies one of the strongest hill-forts in India. It is named Savandroog, or Death's-rock, either from its strength, or rather from its noxious climate. It is a huge mountain of granite, rising from a base about eight miles in circuit, to a height of half a mile; at about two-thirds of its altitude, a chasm divides its summit into two parts, each of which forms a separate citadel. Around the base, to an extent of several miles, lay a thick forest or jungle, chiefly of bamboos, through which ran a winding road, its only approach. The surrounding atmosphere was so pestilential, that Tippoo undertook to prophesy, that one-half of the besieging army would perish by it, while the remainder would, he expected, be slain in the attack.

The conduct of the siege was committed to Col. Stuart. With immense labour a way was cut through the jungle, and batteries were erected against the eastern citadel (Dec. 17). In three days a breach was effected, and orders were given to storm on the morning of the 21st. The storming-party formed four divisions, one to mount the breach, another to scour the works on the western summit, a third to act in the chasm, and the fourth to follow and support the third. Other parties were to go round the mountain to prevent the escape of the besieged. At an hour before noon, the signal of two guns was fired from the batteries, and the first party advanced to the breach, the band of the 52nd regiment playing *Britons strike home*. A panic seized the garrison, and they attained the eastern summit without encountering any resistance. The commander of the western citadel having made a sally to take them in flank, met the second party among the rocks; the Mysoreans instantly turned, and were pursued by the English, and a sergeant having shot the man who was closing the first gate, the whole party rushed in and gained the summit. And thus was carried in the space of less than an hour, and without the loss of a single man, the boasted impregnable fortress of Savandroog! Another strong fort named Ootradroog was carried a few days after by Col. Stuart, also without loss, though he met with a much more obstinate resistance.

While the main army was thus engaged, the Nizam's troops, or, properly speaking, the English detachment with them, had reduced some fortresses. In like manner Capt. Little's detachment, which was joined with Purserâm Bhâo's Marattas, reduced the strong hill-fort of Hoolymore and some other places. They then moved toward Simoga. A force of 8000 men with ten guns had here taken a remarkable strong position in a jungle, in order to fall on their rear while they should be engaged in the siege. Though Capt. Little had not more than 1000 Sepoys, he resolved to attempt to dislodge them. By great efforts he succeeded in driving them from their post, with the loss of three of their guns, and in the pursuit he captured the remaining seven, and dispersed the entire corps. The Marattas, who had not been of the slightest use in the action, meanwhile plundered the enemy's camp in the most perfect manner, and such was the quantity of arms they got in it, that good muskets were offered for two rupees a piece in the camp-bazaar. Simoga surrendered when summoned, and soon after the Marattas proceeded to join Lord Cornwallis before Seringapatam, where they arrived at a time when there was little or no occasion for their services.

During these operations Coimbatore had been defended against Tippoo's troops in a most gallant manner by Lieut. Chalmers; Major Cuppage, who commanded in these parts, deeming this place untenable, had removed the heavy guns and stores to Paligât, whither Lieut. Chalmers, who was left with a company of Topasses and some of the Rajah of Travancore's Sepoys, under a young French officer named Delacombe, was directed to retire on the appearance of the enemy in any force. Ere long the place was invested by a Mysorean army with eight guns: Chalmers, who had contrived to mount three old guns, and thought himself able to defend it, refused to surrender. During two months the enemy contented himself with firing on the fort, making approaches, and summoning the garrison. At length an assault was made at five different places. The principal attack was where Delacombe commanded, and he was near being overpowered, when a combustible parcel (one of those prepared for the purpose) being thrown among a mass of the assailants, exploded. The enemy instantly gave way and retired, leaving more dead than the number of the garrison.

Major Cuppage now exerted himself to drive away the enemy, and he sent a company of Sepoys under Lieut. Nash to join Chalmers, who was losing no time in repairing the works of the fort. A large force with fourteen guns and four mortars soon appeared, led by Kummur-ud-din, one of Tippoo's ablest generals. Having erected batteries, they opened a heavy fire on the fort. Major Cuppage was advancing to its relief, but Kummur-

ud-dín having marched away with a part of his forces in order to get into his rear and occupy a pass which would enable him to intercept a large convoy of corn for the Bombay army, Cuppage fell back, and having, after a sharp conflict with the enemy, secured the pass, returned to Paligât. The defence of Coimbatore being now hopeless, a surrender was made, on the condition of security to private property, and the garrison being permitted to retire to Paligât. But in Tippoo's usual manner the capitulation was violated, and the whole garrison was marched to Seringapatam.

Lord Cornwallis, having sent orders to Gen. Abercrombie to ascend the Ghâts again from Malabar, and being joined by the troops of the Nizám, put his army in motion and marched from Ootradroog. Instead of advancing in one long column, as had been the practice hitherto, the army moved in three parallel columns, the battering guns and heavy carriages going in the centre along the great roads; the infantry and field-pieces one hundred yards to the right; the light carts and camp-followers on the left. The troops of the allies followed; and on the 5th February, 1792, they beheld Seringapatam and the Sultan's army encamped before it.

Seringapatam lies in an island about four miles in length, formed by two branches of the Caveri, in the same manner as that of Seringham. Its western extremity was occupied by the fort, its eastern by the palace and garden of Tippoo. The town lay in the intermediate space. Beyond the river on the north and south ran the usual bound-hedge of bamboos and prickly plants. The space included between the river and that on the north side was about three miles, and from half a mile to a mile in width. In this lay Tippoo's army of 5000 cavalry, and from 40,000 to 50,000 infantry, with 100 pieces of cannon, beside the heavy artillery in six strong redoubts; and in the fort and island which formed the second line of defence, there was at least treble that number of guns. Within the hedge were rice-fields, a large tank or canal, and a winding stream. Tippoo commanded the front and right of his line in person, and it was his plan to protract the siege till want of supplies should oblige the invaders to retire.

The bold and judicious plan of Lord Cornwallis was a sudden attack by night, and without artillery, on the enemy's camp. At six o'clock on the evening of the 6th, the troops, on being dismissed from parade, were ordered to fall in again with arms and ammunition, and at half-past eight they were on their march, and moving in silence beneath the beams of a brilliant moon. The army was formed in three columns, the centre column commanded by Lord Cornwallis in person, the right by Gen. Medows, the left by Col. Maxwell. Nothing could exceed the amazement of the allies when they learned that a handful of infantry, and without cannon, was advancing to attack Tippoo's camp, and Lord Cornwallis gone to fight, as they expressed it, like a common soldier.

The centre column on its march met Tippoo's grand guard escorting a party of rocket-men, to annoy the English camp during the night. The horsemen galloped back to give the alarm, while the rocket-men tried to impede the march; but the troops pressed on at a quick pace, and reached the hedge in fifteen minutes after the horsemen. The column consisted of three corps, of which the front one was directed to make for the island, and try to enter it with the fugitives, while the centre one was to clear the right of the camp, and then make also for the island; and that in the rear was to form a reserve, under the Governor-general in person. The first corps having penetrated the hedge under a heavy but ill-directed fire of the enemy, driving them before them, reached the ford and crossed it close to the fort. The first party who crossed, under Capt. Lindsay, hoped to be able to enter it with the fugitives, but found the gate closed, and the drawbridge raised. They then marched to the southern side of the island. The second party, led by Capt. Knox, proceeded to the eastern end of the island, took the *pettah* there, and seized the batteries commanding the eastern ford. A third party, under Capt. Hunter, next crossed, and took post in what was called the Rajah's garden. The enemy, some time after, having brought two pieces of cannon to the opposite bank, before they could unlimber them Hunter and his men dashed across, forced their way through, and joined Lord Cornwallis at a critical moment.

The centre corps having moved to the right, encountered a large body of the enemy's horse. They fired on them, and when the smoke cleared away, they saw that they were gone. They then advanced to the Sultan's redoubt, which they found abandoned. Leaving some men to defend it, they proceeded and completed the defeat of the enemy's right, which Col. Maxwell's column had turned.

The rear corps had formed near the Sultan's redoubt, and was anxiously expecting Gen. Medows from the right. It had hardly been joined by Capt. Hunter, when a large body of Tippoo's troops advanced against it. It returned their fire, and then charged with bayonets. The enemy returned several times to the charge, and was not finally repulsed till near daybreak.

Gen. Medows had been directed to penetrate the line to the east of the strong Mosque-redoubt, which he was not to attack; but by a mistake of his guides, or by an ambiguity in his orders, he came to the hedge, close to that very place. Meeting with no opposition, the head of the column under Col. Nesbit wheeled to the right, and began to ascend the hill of the redoubt. They were received with a heavy fire, which they returned, and then rushing forward, drove the enemy before them, and finally carried it. Leaving a force to defend it, Medows, as the ground inside was swampy, led his men outside of the hedge, and round to the Carigât hill at its other extremity, where he joined Lord Cornwallis and the left division, which, under Col. Maxwell, having taken the works on that hill, had advanced under the fire of the enemy, and joined the Commander-in-chief. The right column and part of the centre then remained at the Carigât hill, while the left and the remainder of the centre crossed the river under the command of Col. Stuart, and entered the *pettah*, where Capt. Knox had just secured the batteries in time. They were there joined by those who had passed over during the night.

Tippoo, who had just finished his evening meal when the alarm was given, immediately mounted his horse. By the light of the moon, he saw the column of the English crossing his camp, and making for the ford. No time was to be lost, and

he was barely able to clear the head of the column and cross the ford ere they reached it, and he entered the fort in safety. As was usual in such cases, great numbers of his troops deserted; among others, many Europeans, whom he had kept in his service against their will, now left him.

In the morning (7th), Col. Stuart took a position quite across the island, in front of Tippoo's garden. Here his troops were exposed to the fire of Tippoo's men, who had advanced under the shelter of walls and old houses. As their ammunition had been wetted in fording the river, they returned it but feebly, till Lord Cornwallis sent them a supply and some more troops. The enemy then retired.

During the day, several attempts were made by the enemy to recover the Sultan's redoubt, which lay within reach of the guns of the fort; but all their efforts were repelled by the little garrison of 100 Europeans and 50 Sepoys. Their commander, Capt. Sibbald, fell, the wounded men were tortured with thirst, and there was no water to give them, and at last their ammunition began to run short. Just then two loaded bullocks happened to stray into the ditch, and their lading, on being examined, proved to be ammunition. The defence was therefore vigorously maintained, and the enemy finally retired. The Mysoreans now evacuated the four remaining redoubts, and the whole north bank of the river was left in the possession of the English.

Preparations for the siege were now made, and the stately cypresses and other trees of Tippoo's garden were hewn down to furnish materials. His palace was converted into a hospital. On the morning of the 8th, Tippoo, who had all through the war been making attempts at negotiation, set Lieuts. Chalmers and Nash at liberty, and gave them letters to Lord Cornwallis, who on reading them agreed to receive his *vakeels*, and negotiations and military operations went on simultaneously. But Tippoo had recourse to other measures also: on that same day, a party of his horse crossed the river, and next day they approached the British camp, where, being supposed to belong to the Nizâm, they were suffered to ride up to the artillery. They there inquired, in a careless manner, of the Lascars, which was the tent of the Burra Sahib (*chief-commander*), meaning Lord Cornwallis; but the men misunderstanding them, pointed out that of their own commander, Col. Duff. They drew their swords and galloped toward it, cutting down all they met; but a party of Sepoys turned out, and their fire soon made them scamper off to the hills.

On the 16th, Gen. Abercrombie arrived with the Bombay army. The fort was soon the object of attack. It was of a triangular form, two sides being washed by the river. As the third side was very strongly fortified, it was deemed best, notwithstanding the stream, to make the attack on the north side; and on the night of the 18th, a party was sent to commence opening the trenches, and by taking advantage of a dry *nullah*, or watercourse, they had formed the first parallel before daylight. Next day, the Bombay army crossed the river, and invested the south side of the fort. The firing of Tippoo's guns produced little effect, and his troops were repulsed in all their attacks. Plenty prevailed in the British camp: Major Cuppage had now ascended the Gujelhutty pass, and Purserâm Bhâo was every day expected. Every heart beat high with hopes, for the capture of Seringapatam was regarded as certain. But on the morning of the 24th, orders to suspend operations were issued, and instant dejection appeared on every countenance. The Governor-general had concluded a treaty with Tippoo's vakeels.

By this treaty Tippoo engaged to cede one-half of his dominions to the allies, from the countries adjacent to theirs; to pay three crores, thirty lacs of rupees, half down, the remainder in three instalments within a year; all prisoners, on both sides, were to be released; two of Tippoo's sons were to be given as hostages; finally, a treaty of alliance and friendship among all parties was to be formed.

On the 26th, the two young princes, the one ten, the other eight years of age, mounted on elephants gorgeously caparisoned, and followed by a numerous train and guards, issued from the fort under a salute of artillery. Twenty-one guns saluted them as they entered the British lines; Lord Cornwallis received them with the utmost respect at the door of his tent, and promised to be a father to them. Tippoo was so gratified by the account of their reception, that he ordered a royal salute to be fired from the fort.

In the arrangement of the definitive treaty many difficulties occurred. The chief related to the rajah of Coorg[1], whose territories the English were determined to have included in the cessions, to save him from Tippoo's vengeance on account of the aid he had given the Bombay army, and for other causes. But as they did not happen to lie adjacent to those of any of the allies, the demand did not accord with the preliminary treaty. Lord Cornwallis, however, would not abandon him. Both sides began, therefore, to prepare for a renewal of the war, the guards of the young princes were removed, and they were sent off, as if on their way to the Carnatic. Purserâm Bhâo, who had now arrived, was sent over the river, where he began to plunder the country. At length Tippoo gave way, and on the 19th March the treaty was delivered to Lord Cornwallis, in due form, by the elder of the princes.

By this treaty the English obtained Malabar, Coorg, Dindigul, and Baramahâl. Events showed that they had not weakened Tippoo sufficiently; but, beside the moderation conspicuous in Cornwallis's own character, public opinion in England was so decidedly against extent of dominion, or interference with the native princes, that he could hardly have ventured to act otherwise. This excellent nobleman proved his disinterestedness by giving up all his share of booty to the troops, and his example was followed by the noble-minded Medows[2].

The Governor-general proceeded to Madras, and thence returned to Bengal. The following year (1793), as there was now war between England and the French republic, Pondicherry and the other French settlements were taken possession of, no resistance being offered. Lord Corn-

[1] A mountain-district, to the west of Mysore. Its rajah is described as a man of the most generous, and even romantic feelings. It is remarkable, that when we meet such a character in Indian history, he is almost always a Hindoo.

[2] Mill bears willing testimony to the virtues of this officer, and justly praises the harmony that prevailed between him and Lord Cornwallis.

wallis, who had gone to Madras on this account, did not return any more to Bengal, and he sailed for England in the month of August. He was succeeded in his office of Governor-general by Sir John Shore, who had long been in the civil service of the Company.

During his abode in India, Lord Cornwallis made many changes in the modes of collecting the revenue, and administering justice.

We have already given a sketch of the village-system of India, as it is now understood by those most competent to judge, in which the sovereign and the village-community are joint-proprietors of the soil. But in the time of Lord Cornwallis this knowledge had not been attained, and, led by European ideas, the servants of the Company were almost unanimous in regarding as such the Zemindars; this opinion Mr. Francis held most strenuously. The body of the Zemindars were regarded as the proper aristocracy of India; and so strongly was Lord Cornwallis imbued with this feeling, that he would brook no delay for inquiry. The Zemindars of Bengal and Bahar were declared to be the lawful owners of the soil, the ryots were left at their mercy, and a settlement, first for ten years, but almost immediately after declared to be perpetual, was made with them, for the sum which they were to pay the government as land-tax. The government thus parted with its own legitimate rights, as joint-proprietor, in the vain hope of creating a respectable native aristocracy, for such the Zemindars have never become, and the ryots, though secured to a certain extent by *pottahs*, or leases, against arbitrary acts, were not protected from excessive rents in the *pottah*.

The financial and judicial powers were now separated, and the collector of a district was no longer, as in Hastings' plan, to preside in its courts. In every Zillah, or district, and in every large town, a servant of the company, with a registrar and one or more assistants, was appointed to be a judge. He was also to be aided by native expounders of the law. To avoid too great a press of business, he could refer to his registrar suits in which the value of the litigated property did not exceed 200 rupees; and native commissioners were stationed in different places of the Zillah, with the power of arbitrating as far as the value of 50 rupees. From both of these inferior jurisdictions there was a power of appeal to the Zillah court; and from this last suitors might appeal to one of the four provincial courts of appeal of Calcutta, Patna, Moorshedabâd, and Dacca, in each of which there were three judges, with registrar and other assistants. From these courts finally lay an appeal to the Suddur Dewannee Adaulut, composed of the governor and members of council with native assistants.

The judges of the provincial courts were also to act as judges of circuit for gaol-delivery. Their courts were to be held once a month in the four cities, four times a year in the district of Calcutta, and twice a year in each Zillah. From these criminal courts an appeal lay to the Suddur Nizâmut Adaulut, in which the governor and members of council sat at Calcutta. These courts were guided by the Mohammedan law; but for the mutilations which it enjoins were substituted various periods of imprisonment.

For purposes of police, every Zillah was divided into districts of twenty miles square, in each of which was stationed a Darogha, or constable, with a number of assistants selected by himself. He acted under the judge of the Zillah-court, who was invested with the authority of a magistrate for the apprehension, committal, and, in minor cases, trial of the offenders.

None of the measures of Lord Cornwallis produced the effects he had anticipated. Crime went on steadily increasing, litigation augmented the number of suits to an alarming extent, and it was soon found necessary to make great alterations. The legislator, in fact, was not aware of the difficulty that existed; he forgot that the character of a people cannot be changed all at once, and that the work of many years cannot be achieved in one year.

The new Governor-general was one of the most upright and honourable men that ever had served the Company in India. But he was greatly deficient in the energy and in the political sagacity requisite for his high station, as very soon appeared.

The restless perfidious Marattas made a demand on the Nizâm for *chout*, and on his declining to pay it invaded his dominions; and as it appeared that Tippoo was about to join them, the Nizâm called on the English for assistance, according to the treaty concluded with Lord Cornwallis. But Sir John Shore refused; maintaining the strange principle, that as the alliance was tripartite, the secession of one party relieved the other two from their mutual obligations. The Nizâm was consequently obliged to make the best terms he could with the Marattas. Hurt by the conduct of the British, he now requested that two battalions of their troops which were in his pay might be withdrawn. This being done, he proceeded to organize a large body of regular infantry which was commanded by French officers. M. Raymond, a fierce republican, held the chief command; the tri-colour flag was their standard; a correspondence was opened with the French prisoners in Pondicherry, and a mutiny was excited in a battalion of the English Sepoys. But fortune proved as ever adverse to the French in India. Just at this time, the Nizâm's son rebelled; application was made to the English for aid, and they gave it with such promptitude, that the angry feelings of the Nizâm began rapidly to subside.

In 1795, died Mohammed Ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic, at the age of seventy-eight. He was succeeded by his eldest son Omdut-ul-Omrah. Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, chiefly with a view to the extrication of the wretched people of the country from the fangs of that vile brood of English usurers, by whom their very vitals were sucked out, proposed that he should cede certain territories to the Company. The supreme government went still further, and required that he should cede the whole of his dominions. But while Lord Hobart would have employed force, they would only use negotiation; and the consequence was, that things remained just as they were.

In this year, as the Dutch were now in alliance with the French republic, the whole of their possessions in India and the Indian seas were reduced.

In 1797, the Vizîr of Oude died. He was succeeded by his reputed son, Vizir Ally, who was

recognized by the British government. But the Governor-general, when, shortly after, on his way to Oude to examine more closely into the matter, was met at Cawnpore by the minister of Oude, who gave him satisfactory proof that Vizir Ally was not in any way the son of the late Vizir, but the child of another person by a menial servant, from whom he had purchased him, and then reared him as his heir; and that finally the only true heir to the throne was Saadut Ally, the brother of the late Vizir. After giving the subject a great deal of consideration, and ascertaining the real sentiments of the people, the Governor declared in favour of the real heir, and Vizir Ally was reduced to a private station, with an allowance, however, more suited to his usurped than to his real rank. In the treaty with the new Vizir, the annual subsidy was fixed at 76 lacs of rupees, and the English force in Oude at 10,000 men. The fort of Allahabâd was also surrendered to the British.

The Governor-general sailed for England in March, 1798. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Lord Teignmouth.

CHAPTER II.

Lord Mornington Governor-general—Intrigues of Tippoo—Arrangement with the Nizâm—Fruitless Attempts to treat with Tippoo—Invasion of Mysore—Siege and Capture of Seringapatam—Death and Character of Tippoo—Settlement of Mysore—Dhoondia.

Lord Hobart had been promised the government of India, but the appointment, it is not well known why, was cancelled. Lord Cornwallis was then appointed a second time, but his appointment also was revoked; and the choice of the ministry finally fell on the Earl of Mornington, a nobleman in the prime of life, of the most splendid talents, and who, having been for two years a member of the Board of Control, had been induced to make himself well acquainted with the affairs of India. He embarked toward the end of 1797, accompanied by his brothers Arthur and Henry; the former, then Colonel of the 33rd regiment, and destined to be England's greatest general; the latter, as soon appeared, a skilful diplomatist. At the Cape, he met and read the despatches going home from India, and he also met there and conversed with Major Kirkpatrick, who had been resident at some of the Indian courts. He felt himself, therefore, competent on reaching Calcutta, (May 17th, 1798,) to enter at once, and with confidence, on the active duties of his office.

On the 8th June, some one brought to Calcutta a most extraordinary document. It was a proclamation issued by Gen. Malartie, Governor of the Mauritius, recounting a proposal of the Sultân of Mysore to the French for an alliance, in order to expel the English from India, and inviting citizens of every description to enter the Sultân's service. The whole project seemed so wild and absurd—for who could suppose that men in their senses would thus seek, as it were, to put on their guard those whom they intended to attack?—that Lord Mornington was at first inclined to regard it as a forgery, and then as an artifice of M. Malartie; but inquiry proved its genuineness; and he then, in order to be prepared for action, directed Gen. Harris, who was acting as temporary governor at Madras, to collect the forces of that presidency.

The leading passion of Tippoo's soul was burning hatred of the English name and nation, and the destruction of their power in India was the object of all his thoughts. He had with this view endeavoured to excite Zemân Shâh, the Afghân, to invade India from the north-west; at Poona, his emissaries laboured to detach the Marattas from the English connexion; and at Hyderabâd, his agents, aided by the French officers in the service of the Nizâm, laboured for the same purpose. But it was to France, the fame of whose victories was now blazed through the world, that he looked for most effectual aid. During the late war he had sent, though ineffectually, an embassy to Paris, and now he renewed his efforts on the following occasion.

Some time in the year 1797 a French privateer put into the port of Mangalore to refit. Its captain, named Ripaud, who pretended that he was second in command at the Mauritius, asserted that he had been sent expressly to learn the Sultân's views with respect to a joint-alliance against the English. He was immediately admitted to Tippoo's presence, with whom he had many conferences; and though the Sultân's ministers had ascertained from the crew that he was not what he pretended to be, their infatuated master would not listen to them. It was arranged with the adventurer that he should ostensibly enter the service of the Sultân, who was to purchase his vessel, and send it with a lading to the islands, and with two *vakeels* on board. After some delay the vessel sailed, and proceeded to its destination. The *vakeels* were received by the governor with the greatest honours. Their despatches on being opened, contained a plan of joint operation for the conquest of the English and Portuguese possessions in India; for which purpose the Sultân would require them to furnish (so completely had he been duped by Ripaud), a force of from 30,000 to 40,000 men, of which from 5000 to 10,000 should be veteran troops, and the further aid of a fleet! Gen. Malartie, who had no force whatever at his disposal, could only offer to send the proposals to France, and meantime he issued the above-mentioned silly proclamation. In March the vakeels returned to their master, taking with them about 100 volunteers, both white and black, mostly the rabble of the islands. These citizens forthwith formed a Jacobin club on the improved model, of which the Sultân became a member, under the title of Citizen Tippoo. The tree and cap of liberty were raised, the emblems of royalty were burnt, and an oath of enmity to that institution taken, and all the wild fooleries of these vagabonds were viewed with approving eyes by the despot, because they shared his hatred of the English.

Lord Mornington, with the foresight and decision which marks the true statesman, resolved not to allow Tippoo to choose his own time, but to attack him at once, in case of his refusal to comply with the terms he would propose to him. For France at that time, it must be recollected, had a large naval force, and she, who in 1796 sent a fleet and army to Ireland, and this very year another to Egypt, might easily send to sea a fleet carrying troops enough to make Tippoo a formidable enemy;

the Marattas also might join the confederacy, and the Dûranee Shâh pour his troops into Hindustan.

The members of council at Madras hinted at the danger of provoking Tippoo to make, like his father, a sudden irruption into the Carnatic, if they began to make preparations for war. But the Governor-general was not to be daunted by such considerations; and he insisted on their reforming and increasing their military establishment at once.

A subsidiary treaty was formed with the Nizâm, and the force to be maintained in his territories was fixed at 6000 men. The French officers and serjeants in his service were to be dismissed, and the corps commanded by them to be broken up; and no Frenchman was to be taken into his service, or allowed to reside in his territories, without the consent of the Company.

The force under the French amounted now to about 14,000 men, only inferior to the British Sepoys, and well supplied with artillery. Raymond was dead, but his successor, M. Péron, was a far abler officer. As it was feared that it would not submit quietly, no attempt was made till a force from Madras had joined the British troops at Hyderabâd. The resident then called on the Nizâm to fulfil that article of the treaty; and when he hesitated, the British troops were marched near to the station of the French, and he was told that they would act without him. Being now compelled to choose between the two, he sent a body of 2000 horse to aid the British. A mutiny soon broke out in the French corps, and the officers, to escape the fury of their men, surrendered. The whole body of 11,000 men (the rest being away on a detachment), laid down their arms on a promise of their arrears of pay and of being continued in the service. The officers were sent to Calcutta, and thence to England, whence they were transmitted to France at the express desire of Lord Mornington, who also took care to secure for them their property and the arrears of their pay.

An attempt was made to conclude a similar treaty with the Peishwa; but it proved a failure, chiefly owing to the influence of Sindia.

Lord Mornington proposed to obtain from Tippoo the following securities against his hostile intentions: the cession of the whole of his possessions on the Malabar coast; payment of the expense caused by the preparations for war; the admission of residents from the allied powers at his court; and the expulsion and continued exclusion of all Frenchmen from his service and dominions. When intelligence of the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir by Lord Nelson arrived, it was communicated to him to show him how futile was his reliance on French aid. He was requested, but in vain, to let an English officer proceed to his court to explain the views of the allies. A letter from the Grand Seignior, calling on him to aid him against the French, was inclosed in one sent to him by the Governor; but he made no reply, and it was discovered, that an embassy from him to the French Directory was about to sail from the Danish port of Tranquebar. Lord Mornington, who had come in person to Madras, now resolved to suspend all further negotiations till the army should have made some impression on his territory.

As it was deemed expedient that Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-chief in Bengal, for whom the command of the army in the Carnatic had been destined, should remain at Calcutta, lest Zemân Shâh should invade India, the chief command was entrusted to Gen. Harris. The army contained 21,000 men, of whom about a third were Europeans. Corps under Lieut.-cols. Brown and Read were to act to the south of Mysore, to collect and convoy provisions. The Bombay army, of about 6000 men, under Gen. Stuart, was to advance from Malabar.

Toward the end of February, the Bombay army ascended the Ghâts, and in the beginning of March the army of the Carnatic, joined by the contingent from Hyderabâd, and by the troops of the Nizâm, which raised it to 37,000 men, ascended from the east, and entered the territory of Mysore. As the Bombay force was the smaller, Tippoo resolved to direct his first efforts against it, and on the 6th March, he suddenly attacked, in front and rear together, a division of three battalions of Sepoys, stationed at Sedaseer, under the command of Col. Montresor. Never was a more gallant resistance offered; for hours they stood and repelled the repeated charges of the enemy, till at length Gen. Stuart came up, and after a sharp conflict, drove off the troops that were acting on their rear, and then those in front. Tippoo then drew off his forces, and advanced to oppose Gen. Harris.

On the 9th, the allied army entered the territory of Mysore; and so slow was its progress, in consequence of the great quantity of artillery and of stores of all kinds which accompanied it, that it did not advance at the rate of more than seven miles a day, and it was not till the 27th that it reached Mallavelli, within forty miles of Seringapatam. Here they found Tippoo occupying some heights, whence he cannonaded them; and a general action ensued, in which the Sultân was defeated. Supposing they would advance by the road taken by Lord Cornwallis, and on which he had destroyed all the forage, he moved now so as to be able to act on their rear on that route. But Gen. Harris took a more southern direction, and crossing the Caveri some miles to the east of Seringapatam, entered a country which had not been wasted. When Tippoo heard of this movement, a chill struck him to the heart, and he said to his officers, "We have arrived at the last stage. What is your determination?" "To die with you," was the reply; for despondency had seized on all.

Though the British when they crossed the river were only twenty-eight miles from Seringapatam, owing to the want of a sufficient number of draft-bullocks, they were five days marching thither. At length, on the 5th April, they arrived on the ground to the south of the city, occupied by the Bombay army in the late war. Tippoo had there formed a new line of entrenchments, which could be supported by the guns of the fort, and his infantry lay between it and the river. The next day Gen. Floyd was sent with a strong division to bring up Gen. Stuart. The Sultân tried in vain to prevent their junction, and on the 15th the Bombay army joined that of the Carnatic.

On the 9th, Tippoo had written to Gen. Harris, asserting that he had strictly adhered to treaties, and demanding the reason of the advance of the English armies. The general referred him for a reply to the letters of the Governor-general, which he had not answered. The works of the besiegers were advanced every day. They had

established themselves on the north side of the river also; and on the 20th a battery from that side began to play against the works of the fort. Tippoo now became alarmed, and he wrote to inquire what was the pleasure of the English.

Lord Mornington, as Mill candidly owns, among his other great qualities, possessed the important one of sagacity in the choice of his instruments, and magnanimity in investing them with full powers to act of themselves, in the affairs with which he had entrusted them. He had appointed Lieut.-cols. Wellesley, Close, and Agnew, as commissioners to advise and assist, but not to control the general, and he had furnished him with drafts of two treaties, which he was to propose to Tippoo at his option. As scarcity of provisions was apprehended in the camp, and it was evidently Tippoo's interest to wear away the time, if possible, in negotiation, Gen. Harris determined, with the assent of the commissioners, to offer the Sultân the less favourable treaty, and to insist on its acceptance, and the fulfilment of two of the articles within eight-and-forty hours. In addition to the requisitions formerly made by the Governor-general, of the reception of residents at his court, and dropping of all connexion with the French, he was now required to surrender one-half of his dominions, pay the allies two crores of Sicca rupees, half down, half within six months, and give his four sons and four of his generals as hostages. To these terms Tippoo made no reply, and the works of the besiegers advanced.

On the night of the 26th, Col. Wellesley attacked and carried, though with no trifling loss, the enemy's line of intrenchments. Tippoo now (28th) condescended to reply to the general's proposals, and he stated that he was about to send two *vakeels* to discuss them. But as his object evidently was to gain time, Gen. Harris refused to receive them, unless accompanied by the hostages and the money; he gave till three o'clock next day for a reply. No reply came; the Sultân passed alternately from grief to stupor, but at times expressing his belief that his capital would still repel the enemy.

On the 30th, a battery began to play on the west angle of the fort; a second was then constructed, which commenced firing on the 2nd May. On the evening of the following day the breach was reported practicable; and early in the morning of the 4th the troops destined for the assault assembled in the trenches, in order that the enemy might not be put on their guard by perceiving any unusual movement. The hour of noon, when the orientals take their repose, was selected for the attack. The storming party consisted of 2400 Europeans, and 1800 Sepoys, divided into two columns; the command, at his own request, was given to Major-general Baird, who had been for some time a prisoner in Tippoo's hands.

At a few minutes after one, Gen. Baird stepped out of the trench, and, drawing his sword, cried, "Now, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers." Both columns rushed at once from the trenches, under cover of the firing from the batteries. The river, though then shallow, was wide, and its bottom rocky; the discharge of rockets and musketry from the fort was incessant, and numerous troops hastened to the defence of the breach. Yet, in seven minutes from the time that the troops issued from the trenches, the British flag was waving on its summit. When all the troops had come up they divided, one column going to the right, the other to the left, and they were to meet over the eastern gateway. The first met with little resistance; the second suffered severely from the fire of the enemy, its commander, Col. Dunlop, and all the principal officers being either killed or wounded. It however drove its opponents before it, and finally joined the other party over the gateway, and the whole of the works were now in the possession of the British.

The palace only remained to be reduced; and as soon as the men had been halted and refreshed so as to be ready to attack in case of its refusal to surrender, Gen. Baird sent Major Allen to offer, on condition of immediate surrender, protection to the Sultân and every other person in it. Major Allen advanced, bearing a white cloth fastened to a sergeant's halberd, and followed by some troops. The killidar and another officer descended by an unfinished part of the wall to meet him. He gave them most positive assurance, that the promises he made should be fulfilled, but required to be admitted instantly into the palace. To this they objected strongly, but were finally obliged to yield; and Major Allen taking with him two officers, one of whom spoke the native language with fluency, the whole party ascended by the broken wall, and then went down on a terrace where were a great number of armed men. Here, to give them confidence, he took off his sword, and handed it to the Sultân's officers. They assured him that Tippoo was not in the palace. He urged them not to delay a surrender, lest the troops outside should grow impatient of restraint. The killidar and the others then went away, and the British officers soon began to feel rather uneasy. Major Allen had thoughts of trying to get back his sword, but he wisely refrained. The people however on the terrace seemed to be very anxious for the surrender, and they begged that the flag might be held up in a conspicuous place, in order that the British troops might not force the gates. Major Allen now sent an urgent message to the sons of Tippoo, who were in the palace, and they replied that they would admit him as soon as a carpet could be spread for the purpose. Soon after the killidar came and conducted him to their presence. There were two of these princes, one of whom had already been as a hostage in the hands of the English. They assured Major Allen that their father was not in the palace, and on the solemn and reiterated assurances of the major for their safety, they gave orders to throw open the palace-gates, and admit the conquerors. Gen. Baird, who was before the gates, then ordered Major Allen to lead the princes to his presence. With the utmost reluctance they consented, and the general, whose feelings, beside the old irritation, had been excited by intelligence of Tippoo having murdered a number of English prisoners, had some thoughts of not keeping the conditions made with them unless they told where their father was. He however finally assured them of protection. The whole palace was then searched, except the *zenana*, on which a guard was left to prevent the escape of the Sultân if he was in it. The killidar was then severely threatened, and at length he declared that Tippoo lay wounded in a distant

part of the fort, to which he offered to conduct them; and then he led them to a gateway on the north side, where they found the Sultán's palankeen and one of his confidential servants lying wounded under it. He pointed to the spot where his master had fallen, and there among a heap of slain was found the dead body of Tippoo.

About noon of this day, Tippoo, who was now sunk in despondency, and who, bigot as he was, had had recourse to the superstition of the Bramins to discover the future, having performed the requisite ceremonies, sat down to eat his midday meal. He had been informed by two spies, and by one of his principal officers, that the English would certainly make the assault that day; but he would not believe it. He had not finished his meal when he heard that the storm had commenced. He hastened to the northern rampart, and placing himself behind one of the traverses, fired several shots, and it is said with effect, at the English as they approached. Having received a slight wound, he mounted a horse and rode to another part. As he advanced he received a ball in his right side, and then another in his left breast, and his horse also was shot under him. His faithful servant urged him to discover himself to the English, but the terrors of conscience forbade, and he cried, "Are you mad? Be silent." His servant then placed him in his palankeen under an arch of a gateway. An English grenadier who came up attempting to seize his rich sword-belt, Tippoo grasped his sword and made a blow at him, and the soldier fired and shot him through the temple.

Such was the end of Tippoo Sultân, a man in whom there is nothing to admire or esteem, unless we regard as such implacable hatred, savage cruelty, deep treachery, and blind religious zeal, united with gross superstition. Yet the philosophic historian of our Indian empire extends his favours to this prince also, for he was the bitter foe of the English. He glosses over his bad qualities, refuses to give credit to the details of his cruelties, extols him as a wise ruler, under whom agriculture, blighted elsewhere by English influence, flourished in Mysore, and commends the strict fidelity to him of his officers, without perhaps being aware that all their families were kept as hostages at Seringapatam.

The loss of the British during the whole of the siege was about 1500 killed, wounded, or missing; of the enemy there fell about 8000 in the storm alone. Tippoo's two elder sons and Kummur-ud-Dín, and his other commanders, all made their submission, and all the fortresses on the coast of Canara surrendered to Gen. Stuart when he returned to Malabar.

Guns, stores, and treasure to a great amount were found in Seringapatam. There were 929 pieces of cannon, 100,000 stand of arms, with abundance of swords, accoutrements and ammunition. In specie and jewels there was upwards of 1,100,000*l.*, which was distributed among the troops. But the most remarkable capture was Tippoo's library, in which was found a large collection of state-papers, which revealed his incessant activity to raise up enemies to the English; for it contained his correspondence with the French, the Afghans, the Marattas, the Nizâm and his officers, and even with Mohammed Ally of Arcot; and it fully proved the wisdom of the measures for his overthrow adopted by Lord Mornington.

The conquered territory was now to be disposed of. By the laws of war it might be divided between the British and the Nizâm; but Lord Mornington did not think it prudent to enlarge too much that prince's dominions, and he deemed it the better policy to divide a large portion of territory between him and the English, reserving a smaller portion for the Marattas, in case of their agreeing to a treaty to be proposed to them, and to form a new kingdom of Mysore out of the remainder.

The choice of a ruler for this kingdom was the next subject of deliberation. If one of Tippoo's sons was reinstated, it was feared that the British dominion would never be secure. Hatred of the English having been instilled into him from his birth, he would probably be for ever plotting against them; and as the power of the French had now attained an alarming height, and their passion for intrigue was so notorious, they might through his means excite another war in the south of India. It was therefore resolved to set Tippoo's family aside, and to place on the *musnud* the nearest male descendant of the former rajahs of Mysore. This proved to be a child only five years old, living with the rest of the royal family, in the utmost poverty, at Mysore, the ancient capital. As Tippoo had turned the palace there into a store-house, it was found necessary to erect a temporary shed for the ceremony of the enthronement, which was performed in the presence of Gen. Harris, the commissioners, and the Nizâm's chief officers. Out of delicacy toward the sons of Tippoo, this ceremony was not performed until after their departure for the Carnatic, where they were henceforth to reside, with an allowance from the Company far beyond any thing they had enjoyed during the lifetime of their father.

As this was in effect the creation of a new state, and the rajah could have no rights or claims but what he derived from those who raised him to the throne, Lord Mornington resolved to exclude the evil of double government, which had proved so mischievous in Arcot, Tanjore, and Oude, and to save the people of Mysore from the fangs of the Madras usurers. By the treaty made with the rajah, the British were to undertake the entire defence of his country for an annual subsidy of seven lacs of star-pagodas, and they were to have the power of regulating, when needful, the management and collection of the revenues, or of bringing under their own management any part of the territory of Mysore. He was also bound in the most stringent manner neither to employ Europeans, nor to suffer any of them to remain even a day in his territories, without the consent of the Company. The fort and island of Seringapatam were declared to belong to the Company, "in full right and sovereignty for ever," and stores and provisions from any quarter were always to enter it tax-free. We thus see that the Company was the actual sovereign of the country, and the rajah merely its viceroy; a shadow to veil from Indian eyes the real case, and to obviate European declamation about British ambition and cupidity. For the happiness of the people, it was the best form of government that could at that time be adopted.

As the Peishwa refused the territory intended for him, on the terms proposed, the whole of the

reserved territory was divided between the Company and the Nizâm, the former getting one-third, the latter two-thirds. The share of the Company was Canara, Coimbatore, Daraporam, and Wynaad, and their dominions, thus extended from sea to sea, south of Mysore.

Pensions, to be paid by the rajah of Mysore, were granted to Tippoo's principal officers; to Kummur-ud-Din, who declined making any terms, trusting entirely to the generosity of the English, was assigned a handsome jagheer out of the reserved territory. All had cheerfully submitted, and the peace of the country seemed only likely to be disturbed by a man, whom the English finding in irons at Seringapatam had set at liberty. This was a Hindoo adventurer, named Dhoondia, who, having been captured in a plundering excursion into Mysore, had become a Mussulman on compulsion. Tippoo took him into favour, and gave him a military command, but afterwards threw him into prison. He now contrived to collect a few horsemen, and moved toward Bednore. His force gradually increased, he got possession of some of the strongest places, and he levied contributions in a most merciless manner. Some British troops were sent against him, and having routed his freebooters, and captured his fortresses, they forced him to fly to the territory of the Marattas, who speedily plundered him of all he possessed. He soon, however, again had a large body of followers, and he captured several of the Maratta forts; and as it seemed needful to crush him before he became formidable, the English demanded permission to enter the Maratta territory in pursuit of him; the permission was given, though reluctantly, and Col. Wellesley set about reducing him without delay. He soon destroyed a division of his army, on the banks of the Malpoorba, and having followed him over that river, pursued him into the territories of the Nizâm, where he routed him again at a place named Conaghul, and Dhoondia himself was among the slain.

CHAPTER III.

Settlement of Tanjore—Of Surat—Of the Carnatic—Fate of Vizir Ally of Oude—Embassy to Persia—Settlement of Oude—Expedition to Egypt—Disunion between the Governor-general and Court of Directors—College of Fort William.

THE plan of administration which Lord Mornington had formed for Mysore, was that which he was resolved to extend, if possible, to all the states connected with the Company. Ample experience had shown that the system of double government, beside being highly injurious to the Company, was ruinous to the people; for every prince in this condition was sure to be surrounded, exclusive of native depredators, by a famished crew of European usurers and adventurers; and to leave them totally independent, would have been destructive alike to all parties. And surely justice will declare that the real interest of the people, and even that of the Company, should take precedence of that pretended one of a ruler who only sought his own gratification, and was usually a mere puppet in the hands of others.

The first country in which this change was made, was Tanjore. The Rajah Tuljajee, when dying in 1787, adopted a boy ten years old named Serfojee, or Sarbojee, whom he declared his heir, appointing the venerable missionary Schwartz to be his private, his own half-brother Amar Sing his public guardian. Amar Sing, however, disputed the validity of the adoption, and the question being referred by the government of Madras to a council of pundits, it was by them pronounced illegal, and Amar Sing was placed on the musnud. In 1793, on the repeated complaints made by Schwartz, of the cruel treatment his ward experienced at the hands of Amar Sing, that youth and the widow of Tuljajee were removed to Madras. It now was asserted that the pundits had been bribed to make their decision, and an appeal was made against it. The opinions of the most learned pundits of the south, and of Bengal and Benâres, had been taken, and they were all in favour of the validity of the adoption. The inquiry had lasted for some years, but it had been concluded before Lord Mornington reached India, and he was instructed to restore the young Rajah to his rights. Amar Sing, whose government had been as bad as possible, was deposed, and Serfojee declared Rajah of Tanjore. The English took the whole civil and military administration into their own hands, assigning a splendid provision out of the revenues to the young Rajah.

A similar change took place at this time in Surat on the other side of India. Many years ago the English had, at the desire of the inhabitants, taken possession of the castle and fleet, that is, undertaken the defence of that city, while the civil authority was in the hands of the Nabob. Both alike derived their authority from the Emperor, and on the decline of the empire, the chief authority naturally fell into the hands of the English, who have henceforth appointed the Nabob. The evils of divided administration proved the same here as elsewhere, and the death of the Nabob just at this time giving the opportunity of a new arrangement, one was made similar to that in Mysore and Tanjore.

The settlement of the Carnatic was a matter of far more importance. The government of Omdut-ul-Omrah, was not one whit better than that of his father, and he rejected all proposals for modifying the treaty of 1792; he even had the audacity to claim a share in the distribution of Tippoo's dominions, and positively refused to transfer any portion of his territory to the Company for the payment of their expenses for the defence of his country. But at this very time that he was acting in this high manner, documents were found in Tippoo's library, proving that both his father and himself had been in active and confidential correspondence with that prince, to whom they furnished both information and advice. The correspondence had been carried on through two vakeels who had attended Tippoo's sons to Madras. The papers and these men were examined by a commission composed of Col. Close, and of Mr. Webbe, Secretary to the Madras government, and though perhaps they did not suffice to convict the Nabobs of actual treachery, they clearly showed their feelings and wishes. The Governor-general was so con-

vinced of this, that he resolved to deprive Omdut-ul-Omrah at once of his power; and he sent (May 28, 1801,) a despatch to that effect to Lord Clive, the governor of Madras, accompanied by a letter to the Nabob. But this last was on his death-bed when they arrived, and motives of humanity prevented the delivery of the letter. To preserve order and prevent plunder, a guard of the Company's troops was placed at the palace-gate with his knowledge and consent. He breathed his last on the 15th July. Mr. Webbe and Col. Close immediately proceeded to the palace, where they learned that the Nabob had by a will appointed his reputed son Ally Hussein his successor, with two confidential Khâns for his advisers. They had an interview with these Khâns, and at their desire further discussion was deferred till after the performance of the funeral. When it was over, the discussion was again renewed; the commissioners insisted on the transfer of the whole administration, the Khâns on the part of the Nabob's family made a counter-proposal. The commissioners then insisted on seeing Ally Hussein himself: to this the Khâns showed great reluctance; but in the next interview he appeared, and expressed his entire acquiescence in what the Khâns had done on his part. It was then declared that Lord Clive would hold a personal conference with him. The Khâns tried in vain to evade this; and when they had retired to make preparations, Ally Hussein said in a low voice that he had been deceived by them. When the Khâns returned, the whole of the party proceeded to the tent of the officer of the guard, where they were met by Lord Clive. After the introduction, all were ordered to withdraw, and his Lordship explained every thing to Ally Hussein, who yielded a ready assent to the treaty proposed, and promised to execute it next day. He, however, had totally changed his mind when the deputies came next day to fetch him; and although Lord Clive when he saw him pictured to him in the strongest colours the fatal consequence of his persistence in that course, he was not affected, and he received unmoved the intelligence that he was not to be a Nabob. It was now determined that the dignity should be conferred on Azeem-ud-Doulah, the son of Ameer-ul Omrah, second son of Mohammed Ally. As this young prince was in the palace, and his life might be in danger, if the intentions of the British in his favour were known, the troops at the gateway were ordered to take possession of the palace. His safety was thus secured; and shortly after in an interview with Lord Clive, he was most agreeably surprised by the offer of being placed on the musnud. He gave a cheerful consent to the proffered terms, and readily signed the treaty giving them effect; and thus at length, after years of misery, the prospect of good government began to dawn on the Carnatic.

The folly of Ally Hussein may excite surprise. In his last interview with Lord Clive he acknowledged that he had been spoken to on the subject. And it is true; that vile brood of usurers and oppressors, the disgrace of the English name, that so long had battened on the misery of the Carnatic, left no effort untried to prevent the settlement of that country. It was they that had drawn up the counter-project, which, as the commissioners observed, had evidently been translated from a western language; and in which the utmost care had been taken to exclude the Company from any share in the management of the funds destined for the payment of Mohammed Ally's debts. But they had no Warren Hastings now to uphold them, and they therefore failed most signally.

By a new treaty made at this time with the Nizâm, he transferred to the Company his late acquisitions in Mysore, in lieu of payment for the subsidiary force; an arrangement to the advantage of all parties, but most of all to that of the people of the ceded districts.

There now remained only the Nabob of Oude to be dealt with, and he proved a very troublesome person. Before however we come to him, we must conclude the history of his rival, Vizir Ally. He had been allowed to reside at Benâres, but it being discovered that he was in communication with Zemân Shâh, Mr. Cherry, the agent, was instructed to inform him, that he must remove to Calcutta. He at first showed great reluctance, but soon ceased to object. Mr. Cherry had been often warned to be on his guard against him, as he had never forgiven the share he had had in his deposition; but he slighted the warnings. One morning Vizir Ally came with his suite to breakfast with him. He soon began to expatiate on his wrongs, and then suddenly he and his followers fell on and murdered Mr. Cherry and Capt. Conway, who happened to be of the party. As they rushed out they met a Mr. Graham, whom they also slew. They then hastened to the house of Mr. Davis, the judge; but he placed himself with a spear at the head of a narrow staircase, and defended himself so well that he forced them to retire. Troops came now into the town. Vizîr Ally attempted to defend his house, which was forced, but not till he had made his escape. He sought refuge in Bhotwul, near Nepâl; then having collected some troops, he made an irruption into Gorukpore; but being routed by the British there, he sought refuge with the rajah of Jyneghur, who surrendered him for a sum of money, only stipulating that his life should be spared, and that he should not be kept in chains. He was then closely imprisoned at Calcutta.

The condition of Oude caused well-grounded uneasiness to the Governor-general. Saadut Ally was a slave to avarice, and cared for power only as the means of gratifying that passion. His troops were a disorderly tumultuous rabble, with their pay always of course greatly in arrears. There was also in Oude the usual swarm of European adventurers, thinking only of their private gains, and giving the Nabob ruinous counsels. On the other hand, Oude was exposed to invasion by the Marattas, and Zemân Shâh was continually threatening to pour his hardy Afghans into the plains of India. In 1798 he had actually advanced as far as Lahore, when a rebellion, caused by his brother, recalled him home. The defence of Oude rested with the British; for the Vizîr's troops were worse than useless, and it therefore behoved them to see that their force in Oude should be adequate to that purpose.

In order to avert danger from the side of Câbul, the Governor-general resolved to try to form an alliance with the Shâh of Persia, and a splendid embassy, headed by Capt. Malcolm, proceeded to that country. A treaty was concluded, by which the Shâh engaged to lay waste, with a large army,

the country of the Afghans, if they should invade India. He also pledged himself not to allow the French in any way to enter his dominions.

With respect to the vizir of Oude, Mr. Lumsden, the resident at his court, was instructed to urge the necessity of a *reform* of his military establishment, *i. e.* the disbanding of the whole of his troops, except those requisite for purposes of state and collection of revenue, to be replaced by a force entirely British. As Mr. Lumsden did not seem to possess the requisite energy of character for dealing with the vizir, he was replaced in June by Col. Scott. During some months the vizir kept the new resident in play. At length he intimated to him his wish to resign in favour of one of his sons, and retire into private life. This, however, did not meet the views of the Governor-general, who wished the resignation to be made in favour of the Company, more especially as none of his sons were legitimate. He also would require, he said, that as Saadut Ally had inherited his brother's treasure, he should pay that prince's debts before he retired. When the vizir heard of these terms, he gave up his project, which possibly he had never seriously entertained.

A whole year had now passed away and nothing had been effected. It was therefore resolved to proceed at once to the reform of the army. Additional British troops were (1800) marched in, and, delicate as the matter was, the skill and prudence of the English agents, and their care to have the troops paid all their arrears in full, prevented any resistance, and by the end of the year the measure was accomplished. The vizir now (1801) made another effort; he alleged that the revenues of the state were not such as would enable him to pay the subsidy for the British troops. The reply was, that in that case he must resign to the Company the Doab, (the region between the Jumna and Ganges,) and Rohilcund, and more if they were not sufficient. To this, after much evasion and delay, he consented, but with many conditions to which the British authorities could not accede; for he required to be quite independent in the remainder of his dominions, the British troops being all kept in the ceded districts; and by one article he would be left the power of plundering the Begums, and whomever else he pleased. When these were rejected, he tried to defer the business, by expressing his intention of going on a pilgrimage.

In the month of September, the Governor-general, quite wearied out by delay, sent to Lucknow his brother and private secretary, Mr. Henry Wellesley, who at length (Nov. 14) was enabled to conclude a treaty by which the vizir consented to receive in his reserved dominions a body of British troops, and to be guided by the advice of the officers of the Company in the exercise of his authority. Early in the following year (1802) the Governor-general proceeded in person to Lucknow, where the vizir made an earnest but ineffectual effort to be relieved from the presence of a resident at his court. Mr. H. Wellesley was now placed, with the title of Lieut.-governor, at the head of a commission for settling the ceded provinces. Some refractory Zemindars were reduced by force, and the Nabob of Furrokabâd was placed on a footing similar to that of the Rajah of Tanjore, and Nabob of Arcot. Mr. Wellesley then departed for Europe.

The whole of the Mohammedan states of India were thus brought under the direct influence of the Company, to the real and great advantage of the people, and even of their rulers. In proceeding as he had done, the Governor-general had two great objects in view; namely, the security of the British interests, and then the happiness of the people. That his views were those of a high statesman can hardly be questioned; but in the consciousness of superior talent, he was too fond of writing long state-papers, and endeavouring to show that he was proceeding according to the strict rules of European public law, instead of boldly avowing his real motives, and hence has laid himself open to attack. In fact, he was menaced with impeachment for the affair of Oude, and our Benthamite historian actually revels in the dissection of his reasonings, and becomes the zealous defender of Rajahs and Nabobs against the aggressive spirit of the Company's government; on which, however, (such is his real honesty,) he pronounces the following just eulogium. "I believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of goodwill towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe."

We must now go back a little in our narrative.

When news of the overthrow of Tippoo reached England, the Governor-general was advanced a step in the peerage, and became Marquis Wellesley.

When the affairs of Mysore had been settled, a body of troops, part British, part native, was directed to assemble under Col. Wellesley at Trincomalee in Ceylon. It was the intention of the Governor-general to employ them in the reduction of the French islands, privateers from which had been doing incalculable damage to the British commerce. He requested Adm. Rainier, who commanded a British squadron in the Indian seas, to co-operate in the attack; but that officer, filled with the old professional jealousy, refused, on the pretext, that no such expedition should be undertaken, without the express command of the king; a principle that would put an end to all free-will, and all enterprise in the service. Lord Wellesley easily exposed its folly, and the authorities at home condemned it; but the occasion was lost, and British commerce continued to suffer.

Lord Wellesley was then thinking of employing these troops against Batavia, when orders from home came to send a force from India, to aid in expelling the French from Egypt. The native troops of the different presidencies cheerfully volunteered for this distant service; and a force of 7000 men, British and native, embarked at Bombay under the command of Gen. Baird. At Jidda they heard of the defeat of the French, and death of Gen. Abercrombie. They landed at Koseir, crossed the desert, and then went down the Nile in boats to the isle of Rhooda, whence they marched to Rosetta; but ere they arrived a treaty had been arranged with the French. In June,

1802, they embarked at Suez and returned to India, having thus served to give the world a high idea of the power and resources of England.

On new-year's day, 1802, Lord Wellesley wrote to the Court of Directors, tendering his resignation. In effect, he had met with treatment from that body which a man of his high spirit could not endure. Nor indeed could harmony have well been expected; for he was a nobleman and a statesman, while they could not divest themselves of the principles of the counting-house. They had become sovereigns, and yet they would act as merchants.

Lord Wellesley had increased the army, a measure of absolute necessity; the Directors sent a peremptory order for its reduction, which he wisely disobeyed. He gave his brother, Col. Wellesley, when left to command in Mysore, such additional allowances as he deemed suitable; the Court ordered them to be reduced. He had appointed his other brother, and other men of capacity, to situations of trust; and the Court, assuming a power which it did not possess, insisted on displacing them, and nominating others in their place.

But it was not merely that his enlarged views of polity went far beyond the limited vision of the Directors, his measures had excited the anger of a powerful, and deeply selfish body, who had great influence in the Court—the ship-owners of London. For, finding that the tonnage allotted to private merchants in the Company's ships was quite insufficient, beside being uncertain and dreadfully expensive, he permitted the merchants of Calcutta to take up ships on their own account, for carrying Indian goods to England. As these ships were Indian-built, the Company and the ship-owners trembled for their respective monopolies, and became virulently hostile to the Governor-general, who, however, was supported by the Board of Control.

The foundation of the college of Fort William was another measure which transcended the ideas of the Directors, and therefore met with their most strenuous opposition.

The duties of the servants of the Company in India were no longer what they had been originally. Formerly they had only to act as clerks and factors, now they were required to discharge the duties of statesmen and judges, as residents at native courts, as collectors of the revenue, as presidents of courts of justice. It appears plain to common sense, though Lord Wellesley seems to have been the first to perceive it, that the mere reading, writing, and arithmetic education of the old writer would no longer suffice, and that a knowledge of the languages, laws, and institutions of India was now become absolutely requisite. To give this and other appropriate branches of knowledge, the Governor-general, whose own mind was richly stored with the literature of the west, and all whose ideas were vast and magnificent, erected a college at Fort William, whither he proposed that all the young men destined for the three Presidencies should be sent, and where, under the guidance of two pious clergymen, they should be subjected to academic discipline, while their minds should be enlarged, and their hearts strengthened by instruction in ethics, history, jurisprudence, and international law, and be taught the requisite oriental languages by competent native instructors. But the Directors were both affrighted and offended; they ordered the immediate abolition of this splendid institution, and would only permit of meagre establishments at the three Presidencies, for teaching the common dialects of the country. Lord Wellesley's plan was certainly too vast, and was liable to many objections; but he had made it evident that a change of system was indispensable, and the Company afterwards founded a college in England for the proper instruction of their young civilians.

At the request of both the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, Lord Wellesley consented to remain some time longer in India, and he soon had abundant occupation for his time and talents.

CHAPTER IV.

Affairs of the Marattas—Treaty of Bassein—Commencement of Maratta War—Sindia's French Troops—Capture of Ahmednugur, Baroach, and Alyghur—Battle of Delhi—Delivery of the Emperor—Capture of Agra—Battle of Laswaree—Of Assye—Capture of Asseerghur—Battle of Argâm—Capture of Gawylghur—Treaties with the Rajah of Berar and Sindia.

THERE were now, in reality, only two powers in India, the English and the Marattas. The former was united under one system, and one hand, and had the support of a powerful empire, and the advantages of European knowledge; the latter was divided into a number of independent, and sometimes hostile states, and had only the degree of knowledge hereditary in the east. In any conflict, and such was sure to come, the final result could hardly be doubtful.

Lord Wellesley, to avert the danger of collision, had been anxious to induce the Peishwa, as head of the Maratta name, to form a subsidiary treaty with the British government. That prince was at this time, however, merely a puppet in the hands of Sindia, now the most potent of the Maratta chiefs; for the power of the Holkar family had nearly ceased. In 1797, Tukajee Holkar died, leaving two legitimate, and two illegitimate sons. The two former disputing the succession, repaired to Poona, where Sindia murdered one, and made the other his dependent, he also possessed himself of the infant child of the murdered prince. But Jeswunt Râo Holkar, one of the remaining sons, having made his escape from Poona, contrived to collect an army of adventurers, and proclaimed his infant nephew, and on the 14th October, 1801, he gave Sindia battle near Indore, the capital of the Holkar family, at the head of nearly 70,000 men. But he was routed, and fled, with the loss of his artillery and baggage. He, however, speedily repaired the disaster, and in the following year he marched with a large force for Poona.

The Peishwa was anxious to emancipate himself from the power of Sindia, but at the same time he had a strong dislike to becoming a dependent on the British. He therefore refused to consent to the proposed treaty until after the defeat of Holkar, and the augmented power of Sindia, when he

offered to subsidize six battalions, but not to be stationed in his dominions, and to assign territory in Hindustân for their payment. As he really had no territory north of the Nerbudda, and there were other objections, this treaty was rejected. The negotiation then languished, till Holkar was within a short distance of Poona. The Peishwa then sent to the resident, Col. Close, offering to agree to the troops being stationed within his territory, and to assign for their maintenance a district bordering on the Toombudra. A few days after (October 25, 1802) the troops of the Peishwa and Sindia gave battle to those of Holkar. The Peishwa, to be prepared for the event, moved out of the city with the banner of the empire, and at the same time sent his minister to the resident with the subsidiary treaty, and his seal affixed to it. After a sharp conflict of some hours, victory remained with Holkar. The Peishwa fled to the fort of Singhur, and thence to the coast, whence he was finally conveyed in a British ship to Bassein (December 16). He was there joined by Col. Close, who had remained some time at Poona, where he was treated with great respect by Holkar, and on the last day of the year the subsidiary treaty was signed and sealed.

The British were now to put the Peishwa in possession of his dominions. For this purpose the whole subsidiary force of the Nizâm's territories, and a portion of his own troops, marched to the frontier town of Porainda, within 116 miles of Poona. It was then joined (April 15, 1803) by a large detachment of the Madras army, under Major-gen. (late Col.) Wellesley, to whom the chief command had been assigned by Lord Clive. The whole force now numbered about 24,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. Holkar had retired from Poona, leaving there a garrison of 1500 men. It was reported that it was their intention to plunder and burn the town on the approach of the British, and Gen. Wellesley, in order to prevent this, made a march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours, and arrived unexpectedly before Poona. The garrison retired when he appeared (April 20), and soon after (May 13) the Peishwa, accompanied by Col. Close, re-entered his capital.

It was a great object with Lord Wellesley to induce Sindia to agree to a treaty, similar to that with the Peishwa. For this purpose Col. Collins had been sent to the camp of that prince, which was now at Bûrhampûr, in the Deckan. Sindia thence moved to meet the army of the rajah of Berâr, accompanied at his own desire by Col. Collins, to whom, in a conference he said, "After my conference with the rajah of Berâr, you shall know whether it will be peace or war." These chiefs met on the 4th June, and after various fruitless efforts to obtain explicit answers from them, the resident quitted Sindia's camp on the 3rd August, and war with the confederates commenced.

The plan of the war formed by Lord Wellesley was grand and comprehensive. While Gen. Wellesley was to act against the confederates in the Deckan, Gen. Lake, the commander-in-chief, was to enter Sindia's territories from Oude, destroy if possible his army there, under French officers, extend the British dominion to the right bank of the Jumna, and obtain possession of the person of the emperor. It was also intended to annex Bundelcund, and to take Cuttack from the rajah of Berâr, which would give to the British the whole line of coast from Bengal to Cape Comorin. According to Lord Wellesley's usual and generous practice, both commanders were vested with the fullest powers, either for war or negotiation.

The French corps of Sindia's, which had become so important, had been originally formed by a man named De Boigne, a native of Savoy, who, having entered the French service, had afterwards passed to that of Russia. Having become acquainted with Lord Percy, he afterwards proceeded to Madras, furnished with letters from that nobleman to Lord Macartney, and to Mr. Hastings. He there entered the service of the Nabob of Arcot, but he soon went to Bengal, and telling Hastings that his object was to explore Cashmere and the shores of the Caspian, he proceeded to Lucknow, with letters from him to the vizîr and the resident. He, however, stopped there, and engaged in trade; but soon after he entered the service of Sindia, to whom he was strongly recommended by the resident, Mr. Anderson. He disciplined for him two battalions, which were found so effectual, that the number was finally raised to twenty; and all Sindia's victories had been gained by their discipline and prowess. These battalions were officered by both French and Englishmen; they were formed into three brigades, whose commanders were named Perron, Pedrons, and Sutherland. Some years later, De Boigne, who had amassed a fortune of, it is said, 400,000*l.*, quitted the service of Sindia, and returned to Europe, and the chief command then fell to Perron.

Perron had come to India as a common sailor, in a French ship of war. He had entered De Boigne's corps, and had risen by his talent. As in the usual way districts had been assigned to the former for the support of his troops, Perron succeeded to them, and he consolidated his power, and extended his influence so much, that he had, as Lord Wellesley says, "founded an independent French state on the most vulnerable part of the Company's frontier," namely, on the banks of the Jumna.

The two British armies took the field simultaneously, early in August. On the 8th, Gen. Wellesley appeared before Ahmednugur: and on the refusal of the killidar to surrender, the pettah was carried, and a battery was opened against the fort (10th). Two days after (12th) it surrendered, and Sindia thus lost all his territory south of the Godâveri. A few days later (29th) the town and fort of Baroach, on the Nerbudda, were taken by a force sent against it, under Col. Wordington.

On that very day (29th) Gen. Lake crossed Sindia's frontier from Canouj, and proceeded to attack a part of Perron's corps which was stationed near Alyghur. The British cavalry, supported by the infantry and the guns, advanced against it; but the enemy fled without venturing to receive their charge. An attempt to bribe Pedrons, who commanded in Alyghur, to surrender, having failed, preparations were made for the attack of that fort; and ere break of day, on the 4th September, the storming party, led by Col. Monson, advanced against it. Though exposed to a destructive fire, they succeeded in blowing open the first gate; they forced a second, and a third; at the fourth they could only force the wicket, but they made

their way through it, and mounted the ramparts, and in the space of an hour from the first attack they were masters of Alyghur. They found here a great quantity of stores, and 281 pieces of cannon.

Shortly after, Perron put into execution a design he had formed for some time, namely, that of quitting Sindia's service, and retiring with his property, which was large, into the British territory. For this he had various motives; the English he saw were determined to destroy his power; but even if they did not, he had been supplanted in the favour of Sindia, who was both jealous and afraid of him, by a native chief named Ambajee Inglia, and this last had intrigued successfully with his officers. After the capture of Alyghur, he renewed the application he had more than once made to the British authorities; it was promptly complied with, and he proceeded to Lucknow.

Gen. Lake now advanced toward Delhi, and on the 18th, after a march that day of eighteen miles, his troops arrived within six miles of that city. But just as they were going to encamp, the enemy began to appear, and the general on advancing with his cavalry to reconnoitre, found them drawn up in order of battle on a rising ground, their flanks protected by swamps. They were commanded by a Frenchman named Louis Bouquin. Gen. Lake resolved to attack them, and sent orders to his infantry and artillery to advance. Meantime the cavalry suffered from the enemy's guns, and the general's own horse was killed under him. He at length ordered the cavalry to fall back, in the hope of drawing the enemy from their position. His plan succeeded; they advanced with their guns; the cavalry still retreated till the infantry came up, they then opened and allowed the latter to pass; and though the enemy continued to rain grape and shot on them, they steadily advanced with their muskets to their shoulders, till within a hundred yards of the enemy's line. They then fired a volley, and, headed by the general, made a charge of bayonets. The enemy broke and fled; the cavalry poured through intervals made by the infantry, and pursued them to the Jumna. The loss of the enemy is stated at 3000, that of the British at 450 men, in killed and wounded. All their stores and ammunition, with sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, fell into the hands of the victors, who encamped next day opposite to Delhi. On the 14th they began to cross the river, and on that same day Bouquin, and four other French officers, surrendered themselves.

In Delhi they found the Emperor Shah Alum, now a blind, helpless, poor old man. He had been for many years a puppet in the hands of the Marattas, but he experienced his worst treatment, not from them, but from Gholâm Kâdir, a son of Zabita Khan, the Rohilla, whom he had made his Ameer-ul-Omrah. The emperor, to escape his tyranny, sought in secret the aid of Sindia, on whose approach the Rohilla resolved to plunder the palace and retire. For this purpose he violated even the sanctity of the Zenana; and after insulting and abusing the emperor in every possible way, he deprived him of sight with his dagger, and then fled to Meerut[3]. When Perron got the command of this part of India, Delhi was under his authority, and the unhappy emperor met with somewhat kinder treatment. Still his lot was a hard one, and he rejoiced at the prospect of falling into the hands of the British. He received the general seated under a small tattered canopy, the best his fortunes would allow, and bestowed on him all he had to give, a profusion of high sounding titles. To restore him to dominion was now a thing not to be done; but means were henceforth supplied sufficient to yield him in abundance all the enjoyments of life.

Leaving Lieut.-col. Ochterlony with a garrison in Delhi, Gen. Lake marched for Agra. On his arrival, (Oct. 4,) he summoned the fort. No answer being returned, he cleared the town of the troops that were in it, and commenced operations for the siege. On the 14th the garrison sent demanding a cessation of hostilities, till they should have proposed terms. The general agreed, and sent an officer to them; but he found nothing but dissension among them, and while he was there they even recommenced firing. They had only sought to gain time; on the 17th, however, when the great battery was completed, and began to play on the fort, they offered to capitulate, and next day they marched out, being secured in their persons and property. The ordnance found here exceeded 200 guns.

An army composed of fifteen battalions from the Deckan, and two which had escaped from Delhi, provided with a numerous train of artillery, being still in the field, Gen. Lake left Agra (27th) in pursuit of it. By leaving his heavy artillery at Futtipore, and by making forced marches, he reached on the 31st the ground which the enemy had quitted that morning. He now resolved to pursue them with his cavalry, in order to detain them till the infantry should come up; and setting out at midnight, after a march of twenty-five miles he came up with them soon after day-break (Nov. 1,) near the village of Laswaree[4]. Supposing them to be in retreat, he departed from his original plan, and resolved to attack them at once. But his cavalry could make no impression, and men and horse were mowed down by the Maratta artillery. At 11 o'clock the infantry came up, and the enemy then sent offering to surrender their guns on terms. He gave them an hour to consider, and when at the end of it no answer had come, he put his troops in motion. The infantry moved in two columns, one of which was to turn the enemy's right and attack the village of Laswaree, the other was to support the first; the cavalry was formed in two brigades.

The march of the first column lay along the bank of a rivulet where they were for some time concealed from the view of the enemy, but as soon as they came in sight, a tremendous fire of grape was opened upon them. The king's 76th was at the head of the column, and such was the havoc made in its ranks, that when it arrived at the point from which the charge was to be made, Gen. Lake thought it better to attack at once with it and some other infantry which had come up, than to wait for the rest of the column which had been delayed. As this "handful of heroes," as the general justly termed them, advanced, they

[3] He was afterwards taken, his eyes, ears, nose, hands, and feet were cut off, and he was shut up in an iron-cage. In this condition he was sent to Delhi, but he died on the road.

[4] It lies seventy-three miles north-west of Agra.

suffered dreadfully f m the enemy's canister-shot, and the Maratta cavalry then bore down on them, but by their steadiness they repelled it; and while the 29th dragoons made a charge, the infantry advanced on the enemy's line, which they broke and routed. The remainder of the column now came up and joined in the attack on the enemy's second line, which after a stout resistance was driven back. The British cavalry then advanced and completed the rout of the enemy, who fled, leaving all their artillery. About 2000 men surrendered, with the camp and baggage. The slain on their side is said to have amounted to 7000; the English had 172 killed, and 652 wounded.

The victory was due to the indomitable valour of the 76th, and the native troops which supported them. The conduct of the general is liable to the charge of temerity and want of judgment; but of his courage there could be no doubt. He headed every charge, he had two horses shot under him; and his son, who was his aid-de-camp, was himself wounded in the arm as he was remounting his gallant father.

The victory of Laswaree completed the overthrow of Sindia's power in the north. We will now trace the contemporary course of events in the Deckan.

After the reduction of Ahmednugur, Gen. Wellesley moved to Aurungabâd. The troops of the confederates were now at Jalnapûr, forty miles eastward of that city, and their design seemed to be to go on southwards, cross the Godâveri, and advance on Hyderabâd. To prevent them he proceeded to that river, and marched along it eastwards. The enemy then moved northwards from Jalnapûr till they were joined by sixteen of Sindia's disciplined battalions, commanded by two Frenchmen. Meanwhile Col. Stevenson with the Nizâm's subsidiary force had taken Jalna; and as the two British forces were now near each other, the two commanders held a conference (Sept. 21), and arranged a plan for a combined attack on the enemy on the morning of the 24th at a place named Bokerdun, where they were said to be lying. The general was to attack their left, Col. Stevenson their right. The former marched so as to arrive on the 23rd within twelve or fourteen miles of the enemy; but on that day to his surprise, he found himself within six miles of them, for Bokerdun being the name of the district as well as of the town, it was the former his informants had meant. It was only the enemy's right that was at the town; their camp extended thence several miles to Assye. As Col. Stevenson would not be up till next day, and it was reported that the enemy was about to retire, and as if he himself were now to fall back he might be harassed by them, Gen. Wellesley resolved to give battle, though their army contained four times as much infantry as his own, had a numerous cavalry, abundance of artillery, and was strongly posted.

As the enemy's right, in front of which he found himself, consisted wholly of cavalry, he resolved to attack their left;. and crossing a river which lay between them, he advanced to the attack with his infantry in two lines, supported by the cavalry in a third. The enemy having occupied the village of Assye with infantry and cannon, Gen. Wellesley directed the officer commanding the pickets on the right to keep out of shot from that place. But he, mistaking the orders, led directly on it, followed by the 74th, which was to support the pickets. The consequence was, that they suffered most severely by the cannonade from Assye, and were also charged by the enemy's cavalry, to repel which the general was obliged to bring the British cavalry sooner into action than he had intended. It also suffered from the cannonade, and when the time came for employing it in pursuit, it was unable to act. Another bad result was, that when the cavalry was thus withdrawn from the rear, many of the enemy who had, in Indian fashion, lain on the earth as if dead, rose and turned their guns on the backs of the British. The enemy finally went off, leaving 98 pieces of cannon in the hands of the victors, and 1200 men dead on the field. The loss of the British was very severe: out of a force of 4500 men, they had 428 killed, and 1138 wounded, a third of the entire number.

It was a disputed point among military men, whether Gen. Wellesley was justified in engaging with such a disparity of force; but all were unanimous in praise of his skill and conduct in the action. His personal courage also was conspicuous, and two horses were killed under him.

When Col. Stevenson came up, he was prevented from going in pursuit of the enemy by the necessity there was for the wounded men having the care of his surgeons. He then moved northwards into Candeish, where Bûrhampûr, the capital, opened its gates (Oct. 15), and the strong fortress of Asseerghur, named the Key of the Deckan, capitulated as soon as he had opened his batteries against it (20th). Meantime, Gen. Wellesley remained in the south, covering his operations, and protecting the territories of the Nizâm and the Peishwa by a series of rapid and harassing marches.

Sindia, who had now lost the whole of his possessions in the Deckan, became anxious to treat, and his envoys, though without proper credentials, appeared in the camp of Gen. Wellesley. Their master at first disavowed, then acknowledged them; and at length a cessation of arms was accorded him, provided he always kept at a distance of 40 miles from the British troops: but the general refused to extend it to the troops of the rajah of Berâr, whose interests he wished to separate from those of Sindia.

Col. Stevenson was now moving, by directions of Gen. Wellesley, to attack the strong hill-fort of Gawylghur, to the north of Elichpûr, in Berâr; and meantime that general advanced to support him, descending the Ghâts by Rajoora. The rajah of Berâr's army, commanded by his brother, was at a place named Parterly, not far from Elichpur, and the cavalry of Sindia, who had not yet ratified the armistice, lay within four miles of it. Col. Stevenson, on hearing of Gen. Wellesley's advance, prudently halted, and the armies joined (Nov. 29) within view of the enemy's camp, who retired at their approach. The general had no intention of pursuit, as the day was hot and the troops had made a long march; but on his going to put forward the pickets, he saw the enemy drawn up on the plains of Argâm, about six miles from where he had intended to encamp. His plan was formed at once: he resolved to attack; and the British troops advanced in a single column, parallel to the enemy's lines, the cavalry leading. The line of

the enemy extended five miles; the village of Argâm, with its gardens and enclosures in its rear, and a plain, intersected with water-courses, in its front. Sindia's cavalry was on the right, a body of the irregular horse, named Pindarries, on the left.

The British infantry were formed in line for the attack, supported by the cavalry in a second line. When the cannonading began, three regiments of native infantry, who had behaved admirably at Assye, took panic, and were flying, but Gen. Wellesley, who was luckily at hand, stopped and rallied them, and then the whole line advanced in good order. The 76th and 78th regiments cut to pieces a body of Persians, to whom they were opposed on the right, and the charge of Sindia's cavalry on the left being repelled with great slaughter, the whole line broke and fled, leaving thirty-eight guns, and all their ammunition. The lateness of the day saved them, for it was the opinion of Gen. Wellesley, that if there had been an hour more of daylight, not a man would have escaped. As it was, their loss was very great; that of the British was only 346 killed and wounded.

The British army now marched to Elichpûr, where they formed a hospital (Dec. 6), and next day they moved for Gawylghur. This stood on a lofty mountain, on a range between the sources of the Taptee and Poona rivers. It consisted of an inner fort on the steep southern extremity, an outer one to the north, and beyond this a strong wall at the village of Labada. To each of these there was a gate opening to the country: but the two first were so difficult of approach, that it was deemed most advisable to make the attack at the wall, though it imposed the hardship of a toilsome march of thirty miles through the mountains. This task was committed to Col. Stevenson, who overcame the enormous difficulty of dragging artillery through these nearly pathless mountains; and on the night of the 12th he erected his batteries. Gen. Wellesley did the same on the south, to occupy the attention of the enemy. On the night of the 14th, the storming party from the north advanced under the command of Col. Kenny, while two attacks from the south were made by part of the troops of Gen. Wellesley. After a short time the fort was carried, with the loss of 126 men killed and wounded.

The rajah of Berar had been already negotiating for peace, and the fall of Gawylghur made him redouble his efforts, and, on the 17th, a treaty was concluded. By this treaty the rajah resigned to the English and their allies, the province of Cuttack, which had been reduced by a force under Col. Harcourt; he relinquished all claims on the possessions of the Nizâm; he bound himself not to employ any Europeans or Americans without the consent of the Company; and agreed to separate himself from the confederacy formed against them by Sindia and other Maratta chiefs.

Sindia also was now really anxious for peace, and on the 30th, a similar treaty was concluded with him. He surrendered Baroach and Ahmednugur and their territories, and all the country north of those of the rajahs of Jypûr and Jôdhpûr, and the rana of Gohud; in which however his family, and ministers and officers, were to retain their jagheers under the British government. He gave up all claims on the British and their allies, and agreed to exclude Frenchmen and others from his service.

The Peishwa having had claims on Bundelcund, the British, as his allies, had entered that country and reduced it. The treaty of Bassein was now modified: the cessions he had made in the Deckan and Guzerat were returned to him, and Bundelcund was taken in exchange.

Early in the following year (1804), Capt. Malcolm was sent to Sindia's camp, and concluded with him (Feb. 27) a treaty of alliance, Sindia agreeing to receive a subsidiary force. Treaties of alliance had also been formed with the rana of Gohud and some of the Rajpoot princes.

CHAPTER V.

War with Holkar—Col. Monson's Retreat—Siege of Delhi—Battle of Deeg—Rout of Holkar—Capture of Deeg—Siege of Bhurtpore—Conduct of Sindia—Resignation of the Marquis of Wellesley.

Holkar alone now remained to give trouble to the British government. He had been preparing to take share in the late war, and a body of his troops, led by his friend and confederate Ameer Khân, was actually on its march to join Sindia, when tidings of the battle of Assye caused it to halt. He, however, plundered the territories of some of the British allies, and when warned of the consequences of such conduct, and counselled to send *vakeels* to the British camp, his demands were so unreasonable and so insolent, that orders were sent (Apr. 16.) to Gens. Lake and Wellesley to commence operations against him.

Gen. Wellesley, who had expected, and was therefore prepared for this event, sent orders to Col. Murray, who commanded in Gûzerât, to advance toward Sindia's capital, Ûjein, in order to co-operate with Gen. Lake, who was now moving in quest of Holkar. This chief having been on a real or pretended pilgrimage to Ajmeer, was now plundering the lands of Jyenuger or Jypoor, to protect the capital of which, a detachment was sent forward under the command of Col. Monson. At its approach, Holkar moved southwards, and the British followed, Monson's detachment being in advance. As the only place which Holkar now possessed north of the Chumbul was the fort of Tonk, fifty miles south of Jypoor, a detachment was sent to attack it; and by blowing open the gates in the usual way it was carried (May 15). Holkar being now at too great a distance for pursuit, the general, as the hot winds were prevailing and the cattle even perishing, resolved to lead all the troops but Monson's detachment back into the British territory. There seems to have been no great wisdom in this determination; for the hardships endured and the loss of men caused by the power of the fiery wind, were such, that it would have been just as well to advance as to retreat.

Holkar had been followed by two corps of native cavalry commanded by Col. Gardiner of the rajah of Jypoor's, and Lieut. Lucan of the king's service, and Col. Monson, on being joined by Col. Don from Tonk, moved for Kôtah, (150 miles S. E.

of Ajmeer,) where he arrived early in June. Being joined by some of the rajah's troops, he advanced still southwards to the strong pass of Mokundra on the frontiers of Malwa, and thence to Hinglaisghur, a fort belonging to Holkar ninety miles north of Ûjein, and which was taken without difficulty (July 2). He thence moved further south, in the hope of being able to communicate with Col. Murray. But that officer after advancing some way, had, it seems, lost courage and fallen back; and Holkar, who had been keeping the Chumbul between himself and Monson, now taking heart, crossed that river, and approached his camp. Monson had been joined by Lieut. Lucan and his irregular cavalry, and by a corps of Sindia's cavalry under his cousin Bappoojee Sindia, and by the treacherous advice it is said of this last, he resolved to retire to the Mokundra pass. He set out on the morning of the 8th, leaving the cavalry on the ground, with directions to follow in half an hour's time. They had marched twelve miles when Bappoojee arrived with tidings that Lucan's corps had been cut to pieces by Holkar. The march was immediately resumed, and next day they reached Mokundra. Here they were attacked on the 11th by Holkar's cavalry in three divisions, but they repelled them with severe loss. Monson now fearing that the enemy might get into his rear, leaving his camp standing to deceive them, retired in all haste to Kôtah, where on their arrival the rajah refused to receive them, or to supply them with provisions. As the rains had begun, the country was all inundated, and on their march for Tonk the guns became so embedded in the mud, that they were obliged to spike them and leave them. On the 29th they reached Tonk. Col. Monson, as he had been directed by Gen. Lake not to retreat, remained here, and he received (Aug. 14) some reinforcements and a supply of grain from Agra. At length, not considering the place tenable, he left it (22nd) and advanced to the banks of the Banas, which river not proving then fordable, he was obliged to make a halt; and this gave the enemy time to bring up all their forces. On the 24th, the river was passed in the face of the enemy, but the baggage had to be abandoned, and on the next night they reached the fort of Khooshulghur, to which a party with the treasure under Capt. Nicholl had been sent forward from the Banas. Here Monson discovered that some of his troops (which were all native) were in correspondence with the enemy, and in spite of his precautions nearly two companies deserted. The march was resumed next day, the troops moved in an oblong square; the enemy's attacks were all repelled with great spirit, and at sunset on the 28th they reached the Biana pass. It was intended to halt there for the night; but Holkar having brought his guns to bear on them, they found it necessary to proceed. All order now was lost; the different battalions made for Agra as best they could, and on the 31st the last of them reached that city.

Monson's retreat was a most unfortunate event, and was the cause of much loss of men and money in the course of the war; for it led the people of India to think that Holkar was able to resist the English, gave confidence to that prince, and encouraged the Jât rajah of Bhurtpore to join him, and was near causing Sindia and the rajah of Berâr to resume their arms. Monson was greatly to blame. He had been directed to remain at the passes of Boondee and Lakery to the south of Tonk, and he advanced to the Mokundra pass and even fifty miles beyond it, and in the whole of his proceedings he showed a great want of judgment and decision[5]. Murray also was culpable in falling back for so trifling a cause, and the commander-in-chief had perhaps no right to retire when he did, and leave so small a detachment as Monson's at such a distance; he also greatly, and on very insufficient proofs, underrated the power and resources of Holkar: and by his orders not to retreat, he was in a great measure the cause of the retreat proving so disastrous.

Holkar now advanced with the whole of his army to Muttra, thirty miles north of Agra, and Gen. Lake leaving Cawnpore (Sept. 3), marched to Agra, on reaching which (22nd) he assembled the whole of his force at Secundra, six miles off, and thence (Oct. 1) began his march for Muttra. Holkar, leaving his cavalry to engage his attention, sent off the whole of his infantry and guns to Delhi, and on their arrival (8th), they commenced a cannonade on that city.

Delhi had never been considered defensible. It was ten miles in circumference, surrounded by an ill-constructed wall, in most places without a parapet. The whole of the troops that could be brought together to defend it did not exceed 800 men, all natives, and some of them merely irregulars, several of whom had deserted at the approach of the enemy; and they had only eleven guns, while those of the enemy were 130, and their troops counted 20,000 men. So little hope had Gen. Lake that it would be possible to defend the town, that he wrote to the resident, Col. Ochterlony, directing him to abandon it, and draw the troops into the citadel, for the defence of the emperor. But Lieut.-col. Burn, who commanded the troops, resolved to hold the town.

The cannonade of the besiegers was kept up day and night. On the evening of the 10th, a party of the garrison made a sortie, and seized and spiked some of the guns. At daybreak on the 14th, the guns of the enemy opened in every direction, and a large body of their infantry advanced with ladders to the Lahore gate; but they were driven back with great gallantry, and were obliged to leave their ladders behind. Toward evening they made a show of drawing some guns to another of the gates, but during the night they raised the siege and retired. The siege had lasted nine days, and, as Wilson justly observes, "The defence of Delhi only wants an Orme to form a worthy pendent to that of Arcot by Clive."

Holkar now moved northwards, and crossed the Jumna with his cavalry at the ford of Pâniput. Gen. Lake advanced to Delhi (18th), where he made a needless stay till the end of the month. He then crossed the Jumna himself with the cavalry, to act against that of Holkar. Their first service was to relieve the gallant Col. Burn, who on his return to his command at Saharunpore, had been surrounded in a small gurree, or mud-

[5] "It is somewhat extraordinary," said Lake of Monson, "that a man, brave as a lion, should have no judgment or reflection." He did not perceive that he was unconsciously drawing nearly his own character.

fort, at Sâmlee, by the troops of Holkar. These fled at the appearance of the English, by whom they were rapidly pursued.

A few days after, Gen. Fraser left Delhi with the infantry and artillery, in pursuit of those of Holkar, which had not crossed the Jumna. He found them (Nov. 12) encamped, with their right covered by a fortified village, and their left by the fortress of Deeg. Early next morning, the British troops, led by Gen. Fraser in person, having made a detour to avoid a morass which lay before it, attacked and carried the village, and then charging down the hill, the first range of the enemy's guns. The firing from the second range, as they advanced, was tremendous, and their gallant leader lost a leg by a cannon-shot. The command now devolved on Col. Monson, and the second range was soon carried. The troops advanced, carrying battery after battery, for a space of two miles, till they came under the guns of the fort. They then returned and attacked a body of the enemy's troops, which some battalions had been left to keep in check, and drove them into the morass, where many of them perished. It was the opinion of Gen. Lake that this was the hardest-fought action that occurred during the war. It was a contest less with men than with guns. Eighty-seven guns were captured. The loss of the English in killed and wounded was upwards of 600 men, among whom their leader was included, whose wound had proved mortal.

Meanwhile Gen. Lake was pursuing Holkar so closely, as not to allow him a moment's time for plundering the country. Each day lessened the distance between them, and at length, (16th) the British having marched 58 miles in the last twenty-four hours, fell suddenly by night on Holkar's camp, near Furrukabâd. The surprise was complete; the men were mostly sleeping, and the horses at picket, when a discharge of grape from the horse-artillery announced their arrival. Holkar, who would not at first believe that they could possibly be so near, mounted and fled with precipitation. His loss was about 3000 men slain, but the number of desertions which followed, reduced his cavalry-force to one half. He fled across the Jumna, still pursued by Gen. Lake. Holkar joined the remains of his infantry at Deeg, and the British general that of Col. Monson at Muttra (28th), after having, in the course of a month, marched about 500 miles after the flying foe.

The rajah of Bhurtpore, to whom Deeg belonged, had been one of the first of the tributaries of the Marattas to join the British in the late war. He had sent his troops to their aid, and he had been taken into a defensive alliance. But it had been discovered that he was in secret communication with Holkar; he had supplied his army at Deeg with provisions and protected its baggage, and his troops had openly taken part in the battle. It was therefore resolved to chastise him, and as soon as a battering-train had arrived from Agra (Dec. 13), Gen. Lake laid siege to Deeg. This town was surrounded by a strong mud-wall, with a deep ditch. The citadel, strongly built and fortified, stood in its centre. When a breach had been effected (23rd), a storming party marched to it in three divisions, at midnight. They speedily made themselves masters of the town, and the next night the garrison evacuated the citadel. A large quantity of guns, stores, and ammunition, became the prize of the captors. The year 1804 closed with this event.

During the time of Monson's retreat, Col. Murray had advanced into Holkar's dominions, and taken Indore, his capital (Aug. 24). He thence moved northwards, reducing various forts, till he reached the Mokundra pass (Nov. 30), whence he advanced to Shahabâd, forty miles west of Nauvor (Dec. 25).

In the Deckan Gen. Wellesley, his presence being required in Bengal, had left the chief command with Col. Wallace, and this officer, during the month of October, by reducing the forts of Chandore and Galna, deprived Holkar of all his territory south of the Taptee.

On the 1st January, 1805, Gen. Lake being joined by the 75th regiment moved from Muttra, to which he had returned from Deeg, and on the third day he came before the rajah's capital, Bhurtpore. Having driven in Holkar's battalions, which were lying under its walls, he erected batteries against the town, and when a breach was reported practicable (9th), he gave orders for the assault to be made in the evening. But various causes of delay occurred, and when the storming party came to the ditch, they found the water breast-high. Most of the men stopped here, and those that went over were driven back with great loss. Among the slain was the commander, Col. Maitland. A breach having been effected to the right of the former one, a second storm was attempted (21st); but the ditch, which had been reported to be narrow, and not very deep, was found to have been made to form a sheet of water in front of the breach. A portable bridge which had been brought, proving too short, it was attempted to lengthen it by a scaling-ladder; but both fell into the water, and could not be disengaged. An officer and some of the men then swam over, and ascended the breach, but were forced to retire with speed. The whole of the storming party was now drawn off, having had no less than eighteen officers and 500 men killed and wounded, by the grape-shot and musketry of the garrison.

Supplies having come from Agra, and the army having been reinforced by Col. Murray's troops, now under Gen. Jones, and a breach effected in another place, it was resolved to try a third assault (Feb. 20). At break of day the garrison made a sortie, and were near carrying the trenches in which the storming party was stationed. The men thus somewhat fatigued and dispirited were then formed into three columns, of which one, led by Col. Don, was to advance to the breach, while another, under Capt. Grant, was to carry the enemy's trenches and guns outside of the town, and a third, under Col. Taylor, was to attack one of the gates. The second was quite successful, and was near getting into the town with the fugitives; the third, having lost its scaling-ladders, was forced to retire. When. Col. Don ordered his column to advance, the men of the king's 75th and 76th, which formed the head of it, refused to move. The 12th and 15th native infantry then took their place, and gallantly followed Col. Don, and the former regiment succeeded in planting its colours on the bastion; but the colonel seeing how little hope there was of success, recalled the whole party. The loss of the British, in killed and

wounded on this fatal day, was 894 men. Next morning Gen. Lake appeared on parade, and severely reprimanded the Europeans, who had refused to obey orders. They all then offered to volunteer for another assault, which was made that day under Col. Monson. All that valour could achieve was performed; but there was in reality no breach, the fire of the garrison was murderous, and they flung down on the assailants as they clambered up the face of the bastion, large logs of wood, flaming cotton steeped in oil, and pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles. Col. Monson at length ordered a retreat, when nearly 1000 men had been killed or wounded.

In these four assaults the British had had upwards of 3000 men killed and wounded, their guns were almost all become unserviceable, their ammunition was nearly expended, and their provisions exhausted, and the men were quite worn out with fatigue. It therefore became necessary to withdraw from before Bhurtpore, the only fortress in India that has successfully resisted the British arms. Gen. Lake assigned various causes for his want of success, such as the strength of the place, the number of its defenders, and, above all, the incapacity of his engineers. But surely the blame ought to rest with the man, who undertook the siege under such disadvantages, and who so wantonly squandered the lives of his men. The truth is, that like too many other British commanders, he relied on the valour of his men for covering his own want of skill and knowledge.

The rajah was, no doubt, elated with the success of his defence; but, on the other hand, he saw that Holkar could not hold out against the power of the British, and he resolved to endeavour to secure himself in time. His vakeels, therefore, soon appeared in the British camp (March 10), where they were favourably received, and negotiations were commenced. While they were going on, the British cavalry was employed in pursuit of Holkar's; and as the rajah appeared to be trying to gain time, the army was moved (April 8), and took up nearly its former ground, before Bhurtpore. This made him somewhat uneasy, and at length (17th) a treaty was signed, in which he agreed to pay twenty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, and give one of his sons as a hostage.

During the whole course of this war the conduct of Sindia had been very suspicious. He had entertained a vakeel of Holkar's in his camp; he required the British to put him in possession of Gohud and Gwalior; he demanded to be supplied with money, to enable him to march from Bûrhampûr, where he then was, to Ûjein; and he even had the audacity to expect, that in the event of his joining a British force, he should have the command of the whole. While these points were in discussion between him and Mr. Webbe, the resident, his camp was entered by his father-in-law, Shirzee Râo, the most unprincipled man even among the Marattas, and a thorough hater of the English; and he soon gained unlimited power over the feeble mind of his son-in-law.

Sindia soon after put his troops in motion, entered the territories of the Nabob of Bhopâl, and marched along the north banks of the Nerbudda for Sâgur, a city belonging to the Peishwa, in Bundelcund, on whom he pretended to have some unsettled claims. He invested that fort; but on the remonstrance of Mr. Jenkins, who, Mr. Webbe being dead, was acting as resident, he commenced his march for Ujein. He, however, made such delays, and such positive information was obtained of his being secretly engaged in a plan for a confederacy against the English, that the resident quitted his camp, and marched to a distance of fourteen miles from it. At Sindia's earnest entreaty, however, he returned, and during his absence Sindia's whole body of Pindarries fell on his camp, and plundered it of every thing of value, killing and wounding about fifty men of his escort. Sindia expressed great sorrow, but pretended that he had no power over the Pindarries. The resident still continued to accompany his march.

Sindia at length (March 22) nearly cast off the mask, by announcing to the resident that it was his intention to march to Bhurtpore, in order to mediate between the contending parties. Lord Wellesley, when informed of this design, resolved to be prepared for war, and in case of its accruing to reduce the power of Sindia, to what he terms "the lowest scale." With this view he directed Col. Close, to whom he gave the same extensive powers as had been held by Gen. Wellesley in the Deckan, to make preparations for reducing the southern part of Sindia's dominions; and he instructed the commander-in-chief (now Lord Lake) to oppose his march to Bhurtpore, and at the same time to provide for the safety of the resident.

Sindia had advanced (29th) as far as Subdulghur on the Chumbul. Two days after he was joined by Ambajee Inglia, and some days later (Apr. 7), Ameer Khân left Bhurtpore with the avowed purpose of joining him also. On that same day, Shirzee Râo marched toward Bhurtpore with a large body of horse and Pindarries, thinking that the rajah was still at war. From Weir, a place within fifteen miles of it, he wrote to Lord Lake, to say, that he had been sent by Sindia to negotiate; in reply, he was desired not to advance on any account. He did however advance to within a short distance of that town; but on the rajah's refusal of a personal interview, he returned to Weir, where he was joined by Holkar with about 3000 or 4000 horse, and they proceeded together to the camp of Sindia, who received Holkar in a most cordial manner, and excused himself for it to the resident by his extreme desire of promoting peace. Holkar had been but a few days there, when, with Sindia's connivance, he seized and tortured Ambajee, till he made him pay him a large sum of money.

Lord Lake at length (21st) was enabled to leave Bhurtpore, and march in the direction of Sindia's camp. On the tidings of his approach, the confederates, in alarm, broke up, and marched for Sheopore, a town about half-way to Kôtah. Owing to the fatigue, the heat, and the want of water, a great number of their men perished before they reached it. Sindia, still afraid of war, kept the resident with him. From Sheopore they marched (May 10) for Kôtah, and they moved thence in the beginning of June toward Ajmeer. As Sindia still refused to let Mr. Jenkins depart, instructions were forwarded to Lord Lake to be prepared for war as soon as the season would permit.

There can be little doubt, that if military operations had been resumed, the object of Lord Wel-

lesley, namely, making the English the conservators of the peace of India, would have been attained in a short time, and with little comparative expense. The restless, turbulent Holkar would have been totally crushed, and the weak, ductile Sindia have been rendered powerless for evil; while the rajah of Berâr, even if so inclined, could not have succeeded in disturbing the tranquillity of the country. But India was not destined yet to enjoy the blessings of internal repose; the extensive and enlightened views of Lord Wellesley were not comprehended at home by the public, the directors, or even by the ministry; complaints were made of his ambition, and of the costliness of his administration; he was represented as a ruthless oppressor of the native princes: his tender of resignation was therefore accepted, and his successor appointed, and in the end of July he quitted India.

The Marquis Wellesley was one of the most brilliant statesmen that have adorned the British cabinet; the man, in our opinion, most resembling the great Chatham. He was the first governor of India who saw clearly that in that country the British power must be all or nothing. His policy, as we have said, was essentially pacific; and the wars in which he engaged, expensive as they were, were wars of necessity, of which the objects were the security of the British power, and consequent on it the promotion of the happiness of the people of India[6]. In Lord Wellesley we have further to admire the noble confidence which he placed in those to whom the execution of his plans was committed, and the kindness and courtesy with which he always treated them; his zeal for the intellectual culture of the servants of the company; the lofty disinterestedness with which he rejected all share in the treasures of Seringapatam, though proffered by the crown, and the high-toned feeling which led him, on his return, to refuse to accept of office, though pressed on him, while menaced with impeachment for his conduct in India[7]. Little prolific as Ireland has been in great men, she can boast that in Edmund Burke, she gave the profound and upright statesman, who first exposed the misconduct of the British in India, and gave origin to the plans formed for its improvement; in the Marquis Wellesley, the greatest of its governors-general, and the founder of the system on which our Indian empire rests; and in the Marquis of Hastings the man who completed the system of his illustrious predecessor.

[6] Mill, who is very hostile to Lord Wellesley, devotes scores of pages in the case of the wars with Tippoo and the Marattas, to showing their impolicy, and injustice, and iniquity. He is, of course, easily refuted by Wilson. A witness before the House of Commons, in 1832, thus expressed himself; "All our wars cannot, perhaps, be with propriety considered wars of necessity; but most of those, by which the territories we possess have been obtained, and out of which our subsidiary alliances have grown, have been wars, I think, of necessity, and not of choice. *For example, the wars with Tippoo and the Marattas.*" The name of this witness was James Mill.

[7] A Mr. James Paull, who had been engaged in trade in Oude, and while there, was under obligations to Lord Wellesley, having purchased a seat in Parliament, exhibited articles of impeachment against him for his treatment of the Nabob of Oude. A dissolution took place, and Mr. Paull did not get into the next Parliament; but Lord Folkestone (the present Earl of Radnor) brought forward these charges in a milder form, with, however, no success.

CHAPTER VI.

Lord Cornwallis Governor-general a second time—His System—His Death—Sir George Barlow Governor-general—His Policy—Massacre at Vellore—Lord Minto, Governor-general—The Sikhs—Rise of Runjeet Sing—The Afghâns—Embassies to Persia—Case of Ruddy Râo, at Madras—Insurrection in Travancore—Mutiny of Officers of Madras Army.

THE successor appointed to Lord Wellesley was a man of the most opposite character, and most opposite views of Indian policy. It was the Marquis Cornwallis, formerly Governor-general of India, and lately Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, where his conduct had gained him a name for temper and moderation. Though now far advanced in years, the public eye fixed on him as the man best qualified to restore tranquillity to India, and make it (that vain dream) a source of direct wealth to England; and his own ambition, or judgment, led him to accept the onerous office. But in truth he was a man of merely respectable talents, and of contracted views, yet obstinate in maintaining his own opinions. His system now was simply to reverse all that had been done by his great predecessor.

Lord Cornwallis landed at Calcutta on the 30th July. Two days after he wrote to inform the directors of his intention of proceeding to the upper provinces to prevent the renewal of war, by which, he said, nothing was to be gained. In a few days after (Aug. 9), we find him writing from his boats on the river. In this letter he says, that without a great and speedy reduction of expense, it would be impossible to renew the war with Sindia and his confederates.

It had been a part of the policy of Lord Wellesley to induce the inferior chiefs and their men, in the service of the Maratta princes, to quit it, by offering to take them into British pay. Such numbers of them had come over, that their pay amounted to a large annual sum, and their services were nearly worthless. Lord Cornwallis resolved to dismiss them, and in order to pay them their arrears, he had recourse to his old plan of retaining the bullion destined for China.

The system of subsidiary alliances, though it had in some measure originated with himself, Lord Cornwallis totally condemned. With respect to the Peishwa and the Nizâm, he hoped in time to be able to withdraw the British from the disgraceful participation, as he expresses it, in their intrigues, oppression, and chicanery. As to Sindia, his plan was "to compromise, or even to abandon the demand, which had been so repeatedly and so urgently made for the release of the British residency;" and also "to abandon our possession of Gwalior, and our connexion with Gohud." The Jyenugur tribute was also to be restored to him, and he was to be permitted to station a force in two districts, reserved to him in the Doab, as the private estates of his family. On his side, he was to renounce the jagheers and pensions granted to him in the former treaty, and to settle a pension on the rana of Gohud. As for Holkar, he was to get back unconditionally the whole of his territories. There now only remained the Rajpoot and Jât rajahs beyond the Jumna, most of whom had

drawn on themselves the hatred of the Marattas, by their siding with the British. These, however, he resolved to abandon also, giving to them, in lieu of the British protection of which they had been assured, the territory to the west and south of Delhi, which had not been yet disposed of. He hoped that by union among themselves they would be able to resist the power of Sindia, and keep him from making any attempts on the British possessions; for, he adds, "his endeavours to wrest their territories from the hands of the rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpore may be expected to lay the foundation of interminable contests, which will afford ample and permanent employment to Sindia." So, while the generous policy of the so-styled warlike Wellesley would preserve the British empire in India, by maintaining peace among the native princes, the Machiavellian policy of the pacific Cornwallis would repose it on the "interminable contests," the bloodshed and massacre, the invariable concomitants of Indian, especially Maratta, warfare.

Lord Lake wrote strongly remonstrating against this unwise and disgraceful system of policy. But ere his letter arrived, the Governor-general was no more. He breathed his last (October 5) at Ghazipore, near Benâres.

As the British ministry does not seem to have contemplated the death of a man, who sailed for India, oppressed alike with years and infirm health, and no provision had been made for that event, the supreme power now devolved provisionally on Sir George Barlow, the senior member of council. The new Governor lost no time in replying to Lord Lake's letter, which had arrived the day after Lord Cornwallis' death. Lord Lake had urged strongly the ill-policy of withdrawing protection from the native princes on the frontier, and shown that the consequence of their contests would be, that a considerable military force should be kept up to guard the British provinces against the large armies of irregulars that would be contending on their frontiers. He also dwelt strongly on the loss of honour and reputation that would follow such conduct. Sir G. Barlow, in reply, announced his determination to carry out the views of his predecessor, which were those of the ministry and Court of Directors. "I am of opinion," he added, "that we must derive our security either from the establishment of a controlling power and influence over all the states of India [Lord Wellesley's system], or from the certain operation of contending and irreconcileable interests among the states, whose independence will admit of the prosecution of their individual views of rapine, encroachment, and ambition [Cornwallis's system], combined with a systematic plan of internal defence, such as has been uniformly contemplated by this government." This last he preferred; and surely the celebrated "Prince" does not contain any maxim of what is regarded as its diabolical policy, more coolly avowed.

No time was lost in giving effect to these principles. A treaty with Sindia was concluded by Col. Malcolm (November 23), and another with Holkar (December 24), on the banks of the Beyah, in the Punjâb, whither he had retired in the hope of engaging the Sikhs to support him. The rajahs of Boondee and Jypoor, both faithful allies of the British, were sacrificed without a scruple. Even the request of Lord Lake, that the alliance with the last should not be renounced till Holkar had passed his territories, on his way home, was rejected; the worthy Holkar was not to be deprived of an opportunity of plunder. These rajahs were weak, but those of Macherry and Bhurtpore had some strength; Lord Lake's representations in their behalf were therefore listened to, and matters were not precipitated.

The British government thus, in the words of the Jypoor vakeel, "made its faith subservient to its convenience;" and Sir George Barlow, a man of limited mental powers, and apparently incapable of appreciating the Wellesley policy, to the expositions of which he had been listening for years, as far as in him lay overturned the British empire in India, by acting in blind obedience to the narrow, ignorant, and shortsighted policy of those who thought that an empire could be gained and kept without expense, and that the English could remain only one of the powers of India. It is gratifying to see that no policy has ever been more universally condemned; not a single writer, of any character, has, we believe, attempted to defend it. Lord Lake, who, though in vain, had made every effort to sustain the honour of his country at this dark period, quitted India as soon as he was able, leaving behind him a character for daring valour, and other high qualities, the memory of which is still cherished by the native army.

When the account of the death of Lord Cornwallis reached England, the Directors, with the consent of the Board of Control, appointed Sir George Barlow to be Governor-general. He now applied himself sedulously to what nature had best qualified him for, the reduction of expenditure, and the providing of the Company's investment of goods. The former he reduced to one-half, so that the finances were soon in a flourishing condition. He also introduced the British revenue and judicial arrangements into the newly-acquired territories in Cuttack, Bundelcund, and the Doab.

While he was thus engaged, alarming tidings arrived from Madras. The fortress of Vellore, which was the residence of Tippoo's family, was garrisoned by portions of one European regiment, the 69th, and of two native regiments, the 1st and 23rd, the former being 370, the latter 1500 in number, the whole commanded by Col. Fancourt, of the 69th. They had separate barracks, and the officers resided in detached private houses. On a sudden, at about three o'clock on the morning of the 10th July, 1806, a general attack on the English posts was made by the native troops. The main body of them attacked the barracks, into which they poured volleys of musketry and discharges of field-pieces which they had placed opposite the doorway. Others watched the houses of the officers to shoot them as they came out, and others broke into the houses of the other Europeans and murdered all they met. They thus before day had killed thirteen officers, among whom was Col. Fancourt, and Lieut.-col. McKerras of the 23rd, and in the barracks there were eighty-two privates killed, and ninety-one wounded. Fear of the bayonet kept them from entering, and the men defended themselves against their fire as well as they could by the beds and furniture. At length some of the officers made their way to the barracks, and placing themselves at the head of the men forced a passage through the assailants and

reached the ramparts. They then proceeded to the magazine, but found it in the hands of the mutineers. Being thus disappointed in their hopes of obtaining powder, they returned to the ramparts, losing many men in their passage to and fro, and there maintained their ground with the bayonet. The Sepoys now began to disperse in search of plunder, and many of them who had either unwillingly joined the mutiny, or wished to secure what they had got, quitted the fort.

As Arcot is only nine miles from Vellore, intelligence of what had occurred reached that place at six in the morning. Lieut.-col. Gillespie of the 19th dragoons, immediately put himself at the head of a squadron of that regiment, and a strong troop of the 7th native cavalry, and set out for Vellore, directing the rest of the cavalry with the galloper guns to follow without delay. He reached Vellore at eight o'clock, and found the two outer gates of the fort open, the third closed; but some of the 69th who had taken shelter over it let themselves down and opened it. They were obliged to wait till ten for the guns, in order to blow open the fourth gate, and when that was effected the cavalry rushed in and joined the 69th, which with Col. Gillespie had already descended from the ramparts. The mutineers made no steady resistance; they were bayoneted by the 69th, or cut down by the cavalry. From 300 to 400 were killed, many were made prisoners, and the number was rapidly augmented by those whom the police or the country-people seized on their flight and brought in. Some were afterwards tried by court-martial, condemned and executed, others discharged for ever from the service; the remainder were pardoned. The numbers of the two regiments were erased from the army-list.

Various causes were assigned for this outbreak. Some saw in it a plot to overthrow the English power, and raise one of the sons of Tippoo to the throne of Mysore. But none of these princes could be proved to have had any previous communication with the mutineers, and though some of their retainers joined them, and the standard of Mysore was brought from one of their houses during the insurrection, it did not appear that the princes had any knowledge of it. Besides, there were Hindoos as well as Mussulmen among the mutineers, who could not be suspected of any affection for the family of Tippoo. As little reason was there for another suspicion that was formed, of its being a general plan of the Mohammedan princes of the Deckan for the expulsion of the English. There were only two of these princes, the Nizâm and the Nabob of Arcot, neither of whom could have done it without the knowledge of the English, and to whom the slightest suspicion of such a plot did not attach. The true cause was the alarm given to the religious feelings of the men by some silly and injudicious military regulations.

There have always been in the British army, more perhaps than in any other, a sort of officers in whose eyes the appearance of their men on parade seems to be of more consequence than their efficiency in the field; and who, therefore, attach wonderful importance to the minutiæ of dress and accoutrements. Of this class was Sir John Cradock, who now commanded the Madras army. In his anxiety to assimilate the appearance of the native to the European troops, he forbade the Sepoys to appear on parade with earrings or with coloured marks on their foreheads indicative of caste, and he ordered them to trim their beards and mustachios after a uniform model. They were also ordered to wear a particular kind of undress jacket, leathern stocks, and use a turnscrew somewhat like a cross in shape. These innovations made the men conceive that it was the intention of the government to make them gradually assume the dress, and eventually the religion of the Europeans; and their suspicions seemed converted into certainty when a new kind of turban, approaching in their eyes to the form of the hat, was decided on as being lighter, and more convenient; for in India the hat and its wearer are identified, and to wear a hat is to be a Christian. The men remonstrated firmly, though respectfully, against the use of the new turban; but the general and the governor, Lord William Bentinck, were equally determined on its adoption, and the result was the massacre at Vellore. There were also symptoms of mutiny in the troops at Hyderabâd and other places, but they were checked by the prudence of the commanding officer.

Another marked trait of the English character, and which, if ever we lose our Indian empire, will be one of the chief causes of the calamity, was strongly revealed on this occasion. It is that haughtiness, that supercilious contempt for the people of other countries, which even on the continent of Europe makes us so generally disliked, though held in respect. None of the officers seemed to have endeavoured to gain the affections of their men, or to have taken the trouble of acquiring a sufficient knowledge of their language to be able to communicate readily with them. The consequence was, that out of the whole 1500 Sepoys at Vellore only one man, a private named Mustafa Beg, proved faithful. He came to Col. Forbes, who commanded his regiment, on the 27th June, and informed him of the plot; but that indolent and supercilious officer referred the matter to a committee of native officers, who of course reported that Mustafa Beg was unworthy of credit, and he was placed under arrest.

Tippoo's family were removed to Bengal, and their allowance was diminished. Lord W. Bentinck and Sir J. Cradock were both recalled, as their blind spirit of military absolutism was justly regarded as the main cause of the disaster.

The whigs had now at length, on the death of Mr. Pitt, come into power, and no one who knows them will suppose that they would let so valuable a piece of patronage as the government of India go out of their hands. While young in office they, through their president of the Board of Control, Lord Minto, had consented to the appointment of Sir G. Barlow; but they soon found means to withdraw their consent, and nominated the Earl of Lauderdale to the office. To this appointment the Directors, on account of that nobleman's well-known republican and free-trade views, objected in the strongest terms; and the matter was compromised by conferring the vacant dignity on Lord Minto himself, who, as Sir Gilbert Elliot, had been active in the proceedings against Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, and possessed a competent knowledge of Indian affairs. Sir G. Barlow was appointed to succeed Lord W. Bentinck at Madras.

Lord Minto reached Calcutta in the end of July, 1807. The whigs were then out of power, but the tories who had succeeded them were generous enough not to recall him. He pursued as much as he was able the pacific policy of his immediate predecessors; but he soon had proof that such a course was not then practicable in India. It was found that nothing but force would keep the turbulent chiefs of Bundelcund in order; and troops under Col. Martindell were engaged for a space of five years in bringing them to obedience. The ablest of these chiefs was an adventurer named Gopal Sing; and it was found expedient to terminate the contest with him by a grant of a jagheer of eighteen villages. The most important event of this contest was the reduction of the hill-fort of Kalinjer, hitherto deemed impregnable. It surrendered to Col. Martindell in Feb. 1812.

The emperor Napoleon was now at the summit of power in Europe. He had for many years had vague ideas floating in his mind of transporting a French army to India and overturning the Anglo-Indian empire. If we may credit himself, he had when in Egypt formed the wild scheme of sending, when he should have made that country a province of France, an army of 60,000 men mounted on horses, camels, and dromedaries, across the deserts of Arabia, and those on the Persian gulf, to the banks of the Indus. Another no less wild project was that of sending a force of 16,000 men by sea, conveyed by thirty-two ships of the line. But Egypt had been lost, and Nelson had annihilated the navy of France at Trafalgar. The French emperor had lately, however, sent to the court of Persia a splendid embassy under Gen. Gardanne (Dec. 1807), and though the object of hostility really was Russia, with which both were at war, the British authorities in India fancied they saw a French invasion looming in the distance, and resolved to prevent its approach if possible by engaging the intervening powers in its interests. These were the Sikhs of the Punjâb, the Afghâns, and the Persians.

After the death of Ahmed Shah Dûranee, the Sikhs being left to themselves, had organized a political confederacy in the Punjâb. Their districts, named Misals, were twelve in number; each had a principal sirdar, or chief, who was to lead in war, and arbitrate in peace. Such a federation, however, could not long stand against individual talent and ambition. Charat Sing, the chief of one of the smallest Misals, began to encroach on his neighbours; his son Maha Sing made still further progress to dominion; and his grandson, Runjeet Sing, succeeded in bringing under his authority nearly all the chiefs west of the Sutlej. The Sikh rajahs to the east of that river had proffered their submission to the British; but as, though it was accepted, no promise was made to protect them, Runjeet Sing thought he might venture to reduce them. In Oct. 1806 he crossed the Sutlej, and dictated terms of peace to two contending rajahs; and finding that the British took no notice he returned in the following year. The chiefs, now alarmed, applied to the resident at Delhi for protection; but before an answer could arrive from Calcutta, Runjeet had repassed the river. As Lord Minto was apprehensive of a French invasion, he resolved to conciliate the Sikh if possible; and in Sept. 1808 Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalf, appeared as the British envoy in his camp. He was received very courteously, but was told that the Jumna must be the boundary between the two states; and to prove that he was in earnest, Runjeet crossed the Sutlej, seized two forts, and exacted tribute. But unfortunately for his pretensions, the panic of a French invasion had ceased; and he was told that he should hold nothing beyond the Sutlej but some districts which he had reduced before the time of the submission of the chiefs; and as Col. Ochterlony had advanced with troops to Lûdiana near that river, and Gen. St. Leger was preparing to follow with more, he gave up his hopes of conquest, and signed (April 25, 1809) a treaty of perpetual friendship with the British government.

Ahmed Shah, the Afghân, had been succeeded by his son Timoor, whose reign was long and peaceful. On his death his numerous sons contended for the throne. Zemân, though not the eldest, with the aid of his younger brother, Shûjah-ul-mulk, succeeded in retaining the throne for about seven years; but having put to death the head of the Barukzye clan, which had aided powerfully in his elevation, Futeh Khân, the son of that chief, joined Zemân's brother Mahmûd, and Zemân being taken and blinded, Mahmûd mounted the throne. This prince being of an indolent temper, and too partial to his Persian guards, the Afghâns rose against him and placed his brother Shûjah at their head. Mahmûd was defeated and taken, but not blinded, a piece of humanity which Shûjah afterwards found reason to regret. After Shûjah had reigned about five years, Mahmûd escaped from prison, and joined his son Camran who was in arms in the west; they were also joined by the Barukzye chief, but Shah Shûjah gave them a defeat. Instead, however, of following up his victory, he returned to celebrate it at Peshâwar.

It was at this time that a British embassy reached Peshâwar (Mar. 15). It was headed by Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone; and as matters were not then arranged with Runjeet Sing, it had come through the Sandy Desert and Mooltân. It was received with great courtesy, but nothing of any importance was effected. The news of Napoleon's invasion of Spain had ended all fears for India; and the money which Shah Shûjah asked for, and which the envoy advised to give, and which might have averted that prince's future calamities, was refused.

In order to counteract the French influence at the court of Persia, the British ministry resolved to send Sir Harford Jones, late resident at Bagdad, thither as ambassador, and meantime Lord Minto had decided on sending Col. Malcolm who had already been there in the time of Lord Wellesley. As the former did not reach Bombay till April, 1809, his Indian rival had already proceeded to Busheer; but finding that the Persian court still leaned to France, in the hope of getting her mediation with Russia, he returned to Calcutta, and on his report Lord Minto resolved to commence hostilities in the Persian gulf. In the mean time Sir Harford Jones had arrived at Busheer; and as the Persian monarch now saw the folly of trusting to France, he was allowed to proceed to Tehrân the capital; the French embassy quitted that city the day before he entered it (Feb. 14, 1809). Lord Minto denying the right of the

home-government to interfere, recalled Sir H. Jones, who was ordered by the ministry not to obey; he also sent Col. Malcolm back to Persia, and both remained at Tehrân till 1810, when Sir Gore Ousley came from England as ambassador.

Sir George Barlow was, as we have stated, at this time governor of Madras. He had here many difficulties to contend with, and they were augmented by his own arbitrary uncomplying temper. The Nabob of Arcot's debts, that fruitful source of mischief, was one of the principal. As the Company was now to discharge them, it was resolved to examine more closely into them, and in 1805, commissioners to sit in England, with others to collect evidence at Madras, were appointed. These last were, for obvious reasons, selected from the civil service of Bengal. The commission sat for a period of five and twenty years, the amount of claims, real and fictitious, was upwards of thirty millions sterling; that of those which were admitted to be valid, little more than two and a half millions! A man named Reddy Râo, who had been the late Nabob's principal accountant, was much in favour with the commissioners. When he produced a bond which he himself held, another native creditor named Papia denied its authenticity, and a magistrate on his charge committed Reddy Râo for trial. As the commissioners regarded this as a mere trick to deprive them of essential assistance, the government at their desire directed the law-officers of the Company to conduct his defence. On the trial the chief-justice charged strongly in his favour, but the jury found him guilty. Mr. Batley, one of his witnesses, was then prosecuted for perjury, and the jury convicted him also. Reddy Râo was now charged with having paid a debt to another native with a forged bond, knowing it to be such, and he was again found guilty. The chief-justice, fully convinced in his own mind of the innocence of both defendants, instead of passing sentence referred the evidence to the king, terming the defendants "not objects of his mercy, but suitors for his justice;" in fact as the victims of a conspiracy. A pardon accordingly was granted; but ere it reached Madras, Reddy Râo had poisoned himself. It appears that the juries had been right, that his bond was a forgery, and that he had been engaged in sundry fraudulent transactions.

Some unpleasant events occurred at this time in Travancore. The rajah, who had been taken into a subsidiary alliance, had had four battalions of the company's troops quartered on him. The subsidy having fallen into arrear, he applied to have the force reduced; and it really was far beyond what was requisite. The resident, Col. Macauley, in return, called on the rajah to reduce a body of his troops, named the Carnatic Brigade; but he looked on this as the annihilation of his dignity and authority, and declined compliance. In all this affair the rajah's adviser and instigator had been his dewan, Vyloo Tambee; and the resident therefore insisted on his removal. The dewan affected willingness to resign, but in secret he organized an insurrection of the Nairs, the military class; he engaged the dewan of Cochin also in the plot, and wrote letters to the surrounding rajahs, to induce them to share in it. The resident, aware of what was in contemplation, applied for reinforcements of troops: but before they could arrive, his house was surrounded one night (Dec. 28) by a body of armed men, and on his going to the window he was fired at. Before they broke in, he managed to conceal himself, and their search for him proved fruitless. In the morning, they saw a vessel with British colours enter the harbour, and others standing for it. At this sight they fled, and the resident got safely on board the vessel, which proved to be one of those that were bringing troops from Malabar.

Col. Chalmers, who commanded at Quilon, lost no time in attacking the Nairs, who were in arms in his vicinity. He was successful in his operations; but they received such accessions from the south that he found it necessary to remain on the defensive, though joined by the king's 12th under Col. Picton. On the 15th January, 1809, the dewan, at the head of from 20,000 to 30,000 men, with 18 pieces of cannon, attacked the British lines before daybreak. But, after a conflict of five hours, he was driven off with a loss of 700 men and 15 guns. A few days after (19th), he made an attempt on the post of Cochin, held by Major Hewitt. Being again repulsed, he spread his forces on the landside, and covered the sea with boats, in order to cut off supplies; but a frigate, with the resident on board, came and anchored off the town, and her boats quickly destroyed his flotilla.

The dewan, shortly after, was guilty of two atrocities, which deprive him of all claim to our sympathy. An assistant-surgeon, named Hume, being taken as he was travelling by night, was brought before him; and though he knew him personally, and had been benefited by his skill, he ordered him to be put to death. A small vessel, with thirty men of the 12th on board, having touched at Alepi, they were induced to land by the friendly assurances of the people, and they were immediately made prisoners, and were murdered, by order of the dewan.

The government of Madras now found it necessary to make more vigorous exertions. Col. Cuppage, who commanded at Malabar, was ordered to march his troops to Cochin, and join Col. Chalmers; and Col. St. Leger was directed to move with a force from Trichinopoly, and enter Travancore on the south. As the most practicable passes of the western Ghâts are near the southern extremity of the peninsula, this officer selected one of them, named the Arambûli pass. This pass was secured by strong lines passing from mountain to mountain, and fortified by redoubts. But in one night (Feb. 10) the British troops carried the whole of them, and entered Travancore. They met with little or no opposition: Col. Chalmers (19th) sent out two columns under Cols. Picton and Stuart, which attacked and carried the enemy's fortified camp near Quilon; Col. Cuppage entered from the north, and thus the whole country was now in the hands of the British. The resident now proceeded to the capital, and formed a new treaty with the rajah, by which he was to pay up all arrears, and the expenses of the war, disband the Carnatic Brigade, and some Nair battalions that he had, and leave the defence of his country to the subsidiary force. A new dewan was appointed; and he pursued his unfortunate predecessor, who had sought a refuge in the mountains, with such vigour, that he was forced to betake himself to a pagoda, which was an ancient sanctuary. But his pursuers, though Hindoos, violated it, and forced

their way to a chamber to which he and his brother had retreated. They found the dewan expiring of wounds, probably self-inflicted. The brother was taken, and was hanged, in the presence of the 12th regiment, in the murder of whose companions he had been implicated. The resident gratified a paltry feeling of revenge, and which was strongly condemned by the governor-general, by causing the body of the dewan to be exposed on a gibbet.

The reader will recollect the mutiny of the officers in Bengal, suppressed with such vigour by Lord Clive. A similar mutiny now took place in the Madras army. In this service, discontent had prevailed for some time; the officers were displeased that the means of acquiring fortunes with which to return to Europe, were now so limited; they were jealous of the favour which they fancied was shown to those of the king's service, and possibly the recollection of the notorious Sir Robert Fletcher, led them to think that they might mutiny with impunity.

As early as 1807 Col. St. Leger had distinguished himself by exciting this spirit of discontent; but an agitator of higher rank had lately appeared on the scene. Sir J. Cradock had been succeeded as commander-in-chief by Lieut.-gen. Macdowal, of the royal service. But the Court of Directors refused to give him a seat in the council, which his predecessor had held, and, in consequence, he resigned his command, expressing himself on the occasion in terms of great bitterness; and he lost no opportunity of fomenting the discontent of the officers. What the double batta question had been in Bengal, an allowance, named the Tent-contract, proved in the Carnatic. This was a permanent monthly allowance to the officers commanding native corps, for which they were to provide their men with suitable camp-equipage whenever it should be required. That this should have been greatly abused can need no proof to any one conversant with the history of the English in India; and its abolition had therefore been recommended by Sir J. Cradock. It had been approved of by the governments of both Madras and Bengal, and it now fell to Sir G. Barlow to carry it into execution. The officers, unwilling to part with, yet unable to deny the defects of, this system, sought for some pretext to justify their opposition. The matter having been referred originally to Col. J. Munro, the quarter-master-general, he had drawn up a report on it, in which, beside the general objections, he had stated some which were capable of individual application. Those who thought themselves meant, called on the commander-in-chief to bring him to a court-martial; but finding that it could not legally be done, they resolved to appeal to the Court of Directors. Gen. Macdowal, just before he left Madras for England, affecting to have received competent advice, placed Col. Munro under arrest. The government, on his appeal, commanded him to be liberated; the commander-in-chief did not dare to disobey, but, ere he sailed (Jan. 30), he published a general order, stating that his departure alone prevented his bringing Col. Munro to trial for various military offences. The government published next day a very intemperate public order, in reply; and Gen. Macdowal, having flung the torch of discord, sailed for England, which he never reached, the vessel having gone down on the voyage (1809).

The government now suspended Col. Capper and Major Boles, the adjutant, and dep.-adjutant-general, for having circulated the late general order. They pleaded the duty of military subordination; but in vain. Capper then sailed for England, but he also was lost on the passage. Boles refused to acknowledge his error; addresses were forwarded to him from the different divisions of the army, approving of his conduct, and proposing to raise for him by subscription an income, equal to what he had lost. On the 1st May, the government issued a general order, containing a copious list of removals, suspensions, etc., in which appeared the names of Cols. St. Leger, Chalmers, and Cuppage. The officers of the Hyderabâd force were invidiously praised in this document, for their refusal to participate in these proceedings; but they scorned the distinction, and to prove their sincerity, published a letter to the army and the suspended officers, declaring their resolution to make common cause with them; and an address to the Governor, calling on him to restore those officers, as the only means of preventing the loss of the British empire in India. The troops at Masulipatam were now in actual insurrection, and it was arranged that they should unite with those at Jalna and at Seringapatam, and marching to Madras, compel the restoration of the officers, and depose the Governor.

Sir G. Barlow had brought matters to this dangerous state, by his want of temper and of judgment; for it was now a personal quarrel between him and the officers. He was urged to rescind the orders, but he refused, and perhaps was right in so doing, for it would have been yielding to intimidation. All the officers were not engaged in the plot; he was sure of support from Bengal; the king's troops could be relied on; and the native troops in general had declared, that they would obey none but the government.

The efforts made to separate their men from them, so much irritated the officers at Seringapatam, that they rushed into actual rebellion. They drove the king's troops out of the fort, and prepared to defend it. Troops were marched against them, and two battalions that were coming to their aid from Chittledroog, were fallen on by the dragoons (Aug. 11), and dispersed with no small loss. In the night the fort cannonaded the cantonments of the troops, but without injury. In Hyderabâd matters had come nearly to the same pass. Col. Close, who had come thither from Poona, tried in vain to bring the officers to a sense of their duty. They summoned the troops from Jalna and Masulipatam, and the former had actually made two days' march, when the officers at Hyderabâd at length saw their conduct in its true light. They wrote a penitential letter to Lord Minto, now at Madras; they signed the test that had been proposed, and wrote to the other stations, calling on their brother officers to do the same. Their example was every where followed, and tranquillity was thus restored. Four officers were cashiered by sentence of a court-martial, and sixteen were dismissed the service; all the rest were pardoned.

CHAPTER VII.

Interference with Native States—Expedition to the Persian Gulf—Capture of Isle of Bourbon—Naval Disasters—Capture of Isle of France—Of Java—Decoity—Renewal of Company's Charter.

THOUGH the system of non-interference with the native states was now the avowed policy of the Company's government, Lord Minto had too much sense not to see the danger of too rigorous an adherence to it. Accordingly, when Ameer Khân, for Holkar was now insane, made an irruption into Berâr, British troops were sent to the aid of the rajah. In like manner, the government interfered to prevent the Peishwa from oppressing some of his jagheerdars.

An Arab tribe, named the Joasmis, who dwelt on the coast westwards of Cape Musendom, along the Persian gulf, had long been notorious for piracy. They had hitherto avoided attacking British ships; but of late they had begun to attack them also, and it was now deemed expedient to administer some chastisement. In the month of September an expedition sailed from Bombay, which, after dispersing a fleet of their *daos*, or small vessels, attacked and took their principal town, Ras-el-Khaima. All the houses, the warehouses filled with valuable goods, and a great number of their largest *daos* were burnt. Their other forts were also destroyed, and the navigation of the gulf became secure for some years to come [8].

A still more distant and important expedition was soon undertaken. To those who are not aware of by how little wisdom the world is governed, it may seem strange that the French had been suffered for so many years to hold undisturbed possession of the Isles of France and Bourbon, into which their vessels of war continually carried the English Indiamen, or vessels engaged in the country-trade. On the contrary, strict injunctions had been given to the authorities in India not to attempt their reduction, on account of the expense. The value of the captures had, however, of late opened the eyes of the ministry a little, and they gave permission for more active measures. The blockade of the ports was first thought of, and the little isle of Rodriguez was seized, and made a depôt for the supply of the blockading squadron. But this plan proving useless, it was finally resolved to make an attempt to reduce the Isle of Bourbon. A small force, under Lieut.-col. Keating, sailed from Rodriguez, and landed in that island (Sept. 20) near St. Paul, the chief town on the western side. They seized, unperceived, two of the principal batteries; at the third, they encountered a resolute resistance, but they were finally successful, and became masters of the town, and the shipping in the harbour, including a frigate of forty-six guns. A convention was now concluded, by which all the public property was surrendered to the English, who then departed with it, and the captured shipping. The success of this expedition induced Lord Minto to attempt the reduction of the whole of the French islands. Early in 1810, a large reinforcement was sent to Col. Keating, for another attempt on the Isle of Bourbon. On the 6th July they reached the north side of that island, near St. Denis, the capital; the troops were divided into four brigades, of which one, under Col. Fraser, was to land at Grande Chaloupe, some miles to the west of the town; and the other three, under Col. Keating, at Rivières de Pluies, to the east of it. Owing to the violence of the surf, only a part of the last was able to effect a landing; they seized a battery, and secured themselves for the night. Meantime, Col. Fraser had landed without loss, and pushed on and occupied the heights to the west of St. Denis. Next morning (8th), the greater part of the remainder of the troops made a landing at Grande Chaloupe, but before they could advance the prize had been won. Col. Fraser had descended the hill, charged with the bayonet the French, who were drawn up in two columns in the plain, supported by a strong redoubt, and routed them. At four o'clock in the afternoon a flag of truce was sent from the town; and when the rest of the troops had come up, and preparations were made for storming, a surrender of the island, with the troops and public property, was made to the British.

The Isle de Bourbon was thus captured with hardly any loss; but the British naval force was now to experience some unusual disasters. Three French frigates having run into the harbour of Grand Port in the Isle de France, four English frigates resolved to attack them there. But from want of pilotage, the vessels having grounded, and being exposed to the fire of both the French ships and batteries, one was forced to strike her colours, two were burnt by the British themselves, and the fourth was obliged a day or two after to surrender to a squadron that came round from St. Louis, the capital.

On the 29th Nov. an expedition composed of troops from Bengal and Madras, counting about 11,000 men, commanded by Gen. Abercrombie, landed in Grande Baye, about fifteen miles north of St. Louis, and immediately commenced their march for that town. Having made their way with difficulty through a wood, they bivouacked for the night, and next morning resumed their march. But the excessive heat and the want of water obliged them to halt five miles from St. Louis, in the bed of the Pamplemousse river. In the morning (31st) the march was again resumed. Gen. Decaen, the governor, though he had only 2000 Europeans including the crews of ships, beside the colonists, and the blacks, resolved to give them battle. But one charge of the English flank battalion put them to flight. Before evening the formal surrender of the island was effected, and thus terminated the last remnant of French dominion in the East.

As Holland now formed a part of the French empire, it became necessary to reduce her oriental possessions also. The home-government had, with its usual wisdom, only sanctioned blockade, but Lord Minto and Adm. Drury deemed it both wiser and safer to attempt their conquest. In February 1810, a small expedition arrived off Amboyna, and after a brief resistance it capitulated. In the course of the year, the Banda islands and Ternate also were reduced, and nothing now remained to the Dutch in the East but Java, which it was determined to attack as soon as the troops should have returned from the Isle of France.

[8] During the government of Lord Hastings, it was found necessary to send another expedition against Khaima.

On the 1st June, 1811, the troops intended for the expedition were assembled at Malacca under the command of Sir Samuel Achmuty; Lord Minto had accompanied those from Bengal, but only, as he expressed it, as a volunteer. On the 4th August it anchored in the bay of Batavia. It consisted of 12,000 men, half English, half Indian; the Dutch troops in the island, native and European, were about 17,000, of which Gen. Jansens, the governor, had posted 13,000 in the lines of Cornelis, a strong position eight miles from Batavia.

The landing was effected without opposition, and the city of Batavia submitted (7th); and thence on the third day the troops marched for Cornelis. On the way they found a portion of the Dutch army strongly posted; but they were unable to withstand the charge of the British, and they broke and fled, their loss being very severe. The British followed them to Cornelis. Here the main body of the enemy lay in an entrenched camp between two rivers, protected in front and rear by batteries and redoubts mounting 280 pieces of artillery. The situation was so strong, that Gen. Jansens had no doubt but that he would be able to hold out till the rainy season should arrive, and sickness oblige the English to retire.

Ground was broken as before a fortress (20th), and batteries were erected and a heavy cannonade was carried on for some days; but it soon became apparent that the place must be carried by storm, if a tedious course of warfare was to be avoided. It was, therefore, resolved that a division under Col. Gillespie should make an attempt to carry the bridge over the river Slokan, and the redoubt in front of it, while two other attacks should be made on the enemy's lines in front and rear. On the night of the 26th, Col. Gillespie set out; as he had to take a round through an intricate country it was almost daylight when he came near the redoubt. He then discovered that the rear division had fallen behind; but instead of waiting for it he resolved to advance at once, trusting that the noise of the firing would bring it up. The redoubt and bridge were speedily carried, the rear-guard came up as was expected; other redoubts to the right and left were carried also; the division which was acting in front forced their way in; all resistance was speedily overcome, and the enemy fled, pursued by Col. Gillespie with the dragoons and horse artillery for a space of ten miles. The British loss was nearly 900 killed and wounded, including 85 officers. The enemy had, it is said, upwards of 1500 slain, and 6000 were made prisoners. That day decided the fate of Java; for though Gen. Jansens attempted to make another stand in the eastern part of the island, he was forced to capitulate, and Java became a British possession. Lord Minto then returned to Bengal, having committed the government of Java to Mr. (afterwards Sir Stamford) Raffles, under whom it attained a degree of quiet and prosperity, such as it had never before enjoyed.

During the remainder of the period of Lord Minto's government, his attention was devoted to the internal improvement of the country. Of the measures adopted we can only mention those for the suppression of Decoity, or gang robbery, which had of late increased to an alarming extent.

The Decoits bore an extraordinary resemblance to the Whitefeet, Ribbonmen, and suchlike of Ireland, with the exception that their chief object was plunder. They formed a society, the chief members of which were fully known only to their sirdars or chiefs. During the day they worked like the rest of the people at trades or agriculture; at night they repaired with arms to the place appointed: the number of a gang varied from ten to sixty, according to circumstances. Having made an offering to Durga, the goddess of thieves, they blackened their faces or put on masks, and then marched with lighted torches to the village where they proposed to rob some money-changer or shopkeeper, or to take vengeance on some one who had given information against a member of their society. On entering the village they fired a shot as a signal for the villagers to keep at home. They then surrounded the house of their victim, which some of them entered. Unless it was a case of vengeance, or that they met with resistance, they seldom committed murder; but the tortures which they inflicted in order to get information where property was concealed were appalling and often caused death. They then retired, and in the morning were seen about their usual avocations. Though the peasantry often knew well who were Decoits, they feared to give information, and fear or corruption also restrained the police. The government, by improving the efficacy of the police, and by rendering more certain the rewards for information, succeeded in giving a great check to Decoity. In the province of Bundwân, of which Mr. Butterworth Bayley was made magistrate in 1810, the practice was almost totally suppressed within a few months by having recourse to the ancient police system of the country: but this example was not followed, for our Indian governments are in general too full of their own wisdom to adopt the usages of the Hindoos.

While such was the course of affairs in India, the question of the renewal of the Company's charter was agitated in England, and the cupidity and selfishness of the various parties was displaying itself under the garb of philanthropy, and regard for the public interest.

Toward the end of 1808, Mr. Dundas wrote to the Directors, to know if they wished the question of the Charter to be brought before Parliament. In their reply they asserted the right of the Company to its territorial possessions, and expressed an expectation that they would be allowed to increase their dividends, and that the country would aid them to liquidate their debt. They said nothing about their exclusive privilege, but seemed to take it for granted that it would be continued. We thus see that they had a view to their peculiar interests. Mr. Dundas in reply denied their right to the territory of India; thought that any surplus revenue should go first to the liquidation of the debt rather than the increase of dividends, and added that the charter would only be renewed on condition of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain being allowed to trade in ships of their own to all places within the limits of the Company's exclusive trade, China excepted. This system the Directors pronounced to be ruinous to the Company and country alike, and hinted that they would not seek a renewal of the Charter.

Matters remained thus till toward the end of 1811, when the court, in reply to a letter from Mr.

Dundas (now Lord Melville), agreed to open the trade, and in April 1812, they petitioned for a renewal of their charter, on these terms. It is probable that the chief opponents of the Company had on this, as on former occasions, been the merchants of London; for though exports were to be permitted from all the ports, the imports were all to be brought to the capital, the merchants and shipowners of which expected to derive thence great advantages. But Liverpool, Bristol, and the other out-ports as they are named, claimed the right of import also, and sent up delegates to London; and petitions to parliament against the Company's monopoly poured in from every trading and manufacturing town in the empire.

It is actually amusing to view the brilliant prospects that are held forth by commercial men, when their object is the extension of their own trade; and how utterly heedless they are of the interests, not merely of strangers, but of other classes of their countrymen; they drive on their free-trade car like that of Juggernâth, crushing all before it[9]. But their anticipations are rarely, or never verified; they have not in general accurate notions of the real condition of other countries, and of the disturbing causes likely to arise; and, strange as it may appear, they are as much under the influence of imagination as poets or lovers. Owing, perhaps, to want of regular education, and of correct taste, they love to indulge in figures of speech, and their language teems with personifications. The following extract, which Thornton gives from a petition from Sheffield at this time, will illustrate what we have stated.

"If the trade of this United Kingdom were permitted to flow unimpeded over those extensive, luxuriant, and opulent regions, though it might in the outset, like a torrent repressed and swoln by obstructions, when its sluices were first opened break forth with uncontrollable impetuosity, deluging, instead of supplying the district before it; yet that very violence, which at the beginning might be partially injurious, would in the issue prove highly and permanently beneficial: no part being unvisited, the waters of commerce that spread over the face of the land, as they subsided would wear themselves channels, through which they might continue to flow ever afterwards, in regular and fertilizing streams." The simple meaning of this sonorous rhapsody is, that though they might at first glut (as they know they would) the new markets, yet things might end in the establishment of a regular trade. But such high-flown language from the cutlers of Sheffield!

Whatever we may think of the language, the reasoning, and the motives of the members of commercial leagues of this kind, it seems certain that in this country they are tolerably sure to carry their point; and there only remains for those who see their objects, to smile at their disappointed expectations. The Company, on this occasion, made as hard a battle as they could; Warren Hastings, and many other distinguished men who had been in India, asserted the danger of the proposed measures: but the pressure from without was too strong for the ministry to resist it, and by the bill passed in July, 1813, for the renewal of the Company's charter, the trade of the East, with the exception of that to China, was thrown open to the merchants of Great Britain. As most of the witnesses had expressed their apprehension of the evils likely to arise from the great influx of European colonists into India, and their oppression and robbery of the natives, the power of granting licenses for residence was reserved to the Company[1].

But there was another party in the country who acted on far purer and higher motives than merchants, and whom the ministers found it necessary to conciliate. The greater part of the last century had been a period of extreme religious laxity; but the serious tone induced by the awful war in which England was engaged with the French republic, had led men's minds to think more deeply on the subject of religion; and numbers, both of the clergy and laity, had returned to the sterner faith held by the reformers, and from which the Church of England in general had departed. This party now held many seats in parliament; and as their principles led them to regard salvation as confined to the holders of certain tenets, they became anxious for the spiritual welfare of their brethren in India, and for the conversion of the benighted natives. Their cause was ably advocated by Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons; and by a clause in the bill, it was resolved to appoint a bishop and three archdeacons, to superintend the chaplains of the different settlements in India; and the entrance of missionaries into that country was to be facilitated.

Lord Minto had written in 1811, expressing his wish to leave India in January, 1814. The ministry, who with wonderful self-denial had allowed one connected with the party opposed to them in politics, to retain for so long a time so high and lucrative an office, could refrain no longer. The Earl of Moira, a nobleman high in the favour and confidence of the Prince Regent, partly from ambition, and partly, we believe, from narrowness of circumstances, was covetous of the government of India, and the Directors were forced to appoint him. As he was a military man, he was, like Lord Cornwallis, made also commander-in-chief, to increase his authority and his emoluments.

Lord Minto quitted India toward the close of 1813, and he died the year of his return to England. His character stands high among those of

[9] As an instance of the justice and philanthropy of manufacturers, we may take the trade in cotton-goods. While Manchester and other towns were struggling in the formation of silk and cotton-manufactories, they were protected by a duty of seventy or eighty per cent. *ad valorem*, in some cases by a total prohibition, against the competition of India, on which *their* goods have since been forced without any duty at all, nearly to the ruin of the native artizans.

[1] European colonisation is a great *panacea* with Mill for the evils of India. He expatiates on the advantages which might be derived "from a body of English gentlemen, who, if they had been encouraged to settle as owners of land, and as manufacturers and merchants, would at this time have been distributed in great numbers in India." "The permission," says Wilson, "has been now granted them for several years, and where is the numerous body of respectable English landholders, who are to render inestimable services to the government, in preserving the peace of the country?" —one of Mill's predictions. On another place Wilson observes; "An importance is here attached to the admirable effects of colonisation, which it is safe prophecy to foretel will never be realised; for colonisation never will, never can take place."

the Governors-general for uprightness, disinterestedness, and firmness, combined with moderation. He was also a man of cultivated mind and taste, and a zealous promoter of learning, both European and Asiatic.

CHAPTER VIII.

Origin of Nepâlese War—Plan of the War—Failure at Kalunga—Capture of that Fort—Failure at Jytak—Operations of Gen. Ochterlony—Of the third Division—Of the fourth Division—Surrender of Malân—Invasion of Nepâl—Treaty of Peace.

Lord Moira reached Calcutta early in October, 1813. In the course of the following year he had to engage in war with a people with whom the British had as yet had few relations.

The kingdom of Nepâl is a valley, bounded on the south by the last and lowest range of the Himalaya mountains, by a loftier range of which on the north it is separated from Tibet. Its people are mostly of the Bhôt, or Tibetian race; but Hindoo colonies had settled in it, and their rajahs had made themselves sovereigns of the country. About the middle of the 18th century, the chief of a mountain tribe named the Goorkha, taking advantage of the feuds of the rajahs, made himself master of Nepâl, and transmitted the sovereignty to his family.

As the dominions of the Goorkha princes extended for a length of 700 miles along the British frontier, from the province of Delhi to that of Purneah, in Bengal, and they were of a restless, encroaching disposition, they had so early as 1785 begun to appropriate portions of the British territory. Frequent remonstrances were made, but to little purpose; and in 1809 it was found necessary to employ force, to drive them out of some lands they had seized. The encroachments, however, were continued, and even on a greater scale; all attempts at negotiation failed; and in 1814 both sides prepared for war. Some of the wiser Goorkha chiefs advised accommodation; but Bhim Sah, who as regent governed for the rajah, who was a minor, was resolved to try the fate of arms. His reliance was on the valour of his regular troops, though only 12,000 in number, the strength and difficulty of the country, the ignorance of the British respecting it, and their want of experience in mountain-warfare.

The first question with Lord Moira was, whether the war should be defensive or offensive; and for obvious reasons the latter mode was preferred. The next was, whether the British troops should in one large body enter Nepâl, and march direct for Khatmandu, the capital, or make simultaneous attacks on the long line of the Goorkha conquests. In the former case, great and almost insuperable difficulties were apprehended in marching, and obtaining supplies for a large body of men in so rugged a country; while in the latter, it was to be expected that the chiefs and their people, who had been so recently subjugated, would take part with the British. The latter plan, therefore, was adopted; and it was determined to make the attack with four divisions, on different points of the frontier.

The first division, under Gen. Ochterlony, composed of 6000 men, was to act against the extreme west of the Goorkha line. The second, of 3500 men, under Gen. (late Col.) Gillespie, was to move more eastwards, and advance against Jytak, one of the principal fortresses of the enemy in those parts; the third, of 4500 men, under Gen. J. S. Wood, was to march from the frontier of Gorukhpûr for the fortress of Palpa; while the fourth, and largest, of about 8000 men, under Gen. Marley, was to advance by Mawanpûr, direct on Khatmandu.

The second division was the first to take the field. On the 19th October, its advance marched from Saharanpûr, and the main body followed on the 22nd. They moved through the Doon, or valley of Dehra, and came before the fort of Kalunga, only five miles from that Doon, situated on a steep detached hill. The fort was of stone, and quadrangular, and in the usual Goorkha manner strengthened by stockades. Its garrison consisted of 600 Goorkhas, under a gallant chief, who returned a bold defiance to the summons to surrender. Cannon having been drawn up, and a battery erected, it was resolved to storm (31st). The troops were divided into four columns, and a reserve; and it was intended to assail the four sides of the fort simultaneously. But three of the columns having to make a circuit, had not arrived when the signal was given, and a sally of the garrison having been repelled by the remaining column, Gen. Gillespie thinking the place might be carried by escalade, ordered the men to advance to the assault. But the fire of the fort proved too severe, and they were forced to retire. Gen. Gillespie then crying that he would take the fort or lose his life, put himself at the head of the remainder of the column, and advanced against the gate. The men, however, hung back; and as their gallant leader was waving his sword to encourage them, a ball from the fort shot him through the heart. A retreat was then ordered, and the troops withdrew to Dehra, to wait for a battering-train from Delhi. When the train arrived (Nov. 24), the troops, led by Col. Mawbey, marched once more for Kalunga. A breach having been effected (27th), a storm was attempted, but it was repelled with loss, the number of the killed and wounded exceeding that of the garrison. Recourse was now had to bombardment; and as the interior of the fort afforded no shelter, the garrison was reduced in three days to seventy men, with whom the commandant fled from the place. The gallant defence of Kalunga greatly raised the courage of the Goorkhas, and had a material influence on the future events of the war, which might have been averted had Gen. Gillespie acted with common prudence, instead of headlong rashness.

The troops now moved westwards, and came within a few miles of the town of Nâhan, to the north of which the fort of Jytak lay, on the point where two mountain-ridges met. Here they were joined (Dec. 20) by Gen. Martindell, who took the command; and having occupied Nâhan, he advanced to the foot of the range on which Jytak stood. The ascent was extremely steep and rugged, and defended by stockades at various points. As it appeared that the garrison obtained their water from wells at some distance from the fort, it

was resolved to attempt to deprive them of it, and at the same time to carry a strong stockade, erected for the defence of the water. Two columns were formed; one under Major Ludlow, to move against the stockade, on the nearest side; the other, under Major Richards, to make a *détour*, and attack it in the rear. Both, however, met with ill-success; the first was driven back by the enemy; the second, having taken a position near the wells, gallantly maintained it against all the efforts of the garrison, until their ammunition was nearly expended, when they retreated by orders of Gen. Martindell, though Major Richards was confident, that if furnished with supplies he could have held the post. All military operations were now suspended in this quarter.

Gen. Ochterlony, who was opposed to Amar Sing Thapa, the ablest of the Goorkha leaders, was more cautious and judicious in his movements. This country being very mountainous, Amar Sing had constructed three strong stone forts on the mountain-ranges, each as usual supported by strong stockades. The first which the British troops came before (Nov. 2), named Nalagurh, surrendered when cannonaded. They then advanced against Ramgurh, which stood on a higher range. Amar Sing came to its aid with 3000 regular troops, and encamped with his right on the fort, and his left and front protected by stockades. Gen. Ochterlony deeming the front too strong, moved round their left to take them in the rear. But on receiving intelligence of the second repulse at Kalunga, fearing its moral effect on the troops on both sides, he resolved to wait for reinforcements, employing himself meantime in gaining information, and preparing for further operations. When the expected troops arrived (Dec. 27) he resumed the offensive, and by judicious movements in the direction of Malân, he drew the enemy from Ramgurh, and other posts, which were then occupied by the British. The severity of the weather and the ruggedness of the country impeded him so much, that he was not able to attempt any thing against Malân till the spring.

The third division did not move till the middle of December. The way to Palpa lay through a difficult mountain pass, which the Goorkhas had strongly stockaded. The stockade was attacked, and would probably have been carried, but Gen. Wood thinking that it would be impossible to drive the enemy from the thickets in the rear of it, ordered a retreat. He then confined himself to the defence of the frontier till the spring, when at the express command of Lord Moira, he advanced to the town of Bhotwal, from which, however, he soon retired again to the plain; and as his troops were becoming unhealthy, they were placed, in May, in cantonments at Gorukhpûr.

The fourth and largest division having assembled at Dinapore near Patna, marched (Nov. 23) for Bettiah. Meantime a force under Major Bradshaw was successfully employed in clearing the frontier forests of the Goorkhas. When the main army reached the frontier (Dec. 12), Gen. Marley, instead of advancing without his guns, as he had been directed, spent the rest of the month waiting for them, and this gave the enemy time to recover from the alarm into which Major Bradshaw's success had thrown them. The consequence was that they attacked two British outposts, (Jan. 1) cut off one, and nearly destroyed the other. The troops now lost courage and began to desert; and Gen. Marley having a most exaggerated idea of the numbers and courage of the Goorkhas, made a retrograde movement to protect the depôt at Bettiah, leaving a strong division with Major Roughsedge to protect the frontier. Lord Moira, though very indignant at the conduct of Gen. Marley, reinforced him so largely, that his forces amounted to 13,000 men. But that incapable officer, after spending the whole month of January in indecision, suddenly quitted his camp one morning before day-break, without having given any notice of his intention. About the end of February, Gen. George Wood came and took the command, but he also acted on a timid policy, and effected nothing. While, however, the fame of the British arms was thus tarnished by the inefficiency of the commanders of these two divisions, Major Latter, who commanded a small force further eastwards, not only defended the boundary east of the Kûsi river, but formed a useful alliance with the rajah of Sikim, a small hill-state eastward of Nepâl. At the same time Col. Gardner with a body of irregulars from Rohilcund had entered Kamaon to the north of that province, and appeared before Almora, its chief town. Another irregular force under Capt. Hearsey, also entered it from another side; but it was routed and its commander made a prisoner by the Goorkhas. A regular force under Col. Nicolls, joined Col. Gardner before Almora (April 8), and when everything had been prepared, a general attack was made (25th) on the stockades in front of it. After a brief resistance they were carried, and the troops established themselves in the town. Next morning, after a discharge of mortars on the fort, the garrison capitulated, on condition of being allowed to depart with their arms and personal property.

Gen. Martindell was at this time engaged in a blockade of the fort of Jytak, patiently waiting for the effects of famine on the garrison. Meantime Gen. Ochterlony was acting with more vigour against the Goorkhas at Malân.

In the month of April the British troops were encamped on the banks of a stream in the valley under the ranges on which Malân stood, while the Goorkha posts extended along the ridge from Malân to the fort of Surajgurh, most of the peaks being occupied and stockaded. In the centre of the line were two points named Ryla and Deothal, which seemed to be assailable, and the possession of which would cut Malân off from most of its outworks. These Gen. Ochterlony resolved to attack; and he sent (14th) a column against the former under Major Innis, and one against the latter under Col. Thomson. Another body led by Capt. Showers, was to move from Ratangurh, a post to the right of Malân occupied by the British, and attack the enemy's cantonments under the fort. These attacks proved, on the whole, successful, though Capt. Showers was repulsed and killed. Next day (15th) every effort was made to strengthen Deothal, as it was certain to be soon attacked; more troops and two guns were sent up to it, and stockades were formed. As was expected, Amar Sing, knowing that if he let the British remain on the mountain, they would soon reduce Malân, resolved to make every effort to drive them down. He, therefore, placed the troops

under the command of Bhakti Sing, a leader of known intrepidity, for the attack, while he himself remained close at hand with the standard and the reserve. The Goorkhas advanced in a semicircle, turning both flanks of the British position. Though swept down by showers of grape from the field-pieces, they rushed on like lions, and poured in such a close fire, that except three officers and as many men, all who served the guns were killed or wounded. The conflict had lasted two hours, when troops having joined from Ryla, Col. Thomson ordered a charge to be made with bayonets. At this the Goorkhas broke and fled, leaving Bhakti Sing dead on the spot. Amar Sing retired with the fugitives into the fort, and the body of the fallen leader was sent in to them wrapt in shawls by the victors. Next day two of his wives burned themselves with his corpse.

Most of the exterior works of Malân were carried in the remaining days of April; and on the 8th May, a battery was opened on the principal redoubt, and preparations were made for storming. But the main body of the garrison, deeming resistance hopeless, now came out and surrendered; and Amar Sing, after making a show of defence for a couple of days, sent his son to propose a convention. It was concluded on the following terms: the Goorkhas were to give up all their possessions west of the Jumna; and the garrison of Malân, part of that of Jytak, and all the members of the Thapa family, were to be allowed to retire to Nepâl with their arms and their private property. Most of the men entered the British service.

The defeat of their ablest leader made the court of Khatmandu now rather anxious for peace, and the remainder of the year was spent in negotiations. At length it became manifest that the only object of the Goorkhas had been to gain time, and that they intended making another appeal to arms. A force amounting to nearly 17,000 men was therefore assembled at Dinapore, and on the frontiers, with which Gen. (now Sir David [2]) Ochterlony took the field early in February. He divided his force into four brigades, of which the first under Col. Kelly was to move to the right and endeavour to enter Nepâl by Hariharpûr; the second under Col. Nicolls on the left by Ramnagar; while the two last, under Sir D. Ochterlony in person, would seek to penetrate to Makwanpûr by the Churiaghâti pass.

This pass being found both difficult in itself, and strongly defended by tiers of stockades, it was resolved to attempt to enter by another which was discovered, and which proved to be unguarded. It was a long deep ravine, between high banks covered with trees whose branches meeting over it excluded the light of day. On the night of the 14th, Sir D. Ochterlony entered this pass at the head of the third brigade, and on the fourth day he reached Hetaunda on the banks of the Rapti unopposed. Here he was joined by the fourth brigade; the Goorkhas having abandoned the stockades in the pass when they found that their position had been turned. On the 27th the British troops encamped within two miles of the fortified heights of Makwanpûr, and the following morning they took possession of the strong village of Sekhar-Khatri, which its garrison had evacuated. At noon, however, the Goorkhas returned in greater force, and endeavoured to recover it. Additional troops came on both sides; and at five o'clock the Goorkhas were repelled with a loss of 500 men, that of the British being 45 killed, and 175 wounded. Next day Col. Nicolls joined with the second brigade. Col. Kelly had, meantime, forced the garrison to evacuate the fort of Hariharpûr. Preparations were now made for erecting new batteries against Makwanpûr, when the commandant, who was brother to the regent, sent to say that he had received the ratification of the treaty which had been previously agreed on. As Sir D. Ochterlony was invested with political as well as military authority, the treaty was concluded with some additional cessions of territory; and peace was re-established, and it has never since been disturbed.

The chief articles of this treaty were the abandoning all claims on the hill-rajahs west of the river Kali, and restoring all the territory taken from the rajah of Sikim, giving up the Tirai or lowlands at the foot of the hills along the southern frontier, and receiving a resident at Khatmandu. As the Nepâlese set an exaggerated value on the Tirai, and the desire to retain it had been a chief cause of their breaking off the treaty, a part of it was restored to them to their great satisfaction.

This war was a necessary one; for, unless where justice plainly dictates, concessions can never be made to barbarians, as they will surely ascribe them to weakness. Had all the commanding officers been like Sir D. Ochterlony, it would also have been a brief and inexpensive war. It was condemned at home of course from the commencement; but when terminated, the highest praises were bestowed on the Governor-general, who was created Marquis of Hastings, and thanks were voted to Sir D. Ochterlony and the officers and men engaged in the war.

[2] He was first made a Knight Commander of the Bath, and then a Baronet.

CHAPTER IX.

Maratta Affairs—Murder of Gangadhar Sastri—Attack on Bhopâl—State of things at Maratta Courts—The Pindarries—They ravage the British Territory—Preparations for destroying them—Attack on the Residency of Poona—New Treaty with Sindia—British Troops attacked by the Cholera Morbus—Attack on Residency at Nagpûr.

In the whole of India now, with the exception of the Punjâb, there was no power save that of the Marattas capable of disturbing its tranquillity. These, as we have already stated, formed five independent states, all, however, more or less regarding themselves as one confederation, and the Peishwa as their legitimate superior. That prince, notwithstanding the treaty of Bassein, and the presence of the subsidiary force, still fondly clung to the hope of seeing himself once more the independent chief of the Maratta nation; and what he feared to attempt by force, he hoped to compass by intrigue; he therefore maintained secret agents at the courts of Nagpûr, Gwalior [3], and Indore.

Of all the Maratta princes the Guicowar of Gûzerât, whose capital was Baroda, was the one

[3] Sindia had made this his residence.

most under British influence. He was in fact indebted to them for his political existence; and the exertions of the very able resident, Major Walker, had disentangled and arranged the embarrassed system of his finances, and restored him to independence and respectability. In 1804, the lease by which the Guicowar held of the Peishwa, a portion of the revenues of Ahmedabâd having expired, the former, with the approbation of the British, applied for a lease for ever, in order to put an end to all cause of future dispute. But the views of the Peishwa were quite different, and he refused to renew. In order to try to effect an arrangement, the court of Baroda sent to that of Poona a man named Gangadhar Sastri, and the guarantee of the British government for his safety was obtained. He met with a very cool reception at Poona, while some agents sent thither from a rival party at Baroda were listened to with favour. Aware that he could accomplish nothing, he was anxious to depart; but he remained at the earnest desire of the resident. The Peishwa's ministers now altered their conduct toward him; and Trimbakjee, that prince's chief favourite and adviser, held several private interviews with him, in which he assailed him on his weak side, his vanity, and not without some success. A marriage also was concerted between his son and a sister of the Peishwa's wife; and he accompanied the court to a sacred place named Nasik, where the ceremony was to be performed. But in consequence of the refusal of his court to ratify a treaty which he had concluded, he deemed it incumbent on him to decline the proffered honour; and he still further offended the Peishwa by refusing to let his wife visit at the palace, in consequence of the licentious orgies of which it was the scene.

No signs of displeasure were, however, let appear; and Gangadhar was induced to accompany the Peishwa to another place of devotion at Punderpur, though the resident was not invited as usual. One evening, when he had gone home rather unwell from an entertainment, a message came from Trimbak inviting him to repair at once to the temple to perform his devotions, as it would be engaged for the Peishwa next morning. After repeated solicitations he went at length, and as he was returning from the temple escorted by some of Trimbak's soldiers, five men rushed on him from behind and murdered him. As neither Trimbak nor the Peishwa would make any efforts to discover and apprehend the assassins, and as Gangadhar had been under the protection of the British, the resident felt it to be his duty to insist on satisfaction. The actual assassins, there is little doubt, were the people from Baroda; but there is as little doubt of Trimbak and even the Peishwa having been concerned in the deed. They refused when called on to institute any inquiry; and the resident then, from prudential motives, taking no notice of the Peishwa's share, insisted on the arrest and delivery of Trimbak. The Peishwa, after making every effort in his power to avoid it, was forced to comply, and Trimbak was confined in the fort of Tanna in the isle of Salsette.

The territories of the Nawab of Bhopâl, which lay between those of Sindia and the rajah of Nagpûr, were an object of cupidity to these chiefs. In the end of 1813, each sent an army to the field; and the united forces laid siege to the capital. A gallant defence was made by the Nawab and his son, and all the assaults of the besiegers were repelled; but famine at length began to prey on the garrison, and death and desertion reduced their number to about 600 men. Still they did not yield; and at length the retirement of the Nagpûr troops, for what cause is unknown, obliged those of Sindia also to withdraw.

The rajah of Nagpûr died in 1815; and as his heir was delicate and of weak intellect, it was found necessary to appoint a regent. After the usual struggle of parties the office was, with the consent of the resident, conferred on Apa Sahib, a nephew of the late rajah. As the opposite party were hostile to the British power, Apa Sahib deemed a close connexion with it his surest policy, and he signed the treaty of subsidiary alliance for which they had so long been anxious.

Sindia, after his disappointment at Bhopâl, remained quiet, but brooding over plans of vengeance which he did not perhaps even dream of executing. His great object was to establish the supreme authority of the Peishwa and consolidate the Maratta empire; and he secretly had agents at Poona and Nagpûr, and received *vakeels* from Nepâl and from Runjeet Sing the Sikh. The leaders of the Pindarries had pledged themselves to obey his orders.

The court of Indore had been the scene of atrocities and profligacy. On the death of Holkar Tulasi Bai, a woman of low rank but of beauty and talent, whom he had made his wife, having no children of her own, placed on the throne his son by a woman of inferior rank whom she had adopted, and she reigned in his name as regent. She was assisted by Balaram Seth as minister, and by Ghapur Khân, the brother-in-law of Ameer Khân, as commander of the forces. But when the former reproached her with her licentiousness, she caused him to be murdered. The latter then took arms to punish her, and after making a gallant charge herself in person at the head of the Maratta horse, she was obliged to take flight. A reconciliation was then attempted between her and Ameer Khân, under whom Ghapur Khân only acted; but events of greater importance just then occurred which attracted the attention of all parties.

During all this time, Ameer Khân was at the head of a large freebooting party in Rajputana, now aiding one Rajpût chief against another, and now plundering on his own account.

We have more than once had occasion to mention the Pindarries. These were bodies of irregular light-horse, which served without pay, receiving in lieu of it license to plunder. They had originated, it is said, in the time of the Mahommedan kingdoms of the Deckan; they had always served with the Marattas; and when Holkar and Sindia obtained territory themselves, they assigned portions of it on the Nerbudda to bodies of these marauders, which were named the Holkar Shahi, and the Sindia Shahi Pindarries; of which, the latter were by far the more numerous. The Pindarries were divided into several Durras, or companies, and their principal leaders at this time were Cheetoo, a Jât, Karim Khân, a Rohilla, and Dost and Wasil Mohammed, the sons of an officer of rank in the Nagpûr service. There was, as we may observe, no distinction of religion made among them: any

one who would might join their bands. In their plundering excursions they presented an anomalous appearance; the leaders and a portion of the men were well armed and mounted, while the rabble rode ponies, and had all sorts of arms, from the matchlock and sword down to the club and pointed stick. They moved with great secrecy and celerity, avoided encounters with regular troops, and carried off every thing of value that they could lay their hands on.

For a long time they shunned the British territory, confining their ravages to those of the Peishwa, the Nizâm, and the rajah of Berâr, which they plundered regularly every year. At length, in January, 1812, a body belonging to the party of Dost Mohammed, ventured to penetrate through Bundelcund into Bahar, where they spread great alarm. They retired at the approach of the troops, but with so much booty as held out a strong inducement to repeat the attempt. The following year Cheetoo plundered in the district of Surat; but a conflict between him and the leaders of Karim Khân's party, in which he was worsted, and forced to fly, prevented any thing more from being attempted that year. At the end of 1815, the Pindarries entered and plundered the district of Masulipatam, and in the following spring a large body of them committed fearful ravages during ten days in that district, and those of Guntoor and Cudipah. In December they appeared in the northern Circars. The population was every where flying to the hills and woods for safety; and it was feared that they would have plundered the far-famed temple of Juggernâth.

Lord Hastings had seen clearly from the very beginning the absolute necessity of exterminating the Pindarries, if the peace and tranquillity of India were to be preserved. But the timid policy with respect to the East which was now in vogue in England, their own ignorance, and their dread of the senseless clamour of the opposition, deterred the British ministry from sanctioning the statesman-like views of the Governor-general. According to the usual practice of giving places of high trust and confidence to those who have most power and influence, not to those best qualified to fill them, the celebrated Mr. Canning was now President of the Board of Control, and certainly no one more ignorant of the real condition of India ever occupied that position; and the feeble timid policy which he enjoined, would speedily have lost that empire to England. Fortunately, the audacity of the Pindarries came to the aid of Lord Hastings, and he was suffered to pursue his own plans.

His first measure was to inform Sindia that the British government would no longer continue to observe that article in the treaty of 1805, which precluded it from forming alliances with other native states. As soon as this determination was made known, nearly all the Rajpût rajahs, and other minor powers, applied to be taken into alliance; and though treaties were not immediately concluded with all, they became allies in effect. Ameer Khân, too, offered the services of himself and his troops, if guaranteed in his actual possessions. Sindia remained tranquil.

Two events occurred at this time, which proved of future importance. The young rajah of Nagpûr died suddenly, and whether his death was natural or otherwise could not at the time be accurately ascertained. At all events, there appeared no proof that Apa Sahib was concerned in it; and he therefore succeeded to the vacant dignity. The other was the escape of Trimbak from Tanna. He immediately set about collecting troops; and though the Peishwa affected to be making exertions to take him, it was ascertained that he had had secret interviews with him, and had sent him supplies of money, and that he was strengthening his fortresses. Mr. Elphinstone, the resident, directed the subsidiary troops of both Poona and Hyderabâd to act against Trimbak's levies. They were accordingly speedily dispersed; and the Peishwa, in consequence of his duplicity, was compelled to sign at Poona a treaty, far more stringent than that of Basscin. He was obliged to renounce all claims of supremacy over the other Maratta states, and all territorial rights and claims in the countries north of the Nerbudda.

Toward the end of 1817, Lord Hastings having matured his plans, prepared to act against the Pindarries. The troops of Bengal, about 61,000 in number, were formed into four main and two minor divisions. The centre division, under Lord Hastings himself, was at Cawnpore; the right, under Gen. Donkin, at Agra; the left, under Gen. Marshall, in Bundelcund; and on its left were the two smaller divisions, one under Gen. Hardyman, near Mirzapûr; and the other, under Gen. Toone, on the frontiers of South Bahar; the fourth division, the reserve, under Sir D. Ochterlony, was to cover Delhi. The army of the Deckan, under Sir T. Hislop, Commander-in-chief of the Madras army, formed five divisions, respectively commanded by Sir T. Hislop, and by Gens. Doveton, Sir J. Malcolm, Lionel Smith, and Col. Adams. These, with the troops from Gûzerât, under Gen. Keir, formed a force of 52,000 men; and the entire British force thus called into action, amounted to 113,000 men, with 300 pieces of ordnance.

Before any of these troops had commenced acting against the Pindarries, the Peishwa madly rushed into war. He had hardly signed the treaty of Poona, when he renewed his intrigues with the other Maratta chiefs; he commenced a levy of troops, of which he collected a large number about Poona; and he made every effort to seduce the native officers and men in the British service from their allegiance. Though Mr. Elphinstone knew of his practices and intentions, he did not stop the march of the troops that were to act against the Pindarries; and the principal precaution which he adopted, was to move the quarters of the troops which had been cantoned on the east of the city to Kirki on the north, where there could be a ready communication with the residency which was on that side. To this the Peishwa, who knew the cause, strongly objected, but to no purpose; the troops moved to their new quarters, where they were joined by some reinforcements.

The Peishwa now sent to the resident to say, that unless the newly-arrived troops were sent away, and the rest cantoned in a place which he should point out, he would leave Poona. The resident declined compliance; and as bodies of the Peishwa's troops were now moving to get between the residency and Kirki, he set out and joined the troops. The Marattas then entered the grounds of the residency, where they plundered and burned the buildings.

The Maratta troops were about 10,000 horse, and as many foot strongly posted, and with their centre protected by a large train of artillery. The British troops, all infantry, were not quite 3000 men. We have more than once had occasion to notice the culpable temerity of British officers in attacking forts with insufficient numbers, and in ignorance of their real condition; but in the open field temerity had never failed to triumph. Acting on this principle, Mr. Elphinstone and Col. Burr, who commanded the troops, resolved to be the assailants, and to advance without a moment's delay. We need hardly add that their boldness was crowned with complete success, and that, with trifling loss on their own side, they put the enemy to flight. A few days after, Gen. Smith arrived with his troops; and the Marattas who had resumed their former position retired in the night, when they found the British preparing to attack them. The Peishwa now fled to Poorundur.

During the month of November, the first, third, and fifth divisions of the army of the Deckan crossed the Nerbudda, and occupied the whole of the Pindarrie territory. The Pindarries fled to the north and west, and the head-quarters of the army of the Deckan were now advanced a little to the north of Ujein Sindia's former capital.

Meantime Sindia, menaced on one side by the Governor-general, and on the other by Gen. Donkin, and all his secret dealings with the Peishwa, the Pindarrie chiefs, and the Nepâlese being discovered, was obliged to sign (Nov. 6) a new treaty, binding himself among other matters, to aid to the utmost of his power in the destruction of the Pindarries.

The very week in which the treaty was signed, the camp of Lord Hastings was assailed by an enemy far more formidable than the troops of Sindia, or the Pindarries. The disease, known by the name of the spasmodic, or Indian cholera, had at all times committed its ravages in India at particular seasons, and in particular situations; but about the middle of this year, it assumed the appearance of an epidemic, and commencing in the east of Bengal, it gradually advanced westwards, and by the middle of November it overspread the whole camp of the centre division. Camp-followers, native soldiers, and Europeans, all were swept away by it; the deaths in the week of its greatest intensity were 764 soldiers and 8000 camp followers. Fortunately it is the nature of this complaint not to remain long in one place; and either from this or from the circumstance of the troops being moved to higher and drier ground, it disappeared early in December.

During the remainder of the year the Pindarries were hunted by the troops of the right division of the Bengal, and the fifth of the Deckan army, and their leaders now roamed about at the head of a few dispirited followers. Ameer Khân was also forced to disband his troops and to ratify the alliance which had been arranged.

If there was any Maratta prince who had a right to remain attached to the British, it was Apa Sahîb, of Nagpûr, for it was to their support he was indebted for his rank and power. He could not, however, refrain from intrigue, and he was soon engaged in secret negotiations with the Peishwa, Sindia, and even the Pindarries. His presumption and infatuation were such, that even after the attack on the residency at Poona was known, he accepted from the Peishwa the title of Senapati, or Commander-in-chief; and on the day in which he was publicly invested with it (Nov. 24), he displayed the Zeri Patka, or golden banner of the Maratta empire. He had also the audacity to invite Mr. Jenkins, the resident, to be present at this ceremony, asserting that he saw no reason why it should give any offence. The resident, however, viewed the matter in a different light; and as Apa Sahib's intentions were evidently hostile, preparations were made for the defence of the residency.

The residency lay to the west of Nagpûr, beyond a low range called the Sitabaldi hills. As the subsidiary force had moved against the Pindarries, the resident had only his escort of 400 men; as there happened, however, to be a small detachment under Col. Scott, only three miles off, it came to the defence of the residency: but still the whole force amounted to only 1300 men; while the rajah's troops, which lay on the other side of the city, consisted of 12,000 horse and 8000 foot, 3000 of which last were Arabs. As the Sitabaldi range was terminated by two elevations, Col. Scott placed troops on each of them, and the rest of the troops were disposed about the residency.

In the early part of the day of the 26th, the rajah's cavalry was seen disposing itself in masses to the west of the residency, while infantry with guns were taking positions between it and the city. Still the rajah talked of peace; and two of his ministers were actually, toward sunset, in conference with the resident, when the Arabs assailed the troops posted on the Sitabaldi hills. The firing was continued through the night; in the morning (27th) the Maratta army appeared, in dark dense masses of horse and foot, to the south and west of the British position; and the Arabs, after disabling one of the only two guns the British had on the northern eminence, rushed up the hill, and drove them from that post, to which they then brought up guns, and commenced a cannonade on the right of the line below in the plain. They also advanced up to the other eminence; the main Maratta army kept closing round, and their guns had already begun to take effect on the small body of horse posted at the residency, when Capt. Fitzgerald, who commanded it, though his orders were to stand firm, made a dash at the foremost masses of the enemy, charged through them several times, dispersed them, seized their guns, and turned them against them, and then returned to his position. The sight of this gallant exploit gave fresh courage to the Sepoys on the hill; they drove the Arabs back, and finally forced them down the hill again with the loss of two of their guns. A fourth of the numbers of the victors, including seventeen officers, were killed or wounded; but Indian history does not include a more gallant action[4].

When his troops had thus been routed, Apa Sahib sent to express his regret for what had

[4] A part of this force was the 24th Madras infantry. As the first battalion of this regiment had been concerned in the Vellore massacre, its name had been struck out of the list. A petition was presented from the native officers and men, praying, in lieu of any other recompense, for the regiment's being restored to its former number, and being allowed to resume its former facings. The prayer of these gallant and loyal men was granted, of course.

occurred, and to say that they had acted without his knowledge or consent. He was required to remove his troops to their original position, as the condition of the suspension of hostilities, and he did as required. Reinforcements now came daily to the British; and finally (Dec. 13), Gen. Doveton, with the whole of the second brigade of the army of the Deckan, encamped at Sitabaldi. Preparations were now made for attacking the rajah's army. If he wished to avert the attack, he was told that he must disband his troops, surrender his ordnance, put the British in temporary possession of Nagpûr, and come to reside for a time at the residency. He assented to these terms late in the day of the 15th, and that night the troops lay on their arms in the field in order of battle. In the morning he sent to say that the Arabs would not suffer him to leave the camp. The troops then prepared to attack; but before they advanced, word was sent to Apa Sahib to say that he still might come in, and soon after he rode into the lines. At noon, after making as much delay as he could, he sent one of his ministers to deliver up the ordnance. An advance-battery was taken possession of without opposition; but when the troops advanced to the main body they were received by a fire of musketry and cannon. They rushed on, and soon carried a battery on the left; and the cavalry which had been in the action then carried another battery, and pursued the Maratta horse for a distance of three miles. Meantime the infantry had routed the right and centre of the Marattas, and captured their artillery.

The Arabs now joined by some Hindustânees, the whole amounting to about 5000 men, threw themselves into the palace and occupied the approaches to it. Batteries were erected against it with such guns as were at hand; and an attack was made on the principal gateway, which however failed. It was then resolved to wait for heavy artillery; but the Arabs now offered to capitulate on being allowed to depart with their families and property, and receiving 50,000 rupees in addition to their arrears of pay. These terms were granted, and they departed. Apa Sahib was restored to his throne, though it had been Lord Hastings' firm determination to depose him; but as Mr. Jenkins had guaranteed him his rank, his Lordship would not interpose. It is needless to give the terms of the treaty now concluded with him, as he afterwards violated them, and brought on his deposition.

CHAPTER X.

Battle of Mahidpûr—Final Reduction of the Pindarries—Pursuit of the Peishwa—Affair at Korijaon—Deposition of Peishwa—Battle of Ashti—Deposition of Apa Sahib—Surrender of Peishwa—Concluding Adventures of Apa Sahib, and Cheetoo, the Pindarri—Settlement of India—House of Palmer and Co.—King of Oude—Departure of Lord Hastings—Bishop Middleton.

Sir T. Hislop was meantime engaged with the troops of Holkar. Tulasi Bai, and her favourite Ganpat Râo, anxious to escape from the violence of their soldiery, had solicited an asylum within the British lines. The asylum was offered; but the military commanders, Roshan Beg and Ram Din, knowing that the consequence of this arrangement would be the disbanding of the troops, and the annihilation of their own power, seized (Dec. 19) Ganpat Râo and Tulasi Bai in the night, and at dawn next day decapitated the latter. They then with Ghafur Khân and other leaders bound themselves by oath to be faithful to each other, and by acting in the name of the young rajah, prepared to engage the British army which was at hand.

Before daybreak on the 21st Sir T. Hislop put his troops in motion, and marching along the river Sipra, found the enemy drawn up on the other side of that river opposite the town of Mahidpûr. The banks of the river were high, and there was only one ford; the troops, however, crossed without much loss; but as they emerged from a ravine leading up to the plain, they were exposed to a heavy cannonade. They however formed, and then attacking the enemy on the right and on the left, drove them off the field. The centre was then attacked with equal success; and the pursuit was continued till dark. The loss of the British was nearly 800 killed and wounded, that of the enemy was said to be 3000 or more.

The battle of Mahidpûr in effect broke the power of the Holkar family; but as the troops still retained a hostile attitude, Sir J. Malcolm moved with a division to disperse them. The Maratta ministers, however, made overtures of peace to him; and on the 6th January, 1818, a treaty was concluded, which virtually, though not formally, was one of subsidiary alliance.

The Pindarri chiefs, Karim Khân and Wasil Mohammed, had been present with their Durras at the battle of Mahidpûr. As all the Maratta powers had now been reduced, the pursuit of them, and Cheetoo, and the other leaders, was resumed with vigour. It would be wearisome to relate the details of the several hunts that were kept up after them; suffice it to say, that with the exception of Cheetoo, who sought refuge in Berâr, all the leaders had surrendered before the end of February, and the Pindarri system and power was brought to its close. They were removed to Gorakhpûr, where they obtained grants of lands for their subsistence. Karim Khân became there a peaceable, industrious farmer; but Wasil Mohammed, impatient of restraint, attempted to make his escape, and took poison, and died, when he found that he could not effect his purpose.

There now remained only the Peishwa to be reduced. Being followed to Poorundur by Gen. Smith, he moved thence to Sattara, the abode of the descendant and representative of Sevajee, and carrying that prince and his family with him, he went on southwards; but fearing to fall in with the reserve, under Gen. Pritzler, he turned back, and being joined by Trimbak with some troops from Candeish, he pushed on, in the hope of penetrating into Malwa, and inducing Sindia and Holkar to aid him. Finding this course impracticable, he turned westwards, and made for Poona, in the hope of reaching it before Gen. Smith could arrive; and on the last day of the year he was at Chakam, within eighteen miles of that city.

Col. Burr, on hearing of the approach of the Peishwa, sent for reinforcements to Seroor. A

native battalion 600 strong, with two guns and twenty-six European artillerymen, and a body of 350 native horse, were sent, under the command of Capt. Staunton. On New year's day, on reaching some high ground, they beheld the Peishwa's army of about 20,000 horse and 8000 foot, lying beyond the river Bhima. Capt. Staunton immediately resolved to throw himself into a village named Koragam, on the banks of that stream. His purpose when he began to move thither being guessed, a strong body of infantry, mostly Arabs, was sent to occupy it, and both parties entered the village at the same time at opposite ends. Each party prepared to dislodge the other, and at noon the conflict began. The British were at first the assailants, but being repelled by superior numbers, they were in their turn obliged to act on the defensive. The Arabs, though blown away by the cannon, or driven off by the bayonet, still rushed on like lions, and toward evening they succeeded in capturing one of the guns. They then got into a Choultry, in which the wounded had been placed, and began slaughtering them; but a party of the British rushed in, and bayoneted every man that had entered: the rest were then driven off, and the gun was recovered.

The British had had two officers, twelve gunners, and fifty native infantry killed; and three officers, eight gunners, and 103 natives wounded; and there were near 100 of the horse killed, wounded, and missing. Some, therefore, spoke of surrendering; but Capt. Staunton diverted them from this course, and at nine the Arabs quitted the village. Preparations were made during the night for renewing the defence; but before daylight next morning the Peishwa marched away, on hearing of the approach of Gen. Smith. Capt. Staunton led his gallant little band back to Seroor in triumph.

The Peishwa was now hunted backwards and forwards by the divisions of Generals Smith and Pritzler. These joined (Feb. 8) at Sattara; and the fort having surrendered, the flag of the rajah was hoisted, and a proclamation issued, announcing the deposition of the Peishwa. The pursuit was then renewed; and at a place named Ashti, Gen. Smith came up early one morning (20th) with his army, as it was preparing to march. The Peishwa, according to his custom, mounted his horse and fled; but his faithful general, Gokla, made a stand, in order to cover his flight. In the action which ensued, Gen. Smith was wounded, and Gokla slain; and the whole of the camp, with much valuable property, fell into the hands of the British. The rajah of Sattara and his family, who were in the camp, claimed the British protection.

The defeat at Ashti, and the death of Gokla, proved the utter ruin of the affairs of the Peishwa in the south. All the chiefs hastened to proffer their allegiance to the British, or to the rajah of Sattara. The Peishwa, as the rajah of Nagpûr had sent secretly offering to join him, endeavoured to get into Berâr; but his troops were met, and scattered, and he fled with only a small party towards Burhanpûr. In the beginning of April, the rajah of Sattara was formally installed in the principality which he was to hold under the British protection.

The communications of Apa Sahib with the Peishwa, and his inveterate hostility to the British having been ascertained, beyond a doubt, Lord Hastings was resolved to deprive him of his power. Accordingly, he was formally deposed, and was sent a prisoner to Hindustân. But on the way, he contrived to make his escape, and he found refuge with one of the Gond chiefs, of the Mahadeo hills, who refused to give him up, though offered a large reward.

The Peishwa himself, weary of a life of flight and terror, and aware of the utter hopelessness of the contest, made a voluntary surrender of himself (June 1) to Sir J. Malcolm. He struggled hard to be allowed to retain his dignity; but on being solemnly assured that compliance was impossible, he at length accepted the terms offered, which were an allowance of not less than eight lacs of rupees a year, and a liberal attention to his requests in favour of such of his followers as had been ruined by their devotion to his cause. He was to reside at Benares, or some other sacred place in Hindustân. Lord Hastings ratified these terms, though he regarded them as too favourable, and likely to be of injurious consequence; but Sir J. Malcolm vindicated his policy, and none of the apprehended dangers have since occurred. At all events, if an error, it was on the right side. The deposed Peishwa has lived ever since in peace and tranquillity. Trimbak, who was excepted from pardon, was taken some time after, and was kept a prisoner at Chunar till he died.

The Maratta power, once so formidable, was now at an end. The two great armies which Lord Hastings had assembled had been dissolved in the month of January, and only small divisions of them remained in the field. These were employed in reducing such fortresses as still held out, and in bringing under obedience the Bheels, and other aboriginal tribes of the Vindhya mountains and forests. The Arabs, who had been in the service of the Maratta princes, being dangerous from their valour and ferocity, were gradually reduced in number; and most of those that remained were forced to quit India, and return to their own wilds.

It was now found necessary to take active measures for the reduction of Apa Sahib. The Mahadeo hills, in which he had taken refuge, are a cluster lying to the south of the Nerbudda, about eighty miles from Nagpûr. They were covered with thickets, and they contained a great place of pilgrimage—a temple of the god Mahadeo, or Seeva. Hither resorted to him Marattas, Arabs, Pindarries, and other adventurers, to the number of 20,000, as is supposed; and they carried on a desultory kind of warfare against the British. In the commencement they had some partial success, and Capt. Sparkes, and two companies of native infantry, were cut to pieces by them; they also took the town of Multai, and came within forty miles of Nagpûr. Throughout the remainder of the year, the British had to continue this harassing species of warfare; but early in the following year (1819) it was abandoned, and preparations were made for a concentrated attack on Apa Sahib's head-quarters. But that chief, knowing his inability to make an effectual resistance, would not await the attack. Accompanied by Cheetoo, the Pindarri, and a few horsemen, he set out for Aseerghur, a strong fortress of Sindia's, the killidar of which he knew to be friendly. Though the

British, when aware of his flight, had guarded all the roads leading to that fort, he contrived to enter it; but the killidar would not admit Cheetoo and his followers. When, however, the British had driven them under the walls, a fire of matchlocks from the fort repelled their pursuers, and enabled them to escape.

Apa Sahib did not remain long at Aseer. In the disguise of a religious mendicant, he made his way first to Burhanpûr, and then to Malwa. He was proceeding to Gwalior; when, finding that Sindia would not receive him, he went on to the Punjâb, where Runjeet Sing gave him shelter. He then went, and stayed some years with a petty rajah, in the Himalaya; and, finally, he was allowed to return, and reside in Jodhpûr, the rajah being security for his good conduct. Cheetoo having lost all his followers, endeavoured to escape into Malwa; but finding a pass of the Vindhya mountains guarded against him, he took shelter in an adjacent thicket, and he there was devoured by a tiger.

In consequence of the conduct of the governor of Aseerghur, siege was laid to that strong fortress, and it soon was forced to capitulate. Abundant proofs were found in it of Sindia's secret dealings with Apa Sahib, and of its having been by his secret directions that he had been received in the fortress, which, to punish him, it was now determined to retain.

The consequence of the war, undertaken simply for the suppression of the Pindarries, had, through the madness of the Maratta princes, been to establish the British dominion directly, or indirectly, over the whole of India. The entire dominions of the Peishwa, with the exception of the small territory granted to the rajah of Sattara, and the large cessions from Berâr, came directly under the dominion of the Company. Ajmeer, in Rajpûtana, also became a British possession; and all the Rajpût rajahs, even including the rajah of Ûdypûr, who had never acknowledged the supremacy of Mogul, or Maratta, placed themselves cheerfully under British protection. This system of dependence and protection also extended to Gûzerât and Cutch, and Sindia remained the only prince in India, with whom there was not a subsidiary alliance. Henceforth, war in India has been nearly unknown, and the allied states, though not free from the evils of misgovernment, have advanced steadily in prosperity and happiness.

In all public affairs the Marquis Hastings had displayed a high and noble spirit; it is therefore to be regretted that in a matter of a somewhat private nature his domestic feelings should have led him to act with imprudence. A Mr. W. Palmer, who had been in the military service of the Nizâm, had become a banker and merchant at Hyderabâd. He was joined by some of the officers of the residency; and in 1814 the house of Palmer and Co. obtained the sanction of the Bengal government. In 1816, they applied for and obtained exemption from the law interdicting loans to native princes by British subjects; and they immediately engaged in extensive pecuniary transactions with Chandu Lal, the Nizâm's minister. In 1820, they made, with the sanction of the resident, a loan of sixty lacs of rupees to the minister to enable him to pay off arrears and other incumbrances. Just at this time there came out a positive order from the Court of Directors to withdraw the exemption given to the house of Palmer and Co.; and when Sir Charles Metcalfe, who now became resident, instituted an inquiry into the state of affairs, it appeared that no reduction of expenditure had been made by Chandu Lal; that the debt to the house of Palmer and Co.,—who it appeared had acted on the approved Madras principle in the days of Paul Benfield,—now amounted to nearly 1,000,000*l.* bearing interest at 25 per cent.; and that large pensions were settled on the members of the firm, their relations, and dependents. The countenance of the government was immediately withdrawn from the firm, and money was lent to Chandu Lal to enable him to close his account with it.

This affair gave afterwards occasion to bitter attacks on the Marquis' character in the Court of Proprietors; for it happened that a leading partner in the firm was Sir W. Rumbold, who had married a young lady for whom the Marquis avowed he had the feelings of a parent. This partiality blinded the eyes of him who was the most disinterested of men, and he defended the house of Palmer and Co. much longer than was consistent with a proper regard for his own high character; but his honour and his integrity came out scatheless from the ordeal.

Sadat Ally, the Vizir of Oude, died in the first year of Lord Hastings' administration. His son and successor, with the approbation, and even by the advice of the Governor-general, assumed the title of king. This, though it appears, and probably is, a trifling circumstance, has made him to a certain extent independent; for he is no longer a mere Sûbahdâr who can be at any time deprived of his authority.

Lord Hastings quitted India (Jan. 1, 1823), after an administration of upwards of nine years, the longest there has been except that of Warren Hastings. He carried with him the respect and esteem of all classes both European and native. His foible had been vanity; but with it were united, as is often the case, the high courtesy and urbanity, which win the heart and control the feelings. The thanks of the Court of Directors and Proprietors had already been voted to him, and a sum of 60,000*l.* to purchase him an estate, for his liberal disposition had greatly impaired his circumstances.

It was in the time of Lord Hastings that the Church establishment of India was formed. In Nov. 1814, Dr. Middleton, the newly-appointed Bishop of Calcutta, reached his see. But he was a bishop without a clergy, for in the whole of British India at that time there were little more than thirty chaplains. He was a man of learning and piety, and good intentions; but he was deficient in knowledge of the world and human nature, and too full of the idea of the dignity of the episcopal office. He attached perhaps too much importance to things of inferior consequence in the eyes of people of more enlarged views; and he evinced a somewhat too captious disposition which impaired his influence. But he effected much good notwithstanding. He organized the clerical body, increased the number of chaplains, caused churches to be erected in various parts of India, and founded an extensive missionary college named Bishop's College at Calcutta, which, however, he did not live to see completed, and which has as

yet by no means answered the high expectations of its founder.

Bishop Middleton breathed his last on the 8th July, 1822. His successor was the pious and amiable Reginald Heber.

CHAPTER XI.

Lord Amherst Governor-general—The Burman Empire—War with the Burmese—Capture of Rangoon—Progress of the War—March for Prome—Reduction of Donabew—Occupation of Prome—Reduction of Aracan—Successive Defeats of the Burmese—Conclusion of Peace—Mutiny at Barrakpore—Affairs of Bhurtpore—Capture and Demolition of the Fortress.

THE person appointed to succeed Lord Hastings had been that brilliant orator and statesman, George Canning; but the sudden death of his rival, Lord Londonderry, just at this conjuncture, had opened to his view a career much more suited to his taste, and he declined the pomp of Indian sovereignty. The high office was then conferred on Lord Amherst, and he reached Calcutta on the 1st August, 1823, eight months after the departure of his predecessor.

Though the whole of India was under British sway, and no internal commotions were to be apprehended, there was a power on the confines which had not yet experienced the British prowess, and with which causes of quarrel had been for some time accumulating. This was the Burman empire in the eastern peninsula, which, being of recent formation, still retained the vigour to which it owed its origin.

The peninsula, named by the ancients the Golden Chersonese, by the moderns India beyond the Ganges, is watered by three great rivers, running nearly parallel from north to south. They are named the Irrawaddy, the Menam, and the Cambodia. The first runs through the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu; the second, through that of Siam; and the last through Cochin China. From between the mouths of the Irrawaddy and the Menam, stretches the long narrow peninsula of Malacca; on the western coast of the great peninsula, and joining India, lies the country named Aracan. Further north is a state named Cachar, and above it the valley of Assam, through which flows the upper course of the Brahmapûtra.

Ava, the people of which are named the Burmans, seems to have depended on the kingdom of Pegu. In the first half of the last century, the Burmans revolted and reduced Pegu; but they were soon after brought back to their former state of subjection. This, however, did not long continue; a Burman, named Alompra, who commenced operations with only a couple of hundred followers, and augmented his forces as he prospered, eventually succeeded in erecting the Burman dominion on the ruins of that of Pegu, the whole of which he conquered. He also subjugated Aracan and Manipûr, in the eastern part of Cachar; and Assam fell under the power of the Burmans, in consequence of their being called in by rival claimants of the throne.

The occupation of Aracan and Assam brought the Burman dominions into contact with those of the British. The Burmans, insolent with success, committed sundry acts of aggression; and they even had the audacity to claim of Lord Hastings the surrender of Chittagong, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, in Bengal, as having been originally dependencies of Aracan, with a menace of hostilities in case of a refusal. Lord Hastings treated the demand with cool contempt, and there the matter rested when he left India. Soon, however, after the arrival of Lord Amherst, the Burmans made preparations for the conquest of Cachar, whose rajah applied to the British for protection. As it must either be given, or the Burmans be allowed to extend their frontier along the whole east of Bengal, the government saw it was no time for hesitation. Accordingly, troops were marched from Dacca to Sylhet, on the frontiers of Cachar; and when the Burmans invaded that country from Assam and Manipûr, the British acted against them. The immediate cause of war, however, between the two powers was the invasion by the Burmans of the little island of Shahpoorea, off the coast of Chittagong, on which the British had placed a guard of thirteen Sepoys, three of whom were killed, and the rest driven off. As the Burman court would give no satisfaction for that outrage, and still advanced its claim to Chittagong, and the other districts, no alternative remained but war; and on the 5th March, 1824, war was declared.

The plan adopted for the ensuing campaign was, that while a force, under Gen. McMorine, should move along the banks of the Brahmapûtra, and enter Assam, where the people were known to be ill-disposed toward their Burman masters, a much larger force, under Sir Archibald Campbell, should attack Rangoon, on the southern coast of Pegu. The former moved from Goolpoor on the 13th, and after encountering much difficulty from the state of the country over which they had to march, entered Assam; but the Burmese retired as they advanced, and the gradual reduction of the whole country was effected without much difficulty.

The great expedition was to be composed of troops from Bengal and Madras; and Port Cornwallis, the Great Andaman Isle, was the place of rendezvous. The whole number of troops to be employed, European and native, exceeded 11,000 men, all of which, but about 2000, were to come from Madras. In the beginning of May, all the troops, except the second division of the Madras forces, having arrived, the expedition sailed, accompanied by the Liffey, Commodore Grant, and three other small king's ships, some of the Company's cruisers, and the Diana steamer, the first of these vessels ever employed in war. On the 9th, they were off the mouth of the Rangoon river, and at noon, on the 11th, the fleet reached the town itself. The Liffey quickly silenced the fire of the enemy, the authorities and the inhabitants fled from the town, and at four o'clock the British flag was waving over it. As the Burmans, like the Nepâlese, made great use of stockades in war, and were very expert in the construction, and courageous in the defence of them, the attacks on these defences gave employment to the British troops for the remainder of the month, and many brilliant actions, though of course on a small

scale, were performed. Ill-health at this time having obliged Commodore Grant to retire, the chief naval command remained with Capt. Marryat, of the Larne sloop of war.

During the month of June, some more stockades were attacked and carried, at one of which Major R. H. Sale of the 13th regiment distinguished himself by being the first man to mount the enemy's works. But now the effects of the usual error in our Asiatic wars, the not gaining the requisite previous knowledge of the country, began to be felt. The country was all jungle and swamp, and the provisions had all been removed by the Burmese. Dysentery and fever soon, therefore, began to thin the British ranks; to advance was impossible, and even to remain seemed hazardous. The king of Ava had now sent one of his highest ministers to take the chief command, with orders to drive the British out of the country. The latter had fortunately been reinforced by the second division from Madras, when (July 1) the Burmese general made his attack; but his troops were speedily driven into the jungle, their usual place of retreat, with the loss of 100 men, while the British had not even a single man killed or wounded. The Burmese general was immediately superseded; and his successor prudently resolved to confine his operation to the defence of stockades.

The principal stockade of the enemy was on a point of land where the river divides into two branches; and to defend it there were other stockades on the banks of the river. Two columns of attack were formed by the British, one under Gen. Macbean to go by land, the other under Sir A. Campbell to proceed in boats. Capt. Marryat having silenced the firing of the Burmese artillery, the men of this last column pushed off in boats, landed, scaled, and carried the first and second stockades; and the enemy then evacuated the only one remaining in that place. The other column meanwhile had reached the stockades against which it was directed. In ten minutes they had scaled and carried the first stockade they came to, at a second they met a more obstinate resistance, but they carried it also, and then proceeded to attack a third. The Burmese general, who had just been sitting down to dinner when the British first arrived, and who had gone on with his meal, merely ordering his chiefs to go and drive them away, now found it necessary to come to the place of action. The struggle was now hand to hand, and either himself or another chief of high rank was slain in single combat by Major Sale. This third stockade was carried, and then four others in succession, the whole affair having lasted only half an hour, in which time the British had not fired a single shot. The loss of the Burmese was from 800 to 1000 men, their general, and three other chiefs of rank, and thirty pieces of artillery.

An attack on a place named Kyloo proved a failure; but the town of Marteban, on the east side of a bay of that name, was captured, and a great quantity of guns and ammunition was found in its arsenal. But at Ramoo in Chittagong, misfortune befel the British: a party of 350 Sepoys under Capt. Noton, being cut to pieces by the Burmese. The chief, named Mengee Maha Bundoola, who commanded on this occasion, was immediately summoned to court, and the chief command of the army that was to act against the invaders was confided to him. He set out at the head of a large force, and on coming in front of the British position (Dec. 1) he commenced, and with singular rapidity, threw up a line of circumvallation around it, so that with the exception of the channel of the Rangoon in their rear, the British were surrounded. At the same time attempts were made to destroy the shipping, by sending fire-rafts down the stream. The Burmese were suffered to go on with their works for two or three days, the only interruption being a dash among them on the afternoon of the first day, by the gallant Sale, and a small detachment, in which he killed a good number of them and carried off arms and tools. At length (5th) Sir A. Campbell resolved to be the assailant. The point of attack was the enemy's left wing, against which two columns under Majors Sale and Walker were directed, while the flotilla under Capt. Chads, was to move up a creek in their rear, and thence to cannonade them. The undertaking was eminently successful; the enemy fled with great loss, that of the assailants was trifling; but Major Walker was among the slain. Two days after (7th), a general attack was made in four columns on the enemy's right, centre, and left. The Burmese, though at first somewhat daunted, made a gallant defence, but they were soon routed and driven into the jungle.

The Burmese army having reassembled and being reinforced, moved down to the vicinity of Rangoon. Their plan was to set fire to that town, which was built of very inflammable materials, and thus destroy the British stores and magazines. The town accordingly was fired (14th) in several places, and simultaneously; but the garrison succeeded in extinguishing the flames, though not till half the place had been consumed. Next day an attack was made on the Burmese army, one of the boldest deeds that have been achieved in our wars in the East. They were at least 20,000 men occupying a position of great strength, and all the forces that could be spared for the attack did not exceed 1500 men! Sir A. Campbell divided his small force into two columns, with one of which he proposed himself to attack the enemy in front, while the other under Gen. Willoughby Cotton, should make a *détour*, and on a given signal fall on the Burmese rear. When all was ready, and Gen. Cotton had answered the signal, the artillery opened, and the troops advanced with their scaling-ladders. The Burmese deemed them mad; but they saw them still advance and fix their ladders, and in fifteen minutes the British were masters of the whole of these formidable works, and the Burmese flying on all sides.

The military events of the year 1824 thus closed. Early in the following year, Sir A. Campbell, in order to hasten the termination of the war, having received reinforcements, resolved to advance to Prome, on the Irawaddy, the second city of the kingdom of Ava. Leaving 4000 men with Gen. McCreagh at Rangoon, he marched (Feb. 13) at the head of a column of about 2500 men for the banks of the Irawaddy, along which a water-column of about 1000 men with a large train of artillery under Gen. Cotton was to proceed in a flotilla of sixty boats, escorted by those of the ships of war at Rangoon. Major Sale was meantime with a corps of 750 men to occupy Bassein, on a

branch of the Irawaddy of that name, and then to join the main army.

Sir A. Campbell had proceeded a considerable way on the road to Prome, when tidings of an unpleasant nature from the water-column, caused him to retrace his steps. This column had gone on prosperously till it reached the town of Donabew (Mar. 8), on which, on its refusal to surrender, they made an attack in two columns; but this proving a failure, Gen. Cotton re-embarked his troops. A fatiguing march of some days brought Sir A. Campbell to this place (28th). On perceiving the extent of the works, he preferred as he said, "loss of time to loss of men," and he resolved to proceed with much caution. He summoned the flotilla to his aid, and on its appearing (27th) the garrison made a sally, bringing with them seventeen war-elephants carrying armed men on their backs. It was remarked that though the British cavalry charged these animals and shot down their riders, they showed no symptoms of fear, and retreated in good order into the fort. The garrison gained nothing by this sally; the boats came up, the troops erected batteries, and on the first day they opened them (April 1), Bundoola, who was in the fort, being killed by a rocket, the other chiefs were unable to retain the men, who departed in the night and made for the jungle. The English found in this place grain enough to last the troops for several months.

Sir A. Campbell now resumed his march for Prome, which place he reached (April 25) without encountering any opposition. He found it deserted by the enemy, who had left in it 100 pieces of cannon, and large supplies of grain. As the rains were now setting in, the troops halted at Prome, where they remained all through the rainy season. Sickness prevailed, but not by any means to the same extent as at Rangoon.

While the main force was thus advancing into the heart of the enemy's country, the British troops were not inactive in other quarters. A force acting under the command of Col. Richards had cleared Assam of the Burmese, and an attempt was made to march a corps through Cachar and Manipûr toward Ava; but the state of the country and of the weather rendered it impracticable. A much more important move was made in the direction of Aracan. An army of 11,000 men which had been assembled at Chittagong under Gen. Morrison with a flotilla under Com. Hayes attached to it, commenced its march along the coast in January. It was intended, that after having reduced that province, it should cross the mountains to Ava, and co-operate with the army on the Irawaddy. It was not till the end of March that the army and flotilla, having ascended the river on which Aracan stands, came in view of that city. They found the enemy from 8000 to 10,000 strong, occupying a range of hills through which a single pass, defended by several pieces of cannon and 3000 men, led to the town. The troops at first attempted to scale the hill in front, but the corps sent forward for this purpose under Gen. Maclean, found the ascent so steep, and the fire of the enemy so galling, that they were obliged to give over the attempt, not, however, until every one of the officers had been wounded. It was now resolved to change the point of attack and make it on the right, which being protected by a small lake, and having a steeper ascent, was more negligently guarded. To divert the enemy's attention a battery was raised and began to play on the works at the pass; but in the night, a party under Gen. Richards made the attack on the works on the right, and carried them without the loss of a man. In the morning the Burmese, after a feeble resistance, abandoned the hills, and the city of Aracan was occupied by the British. The Burmese troops were now withdrawn from all their positions, and the whole province was given up to the invaders. But it soon appeared that nothing more could be effected in this quarter. The project of crossing the mountains, proved to be impracticable; the rainy season brought with it fever and dysentery, which were fast sweeping away the troops, and the only plan to save them, was to withdraw them altogether. This was done accordingly, divisions being left on two islands and on a part of the more southern coast that appeared to be less unhealthy.

As soon as the rainy season was over, Sir A. Campbell was preparing to resume operations, as it was reported that a large Burmese army was approaching. Overtures for an amicable arrangement having been made by the British some time before, a truce to the 18th Oct. was concluded, and a formal interview took place between the two commanders-in-chief to treat of the terms of peace; but as Sir A. Campbell demanded both territory and money, and the Burmese were not inclined to grant either, after the truce had been further extended to the 2nd of November, hostilities were resumed.

The English were somewhat unlucky in the commencement. The Burmese having pushed forward a division to within a few miles of Prome, a body of native infantry was sent to fall on their left, while another body should attack them in front. But both were repulsed; and the Burmese army, elate with this success, continued to advance, forming stockades and intrenchments as it proceeded. As they moved slowly, the British general resolved to be once more the assailant, and, forming two columns, under himself and Gen. Cotton, he made a general attack on their line (Dec. 1); while the flotilla, now under Sir James Brisbane, cannonaded them. Gen. Cotton's column, having first reached the lines, carried the stockades opposed to them in about ten minutes, and slaughtered all they met. The Burmese fled in a panic; and as they were attempting to pass the river, they were mowed down by the horse artillery of the other column, which had moved rapidly, and got round into their rear.

Next day (2nd) the troops advanced to attack the enemy's centre, which was strongly intrenched among hills, inaccessible by land except by one narrow pathway, protected by seven pieces of cannon, while several batteries commanded the river. But a brigade, led by Col. Sale, quickly carried all the works in front, and then drove the Burmese from their entire position, while the flotilla passed their batteries, and captured their boats and stores. There now only remained the right corps of the Burmese army. This was attacked (5th) in flank and rear by the troops, and in front by the flotilla, and it was speedily driven into the woods.

The British army now continued its march for Ava, but it began to suffer dreadfully from cho-

lera. By the end of the month they were at Patanago, on the left bank of the Irawaddy; while Melloon, on the opposite bank, was occupied by the Burmese army. Negotiations for peace had been going on, and in the first week in January (1826) a treaty was signed. An armistice till the 18th was concluded, to obtain the ratification of the king. This, however, did not arrive at the appointed time; and next day (19th) the British batteries were opened on Melloon, and after a cannonade of two hours, the troops destined for the attack pushed off across the river. The brigade, under Col. Sale, arriving first, without waiting for the others, landed, and forming, under Major Frith (for Col. Sale had been wounded in the boat), rushed on, and scaled the works, from which the enemy fled, and the other brigades soon completed the rout. The army now continued its forward march, till one day (Feb. 8) intelligence came that a Burmese army was lying about five miles ahead, on the road along which they were proceeding. This was a force of about 18,000 men, commanded by a general, whose title was Nawung Thuring, or Prince of the Setting Sun, and who, having represented to the king that the preceding defeats had been entirely owing to the incompetence of the generals, pledged himself to drive the invaders out of the country. He had disposed his troops in the form of a crescent, the main road running through the centre; and as his flanks were covered by jungle, he expected, that as the British could only attack in front, he would be able to envelope them. The British were not able to bring more than 2000 men into action, yet they hesitated not to attack (19th); but, instead of making the attack in front, as was expected, they managed to make it on the flanks. It was the first time the Burmese had ventured to meet the invaders in the field, and they stood the charge at first with firmness, but they were soon obliged to give way, and they fled as usual to the jungle; and the victors entered the town of Pugan, where they found abundance of guns, stores, and ammunition. The march was then resumed for Ava, and the army had reached Yandabo, within four days' march of that city, when the ratification of the treaty of peace was brought by Mr. Price, an American missionary, and Mr. Sanford, an English surgeon, who was a prisoner to the Burmese, both of whom had been for some time past employed by the king, in his negotiations with Sir A. Campbell.

By this treaty the Burmese ceded Assam, Aracan, and the country south of Marteban, along the coast of the peninsula. They also resigned all claim to Cachar and the adjoining provinces. They further agreed to pay a crore of rupees, one-fourth down, another at the end of one hundred days (on payment of which the British were to quit the Burman territories), a third at the end of a year, and the fourth at the end of two years. A minister from each state was to reside at the court of the other, and a commercial treaty was to be framed.

Thus terminated the Burmese war. Of its necessity, there can hardly be a doubt in the mind of any one acquainted with the character of the people of the East; for the contest must have come sooner or later. The skill of the officers, and the valour of the troops, are also beyond question; and we doubt if the government was so much to blame, as it is generally supposed to have been, in the matter of information and supplies.

In the commencement of the Burmese war occurred the mutiny at Barrakpore. The 47th, and two other native regiments, were stationed at that place, and under orders for Rangoon. The Hindoos have in general a dislike to proceeding by sea; they were terrified by the accounts of the swamps and jungles of the Burmese country, and the fate of the detachment at Ramoo had greatly alarmed them. The 47th, when ordered to appear on parade in marching order one day (Oct. 30) came without their knapsacks. On the reason being required, they said they were too old; they were told that new ones were on the way. They then declared that they would not move unless they got double batta, as increased pay had been given to bullock-drivers and others; and they heard that everything was very dear in the Burmese country. Communication being had with Sir E. Paget, the commander-in-chief, the regiment was again paraded, but it now broke out into open mutiny. Sir E. Paget then came, and as it was thought that the other two regiments could not be relied on, two king's regiments and some artillery were brought from Calcutta. The 47th was drawn up, and the command given to order arms; it was obeyed: that to ground arms followed, and but one man obeyed. Some guns in the rear then opened a fire on them, and the whole regiment broke and fled. Some were killed, many were made prisoners, of whom a few were executed, and others sentenced to hard labour, and the number of the regiment was struck out of the army-list. This mutiny, however, was not of a dangerous character like that of Vellore; it was, in the language of the Court of Inquiry held on it, "an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so." As a proof, hardly one of their muskets was found to be loaded, though every man had forty rounds of ball-cartridge.

During the Burmese war also, the affairs of Bhurtpore occupied the attention of the British government. The rajah having died in 1823 without issue, his brother Buldeo Sing assumed the government, and was acknowledged by the British authorities, it having appeared that the claim of Doorjun Sâl, the son of a younger brother, who pretended to have been adopted by the late rajah, was quite unfounded. Buldeo Sing, aware that he could not live very long, was anxious to get his young son and heir acknowledged as his successor by the British government, and Sir D. Ochterlony, the resident in Malwa and Rajputana, was very desirous of having this reasonable wish gratified. The government hesitated lest there might be some one with a better title; but the resident, who knew the truth, and assumed the consent of the government, performed the ceremony of the investiture of the young rajah (Feb. 1825), and a few days after Buldeo Sing breathed his last.

Doorjun Sâl immediately began to act. Having gained over some of the troops, he attacked and took the fort, seized the young rajah, and murdered that youth's maternal uncle. Sir D. Ochterlony instantly summoned troops from all parts, collected a large battering-train, and prepared to lay siege to Bhurtpore, and issued a proclamation to the

Jâts, calling on them to rise in defence of their lawful prince. It is highly probable that, as he anticipated, the force which he would have brought before it, would have reduced Bhurtpore in a fortnight, and the event have exalted the British name in the eyes of the natives. But caution and timidity prevailed in Calcutta; and orders were sent to him to countermand the march of the troops. The declarations of Doorjun Sâl that he had no intentions of usurping the throne, that he had been driven by the oppression of the rajah's uncle to act as he did, were heard with favour, and the gallant old veteran was almost treated with insult. In his communications with the Governor-general, he defended his conduct with great warmth, and tendered his resignation, which was received with a sort of cold civility. It was proposed, for he had not been one of the amassers of wealth in India, to recommend that an income sufficient to make him comfortable for the rest of his life should be settled on him; but his death at Meerut shortly after (July 15) frustrated this design [5]. The affairs of Rajpûtana were now confided to the able hands of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The government soon found that their system of non-interference would not answer. A quarrel broke out between Doorjun Sâl and his brother Madhoo Sing; and the latter having failed in an attempt to seize the fort of Bhurtpore, retired to that of Deeg. Marattas and other military vagabonds began to flock to him, and it was quite evident that a system of plunder would soon commence, and that it would not be confined to Bhurtpore. The governor and council at Calcutta deliberated; two members declared for interference, Sir E. Paget took nearly the same view, but Lord Amherst was still for inaction. At length when Sir C. Metcalfe arrived from Hyderabâd where he had been resident, he was called on to state his views; and he showed in so clear and masterly a manner the absolute necessity of armed interference in case negotiation should not succeed, that the Governor-general was convinced, and that course resolved on.

Sir C. Metcalfe did not succeed in his efforts to settle matters by negotiation. Doorjun Sâl revived his claim to the throne, and relying on the strength of Bhurtpore, which had formerly repelled the British arms, he resolved to dare the worst. An army exceeding 20,000 men was assembled under Lord Combermere, the new commander-in-chief, and on the 10th December it appeared before Bhurtpore. Messages were sent into the fort offering a free passage, and safe conduct to the women and children, but the brutal Doorjun Sâl would not suffer them to depart. Batteries were erected; but as they were not found sufficiently powerful, recourse was had to mines; and breaches having been effected, the troops advanced to the assault (Jan. 18). The enemy made a bold defence, but at four in the afternoon the fort was in the hands of the British. Doorjun Sâl was captured as he was attempting to escape with his family. The formidable fort of Bhurtpore was levelled to the ground, and the whole country submitted to the rule of the young rajah, Bulwunt Sing.

In 1824, an exchange was made with the Dutch of Bencoolen, in Sumatra, for Malacca, Singapore, and their possessions on the Continent of India.

[5] He had been fifty years in India, in the service of the Company. He was by birth an American, his father being one of those who adhered to the mother-country in the quarrel with the Colonies.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord William Bentinck Governor-general—His Reforms—Abolition of Suttee—Renewal of Company's Charter—Opening of the China-trade—Favour shown to the Indian Usurers—Disputes about Governor-generalship—Lord Auckland appointed—Disputed Succession in Oude—Deposition of Rajah of Sattara.

THE successor of Lord Amherst was Lord William Bentinck, whom we have seen on the occasion of the mutiny at Vellore, recalled by the Court of Directors from the government of Madras. His family interest, however, was high, and he was appointed by the Canning administration to succeed Lord Amherst. He had not proceeded to India when the death of Mr. Canning occurred, which broke up that ministry. This, however, made no change to him, as he had interest also with those who succeeded to power, and he sailed for India in February, 1828.

Little of importance took place during the administration of Lord William Bentinck. The conduct of the rajah of Coorg, in the Deckan, who was the very opposite of his chivalrous father, proved so atrocious, that it was found necessary to deprive him of his power, and with the manifest approbation of the people, to incorporate his territory in the British dominions (1834). Treaties also to secure the navigation of the Indus, were formed during this period with some of the chieftains of Sinde, by Mr. (now Sir Henry) Pottinger.

It fell to the lot of Lord William Bentinck, soon after his arrival in India, to have to give effect to the orders of the Company respecting the reduction of the half-batta, as an allowance was named which had been made to the military officers in their service. This, of course, caused great dissatisfaction, and Lord Combermere went so far as to resign his office of Commander-in-chief. But these were the days of retrenchment, and the officers had to submit. Another measure of the Governor-general's was, the doing away with flogging in the native army, a rather anomalous proceeding, while it was retained in the European regiments. His greatest and best act was the abolition of Suttee, or the practice of self-immolation by Hindoo widows, a practice which had existed from times before India became known to Europe. This deed will ever remain a monument to his fame.

Lord William Bentinck sailed from India in May, 1835, after a government of seven years.

While Lord William Bentinck was administering the affairs of the Company in India, the term of their charter had expired, and the advocates of free-trade in England had obtained their final triumph over them. The only exclusive branch of trade we may recollect that had been reserved to the Company in 1813, was that to China; and this was now vigorously assailed.

The British traders had here a fair subject of

complaint; namely, that while they were rigorously excluded from all communication with China, the Americans were allowed to carry thither British manufactures direct from Great Britain, and bring their China goods to any part of Europe, except the British isles. The Americans could also, what British traders were not allowed to do, bring furs to China from the north-west coast of America. In 1820 this question was brought before parliament, and committees of both houses were appointed to inquire into the foreign trade of the country. These committees called for the opinion of several leading Directors, but found them, of course, totally adverse to any concession. The chief advocate, on the part of the Company, was Mr. Charles Grant; the opinions of Mr. George Lyall and Mr. Edward Ellice, of London, and Mr. John Gladstone, of Liverpool, and other eminent merchants, who were examined as witnesses, were different.

Matters so remained till May, 1829, when a petition was presented to the house of lords from the great and opulent town of Manchester, praying of them to take into early consideration the expediency of opening the trade to the East Indies. As this trade happened to be open already, we suppose the cotton-lords, who were not probably very deeply versed in geography, meant the China-trade, taking the East Indies to be synonymous with the East. They proposed, however, that such limitations might be imposed, "as might be consistent with the commercial and manufacturing interests of this country;" we must not suppose that they bestowed one moment's thought on those of India. A similar petition was presented to the house of commons, by Mr. Huskisson, the successor of Mr. Canning in the representation of Liverpool.

Early in the following session (1830), the question of the renewal of the privileges of the Company was introduced into both houses by the then government—the Wellington-Peel administration. Nothing, however, was done in this session, beyond inquiry and debate; it was, however, the intention of the ministry to allow the Company to retain the government of India, but to deprive them of the monopoly of the China trade. Toward the close of the year the ministry was overturned on the question of Parliamentary Reform, and the whigs, headed by Earl Grey, came into office.

If the Company had found so little favour at the hands of the tories, they had still less to expect at those of the whigs, who depended for their official existence on the trading community. The doom of the China monopoly may, therefore, be regarded as sealed. Mr. Charles Grant, who was the new President of the Board of Control, had altered his views considerably since 1820; he was now as hostile, as he had then been favourable to that monopoly. It is needless, therefore, to enter into the debates in parliament, or in the Courts of Directors and Proprietors. In August, 1833, a bill was passed, renewing the Company's charter for twenty years. They were to retain the government of India, but they were to be altogether precluded from trade, and the China trade was thrown open to all British subjects [6].

While Mr. Grant was President of the Board of Control, some extraordinary degrees of favour were shown to the British usurers in India. In 1832, parliament interfered in what was called the *Noozeed affair* [7], and in 1833, the Board applied to the Court of King's Bench for a *Mandamus*, requiring the Court of Directors to send out a despatch in favour of the claims of Palmer and Co., on the Nizam. There was a still larger corps of usurers remaining, the real or pretended creditors, European and native, of Asof-ud-doulah, the former vizîr of Oude. Their suit was urged very warmly by their agent, Mr. Prendergast, who, as it appeared, had a strong personal interest in the matter, as he had purchased a large portion of the debt; and early in 1834, the Board applied to the Court of King's Bench for a *Mandamus* in this case also. A rule *nisi* was obtained; but the Directors showed such firmness, that the Board had not the courage to move to have the rule made absolute. The whole discreditable proceeding was afterwards exposed in the one house by Lord Ellenborough, in the other by Mr. Herries.

In the month of August, the Court of Directors received a letter from Lord William Bentinck, tendering his resignation. Sir Charles Metcalfe had been appointed to be his provisional successor; but the Court were now of opinion, that the most expedient course for the public service would be, to confer on him the office of Governor-general. Perhaps in the whole empire there was no one so fit for that high station, from knowledge and from ability, as Sir C. Metcalfe; but Mr. Grant, when informed of this intention, replied, that with respect to the appointment of any servant of the Company, "however eminent his knowledge, talents, and experience" might be, the ministry agreed with the late Mr. Canning, that "the case can hardly be conceived, in which it would be expedient that the *highest* office of the government of India should be filled, otherwise than from England; and that that one main link, at least, between the systems of the Indian and British governments ought, for the advantage of both, to be invariably maintained." This, when put into plain language, signifies that the government of India is too good a thing to be let go out of the hands of ministers, and that like the Lord-lieutenantcy of Ireland, it should always be reserved for some needy or ambitious supporter of administration. By this rule Mr. Canning, a political adventurer, who knew nothing of India, was qualified to govern it, while Sir C. Metcalfe was disqualified, precisely because he had had the opportunity of acquiring the requisite knowledge.

The ministry were so determined to have the place, that Mr. Grant wrote to the Directors to say, that in consequence of their proposal to appoint Sir C. Metcalfe, ministers did not consider themselves bound to refrain from making the appointment, as they were entitled to do, under the provisions of the law. The opinion of counsel, however, being decidedly against their claim, they refrained for the time. A change of ministry now took place, and during the short-lived Peel administration, the office of Governor-general was conferred on Lord Heytesbury. He took the oath

[6] One good consequence of this measure is, that tea has fallen at least a third in price. Another more dubious consequence has been a war with China, but of which the final result seems likely to be a great extension of our trade with that empire, and of our influence in the East in general.

[7] See above, p. 117, *note*.

of office, and had just completed his preparations for departure, when the whigs came once more into power. They *would* have the government of India, so Lord Heytesbury was required to postpone his departure, and then informed that the ministry intended to advise his majesty to revoke the appointment. The Directors remonstrated, but, of course, in vain; the matter was discussed in parliament, but all ended in the appointment of Lord Auckland to the coveted dignity; and in an evil hour for his own fame, and for the interests of the empire, he set sail for India.

Sir C. Metcalfe had acted provisionally as Governor-general in the interval between the departure of Lord William Bentinck and the arrival of Lord Auckland. During his period of brief authority, he had ventured on the very dubious measure of relieving the newspaper-press of India, both European and native, from the restraints which had been imposed on it, and the press is now as free in India as in England.

Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta on the 5th March, 1836. The first event of any importance that occurred during his administration, was the death of Nussir-ud-din, the weak and contemptible king of Oude (July, 1837). He had at one time acknowledged two sons; but as he afterwards disavowed them, and there seemed to be no reason for supposing that they had any claim to the throne, the resident, Col. Low, prepared to place on it Nussir-ud-doulah, the third son of Saadut Ally, who was the next heir according to the Mohammedan law. He was therefore conducted to the palace, and while he was taking a little repose (being a man in years), previous to being placed on the *musnud*, the Padishah Begum, or queen dowager, who had espoused the cause of one of the pretended sons, sent a party of troops, who forced their way into the palace, and made the king and the resident virtually prisoners. The Begum soon arrived in person with the pretender, who was placed on the *musnud* in her presence. The resident having tried in vain to convince her of the folly of her conduct, made his escape from the palace. A British force soon arrived, and as the Begum refused to come forth, the palace was forced, and about thirty or forty of her followers were killed or wounded. The legitimate prince was then enthroned, and the Begum and the pretender were made to take up their residence in the British territories. Akbul-ud-doulah, a son of the king's elder brother, then set up a claim to the throne, though the Mohammedan law does not, like those of Europe, acknowledge the principle of representation; and acting under bad and interested advice, he was even foolish enough to come to England to address the Court of Directors.

At a somewhat later period—but we will notice it here, not to interrupt the course of more important events—occurred the deposition of the rajah of Sattara.

If there was any prince in India under obligation to the English, it was the rajah of Sattara; they had, in effect, "raised him from the dunghill to the throne," and to them he was indebted for all he possessed. But Maratta nature was strong in him, and in addition, his intellect was extremely weak. He had hardly, therefore, been seated on his throne, when he began to form schemes for overthrowing the power of his benefactors, and making himself the head of the Maratta nation. The means to which he had recourse will give the measure of his intellectual powers. He entered into a correspondence with the Portuguese authorities at Goa, to whom he proposed an alliance, by which they were to furnish an army to enable him to recover the Maratta territories, after which he was to reward them in money or lands, or both! He carried on a correspondence with Apa Sahib, the ex-rajah of Nagpûr, and he made efforts to seduce the Company's troops from their allegiance. There has always been in India a crew of English schemers and adventurers, who seek to make a profit of the ignorance and folly of the native princes; and these vultures swiftly snuffed up the scent of gain at Sattara. It is incredible what sums he lavished on these fellows. He had agents in Bombay, in Calcutta, and even in England, whither he sent no less than two missions. The press in India, now unrestrained, was well feed for abusing its own government, and advocating the pretensions of the rajah. The foolish prince was even induced to purchase a ship, for the purpose of keeping up the communication with England, and his agents employed it in the China trade for their own advantage.

The Bombay government, having had sufficient proof of his intrigues, were thinking of deposing him, when in 1839, Sir James Carnac came out as governor of that presidency. He resolved on a milder course, and he went in person to Sattara, to try to induce the rajah to pledge himself to adhere to the treaty of 1819. But all his well-meant efforts met with no success. Like so many other fools, the rajah was obstinate. The necessary consequence was, that he was deprived of his dignity, and sent to reside in the British territories, and his brother was placed on the vacant throne[8].

CHAPTER XIII.

Condition of Russia—Affairs of Câbul—Russian Intrigues—Resolution to restore Shah Shujah—Needless Apprehensions of the Influence of Russia—Army of the Indus—March to Kandahar—Capture of Ghuznee—Arrival at Cabul—Withdrawal of Troops—Failure at Pishoot—Capture of Forts—Cowardice of Bengal horsemen—Surrender of Dost Mohammed—Events at Kandahar—Prospects of the Country—March of Gen. Sale to Jellalabad.

THE present empire of Russia is one of the most remarkable that have ever appeared. Two centuries ago it was of no importance whatever; it now is one of the leading states of Europe; yet as we shall see, it is not its real power so much as its insidious and unprincipled policy that has given it this influence. Unfortunately for the best interests of mankind, Prussia and Austria, the European states nearest to Russia in position, were despotisms, and they listened to her fatal insinuations; and to perhaps their own ultimate misfortune, if not averted by a timely change of measures, they

[8] Even at the present day, both in parliament and in the Courts of Proprietors, the wrongs of the ex-rajah of Sattara are occasionally the theme of declaimers and busy people.

joined her in the nefarious partition of Poland, which though at the time an anarchic state, possessed many of the elements of constitutional freedom. By this means Russia attained a powerful influence in their counsels, and in the struggles consequent on the French revolution they learned to regard her as their protectress. While Russia was thus advancing her frontier and her influence toward the civilised states of the west, she was carrying on wars with the Turks and Persians to the south and east; and triumphing over their ignorance and weakness, she made from them large acquisitions of territory. She also extended her dominion over the vast solitudes reaching to the Icy Sea and Pacific Ocean, and acquired a portion of the north-west coast of America.

To look at the Russian empire on the map, a superficial observer might be apt to suppose her the most powerful state in the world. But such a supposition would be far wide of the truth. As compared with France or England for example, she is feeble, and we doubt if Prussia might not be able single-handed to resist her aggressions. Russia, in effect, is comparatively speaking poor. Her armies are, therefore, ill equipped and ill supplied. During the French war she never could send an army to the field without the aid of English gold. Her troops, though victorious against Turks and Persians, have never, we believe, with equal numbers beaten disciplined European forces. The policy of Russia also proves her consciousness of her real weakness. It is the most false, treacherous, and insidious that can be conceived, with nothing in it bold or daring. She sits like a polypus on its rock, with feelers out in all directions to try what she can catch. Like a tiger she crouches and steals on till she can make a spring. She boasts and she lies, she flatters and she betrays. At this present moment she dupes the ill-cemented effete Austrian monarchy by a small gift of territory, while under the pretext of common origin she is endeavouring to seduce her subjects of the Slavonian race. But we trust in vain; we feel confident that when the Austrian monarchy falls to pieces, as it seems likely to do, the Bohemians and others will never submit to the degrading despotism of the Czar, or accept his insidious offers of protection. Prussia has now at length taken her place among constitutional states, and for the interests of humanity we rejoice thus to see on the wane the influence of the most cordial hater of liberty under every form that exists.

We have been led into these reflections from the circumstance of the meddling, insidious policy of Russia having been the cause of much loss and danger to our eastern empire at this time.

We have noticed the embassy of Mr. Elphinstone to the court of the Afghân monarch Shûjah-ul-mulk, and the refusal of the British government to give that prince the pecuniary aid that he required. Soon after, he was defeated and expelled by his brother Mahmood, whose eyes he had spared. He sought the protection of Runjeet Sing, who stripped him of what wealth he had, and proposed to detain him as a prisoner, but he escaped to the British territory, where he continued to reside. Meantime Mahmood had, through his ingratitude, lost his throne. He had attained it chiefly by the aid of Futtah Khân, a chief of the Barukzye clan, and now at the instigation of his son Kamran, he seized and blinded that chief, and soon after put him to death. The brothers of Futtah Khân took arms to avenge his death, and they drove Mahmood to Herât on the frontiers of Persia, where he soon after died, leaving his remnant of dominion to Kamran. The victors divided the remainder. Dost Mohammed, the ablest of the brothers, reigned at Câbul, the others at Kandahâr. Runjeet Sing made himself master of Peshawur.

Count Simonich, the Russian envoy at the court of Persia, thought there was now a fair opportunity of setting Russian intrigue at work. He encouraged the Persian Shâh to renew some old claims on Afghânistân, and a Persian army laid siege to Herât, which, however, Kamran defended vigorously. For this purpose the envoy gave some supplies of money, and the Russian government, when questioned by that of England, denied every thing of course, and had despatches from Simonich, made no doubt for the purpose, to produce in proof of her honourable conduct.

The suspicions of the Indian government being excited, Capt. Alex. Burnes was sent (Sept 1837) on a mission to Câbul. He found that the Russian envoy had agents both there and at Kandahâr, who were making the most lavish promises of money and every thing else that was desired. The great object of Dost Mohammed, was the recovery of Peshawur, and the Russian promised that his government would interfere for that purpose; but he does not seem to have stated how; while Lord Auckland wrote to say, that British interference was out of the question. The Russian interest was therefore quite in the ascendant, and Capt. Burnes quitted Câbul. He represented in very strong colours to the government the danger to India of the Russo-Persian influence in Afghânistân. Mr. McNeill, the envoy in Persia, made similar statements to the home government, and in order to counteract it, it was resolved to send an army to replace Shûjah on the throne.

There can be no doubt that the British government violated no principle of public law in this interference. But it is a question whether there was any real danger to be apprehended. We think not. Capt. Burnes, it is evident, was not much of a statesman, and both he and Mr. McNeill gave too much credit to the rhodomontades of the Russians[9]. How, it may be asked, was the Russian to turn this influence to advantage? The days were gone by when the cavalry of a Nadir Shâh, or an Ahmed Dûranee could rush down like a storm on the plains of India. A few brigades of the Company's disciplined troops would speedily send them back in dismay to their mountains. But Russia, it may be said, could send officers and discipline the Persians and Afghâns. All attempts at disciplining the Persians, however, have failed, and it would, we apprehend, be no easy matter to bring the rude Afghân clansmen to submit to the restraint of discipline. It is also remarkable that the native corps in India disciplined by the French never could withstand those of the British. Finally, it is said, and this we believe is the danger really apprehended, that Russia, having secured the

[9] To the vaunt of the Moscow Gazette, that Russia will dictate the next peace to England at Calcutta, we would make the same reply that the Parthian envoy did to Crassus. See Hist. of Rome, p. 404.

friendship of the Persians and the Afghâns, could march an army into India. This, however, is the very thing that we think she could not do, if from no other reason, because she could not afford it. As long as the expense extends only to some thousands given as presents to chiefs and ministers, or spent in bribing the press in Europe, Russia can easily find the money; but when it comes to many millions, as it would in this case, her sinews are easily relaxed. And supposing that Russia did march 30,000 or 40,000 men to the Indus, for a greater force is inconceivable, she would there encounter a much larger army, as brave, at least as well disciplined and officered, far better supplied, and animated with a spirit unknown to her serfs. Nay, a force as large perhaps as her own might, while her troops were toiling through the deserts and mountains, sail by steam from England, and reach the Punjâb before them.

These considerations either did not present themselves, or were thought of no weight, and it was resolved to reseat Shâh Shûjah on the throne. As usual, the Indian government had bad information. They were led to suppose that the great majority of the people were longing for the return of the exiled Shâh, that little or no opposition was to be expected, and that Dost Mohammed and "his friends, if he have any, must yield to his terms, or become fugitives." A tripartite treaty was therefore concluded (June 26, 1838) with Shâh Shûjah, and with Runjeet Sing, by which the former renounced all claims for himself and his successors to all the territories on both sides of the Indus held by the latter, including of course Peshawur, which Dost Mohammed was so anxious to recover. Treaties were also formed with the Ameers of Sinde, in order to facilitate the march of the British troops. A large force composed of troops from the armies of Bengal and Bombay was to cross the Indus to the south of the Punjâb, and march for Kandahar. It was to be led by the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Fane, the state of whose health, however, caused the command to be transferred to Sir John Keane, the commander of the Bombay army, and Gens. Sir Willoughby Cotton, Nott, Duncan, Wiltshire, and Briggs, Sale, Graham, and others held command in it. In imitation, as would appear, of the French, whose example seems to have been continually before the eyes of the Indian government at this time, it was pompously named the Army of the Indus. It, however, was held out to be only an auxiliary force in aid of that of Shâh Shûjah, consisting of a troop of horse artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and five of infantry, raised for him by the British government, and commanded by Gen. Simpson of the Bengal Service. Another force of about 5000 irregulars called the Shahzada's army, as being commanded by the Shâh's son Timoor, was to assemble in Peshawur, and enter Câbul by the Khyber pass, and a Sikh force of 6000 men under Ventura, one of Runjeet's European generals, was to co-operate with it; the whole to be under the direction of Col. Wade. Mr. Wm. Hay Macnaghten was appointed envoy at the court of Shâh Shûjah, and Capt. Burnes and others had inferior appointments.

About the end of November, the whole of the Bengal contingent was encamped at Ferozepore near the Gharra, about fifty miles south of Lahore. Lord Auckland and his family were with it, and a series of interviews, accompanied by shows, processions, and reviews took place between him and the old Lion of the Punjâb, Runjeet Sing. As news had come of the Persians having raised the siege of Herât, a smaller force was now deemed to be sufficient, and orders were given for only a part of the army to advance, the remainder to stay at Ferozepore. Early in December the Shah's troops marched, and on the 16th January (1839) they reached the Indus at Bukkur, and crossed, being soon followed by the Bengal column. But before this last passed over it was learned that the Ameers were about to impede the progress of the Bombay troops, and it commenced its march for Hydrabad; hearing, however, that all had been arranged, it returned to Sukkur, crossed, and joined (Feb. 20) the Shâh's troops which had advanced to Shikarpoor. Here, as they were soon to enter the country of the Beloochees, and as attacks were to be apprehended, it was decided to change the order of march, and for the British troops to move in advance. They marched, however, unopposed to Dadur at the Bolan pass, through which they entered Afghânistân and advanced to Quetta (Mar. 26).

The Bombay column had proceeded by sea, and landing at a place on the coast of Sinde named Vikkur, marched for Tatta, whence it pursued its route for Dadur. On the 16th of April, Sir J. Keane established his head-quarters with the Bengal column at Quetta, the Bombay column being still several marches in the rear. The two columns marched in succession through the dangerous and difficult Kojuk pass, and they reached Kandahâr the first on the 20th April, the second on the 7th May. On the following day (8th) Shâh Shûjah was solemnly enthroned with a salute from 110 guns, and the army of the Indus of 7500 men marched in review before the throne. But the people took little interest in the ceremony.

In the march from Quetta to Kandahâr, though the army had encountered no enemy, its losses and sufferings had been considerable. The extreme scarcity of water in that sultry region caused tortures hardly to be endured; food also was scarce. The horses and camels died also in such numbers that much baggage had to be left behind, and the whole population of the country being robbers, they seized and carried off everything that came in their way.

At Kandahâr, the troops enjoyed some repose, though provisions still were scarce, and robbers numerous as ever. Hardly any one came to join the standard of Shâh Shûjah, and when in the usual manner he sent 10,000 rupees for "shoeing the horses," as it was termed, to the chiefs of the Ghiljye clan, and a Koran for them to swear allegiance, they kept the money and sent back the book. The march was now resumed for Câbul, and on the 20th July the troops reached Nannee, within ten miles of Ghuznee.

The British had been told that the defences of Ghuznee were weak, and that it was commanded from the adjacent hills, and also that it would not be defended. They had in consequence left behind at Kandahâr a small battering-train which they had brought thither with great toil and expense. But all proved contrary to their expectations. The place was strong, and the garrison commanded by

a son of the Ameer Dost Mohammed, seemed resolved to defend it to the uttermost. The only possible mode of attack was that of blowing open one of the gates with gunpowder, and thus forcing an entrance. As all the gates, except that of Câbul on the north side, were reported to have been strengthened by a wall built behind them, it was resolved to make the attempt on that gate. For this purpose the troops which had taken up a position on the south side (21st) were that very afternoon put again in motion. As they had to take a round in order to keep out of the reach of the guns of the fort, and a river, and several water courses, and a range of steep high ground lay in their way, they did not reach the appointed ground till long after nightfall; and as the baggage and camp-followers could not come up they were obliged to bivouack for the night, which they passed without food. They heard the firing of guns from the fort, which also displayed lights which seemed to be answered by fires through the country. They knew that Meer Ufzul, another son of the Ameer's, was coming with an army to raise the siege, that two Ghiljye chiefs with their forces were at hand, and that the Ghazees or religious fanatics were pouring down from the mountains, as the Ameer had proclaimed a religious war, and unfurled the banner of Islam.

The whole of the next day (22nd) was spent in bringing up the baggage, &c., and in making preparations for the attack, which was to take place before daylight next morning. The night proved stormy and windy, so that the garrison could not hear their movements; and while the batteries opened and were answered from the fort, the explosion party, led by Capt. Peat of the Bombay engineers, advanced to the gate, fixed a bag containing more than twice the largest quantity of powder used on such occasions, laid the hose and retired. The explosion blew open the gate, the assaulting column led by Brig. Sale pushed on; a desperate struggle took place in the gateway, in which Sale himself was wounded, but the place was rapidly carried. Meer Ufzul seeing the British flag waving on the citadel, retired with all speed, leaving behind him his elephants and his baggage. While the army remained at Ghuznee, a brother of the Ameer's arrived with a proposal of accommodation. He offered to acknowledge Shâh Shûjah as sovereign, he himself to be vizîr. He was told that he must retire to and reside in India. This was refused, and the negotiation ended.

After a stay of about a week at Ghuznee, the army resumed its march for Câbul, which city it entered without opposition (Aug. 7), the Ameer having fled at its approach. The entrance of the Shâh had all the honours that the British authorities could bestow on it, but the people maintained an ominous silence. The restored monarch now instituted an order of knighthood similar to that of the Bath, to the honours of which several of the officers of the army of the Indus and some civilians were admitted.

On the 3rd September, the army of the Shahzada arrived at Câbul. It had set out on hearing of the march of the army of the Indus from Kandahâr for Ghuznee. As it proceeded through the Khyber Pass it had met with some opposition, and lost some men at the fort of Ali Musjid. It occupied Jellalabâd, and thence marched unopposed to Câbul.

Shâh Shûjah's posse-sion of the throne was, we should suppose, any thing but secure in the view of any one who knew the Afghâns; but the Indian government thought otherwise, and orders were given for the whole of the Bombay column and a great part of that of Bengal to return to India, leaving a part of the latter under Gen. Nott and Sir Willoughby Cotton. The Bengal troops, led by Sir J. Keane in person, met of course with some annoyance from the wild tribes about the Khyber Pass, but nothing of importance occurred. The Bombay column, under Gen. Wiltshire, on its way home, when it reached Quetta, instead of proceeding through the Bolan Pass, moved southwards to attack Kelât, the residence of Mehrab Khân, a Beloochee chief, who had caused them a great deal of loss and annoyance in their march for Kandahâr. The fort was taken after a gallant resistance, and Mehrab Khân fell in the assault.

When intelligence of the events in Afghanistân reached England, the whigs, who were now in power, were filled with rapture and exultation. Military success, a thing so rare to them, completely transported them. To read their speeches, one would suppose that El Dorado was found at length; the commerce which would now be opened with the wealthy regions of Central Asia, would carry off in countless quantities the manufactures of Great Britain, and pour in in return a tide of riches. The thanks of Parliament and of the Company were voted. Lord Auckland was made an earl, Sir J. Keane a baron, with a grant of 2000*l.* a year to himself and his two next heirs; Mr. Macnaghten and Col. Henry Pottinger were created baronets; and orders and grand crosses were bestowed on several of the military commanders. We would not willingly derogate from the merits of Lord Auckland and Lord Keane, but we surely may say, that never did men do less to deserve their honours. They had merely planned and executed a measure of which the policy was very dubious, in which they encountered hardly any resistance, and of which the results were uncertain in the highest degree. How differently earned were the honours of Lords Wellesley, Lake, and Harris, of Lord Hastings, and Sir D. Ochterlony! Sir A. Campbell, who had conducted the Burmese war with so much ability, and brought it to a conclusion, was not rewarded like Sir J. Keane, who but for the taking of Ghuznee would have done almost nothing [1].

It soon began to appear that the turbulent Afghâns would not submit so quietly as had been expected to the rule of Shâh Shûjah. Early in January, 1840, it was found necessary to send some troops under Col. Orchard against a chief who had occupied the fort of Pishoot, fifty miles from Jellalabâd. A breach was made, but the storming party on entering it found that there was an inner gate; and the powder which they had with them, being country-made, proved so bad, and was be-

[1] "Lord Keane contented himself with the superficial success which attended his progress through a country, hitherto untraversed by a European army since the classic days of Alexander the Great, he hurried off with too great eagerness to enjoy the applause that awaited him in England, and left to his successors the far more arduous task of securing in their grasp the unwieldy prize, of which he had obtained the nominal possession." Eyre, Military Operations, &c, p 190.

sides wet, as the rain was falling in torrents, that they were unable to blow it open, and were forced to seek covert. A second attempt also failed; and the soldiers being drenched with the rain and harassed by the fire of the enemy, they were withdrawn. The Afghâns however abandoned that and another fort.

In March it was found necessary to attack a mud-fort near Bamian, belonging to a chief of the Huzareh tribe, which had hitherto proved friendly. A party was sent under Capt. Garbett, and the fort was taken. The women and children were saved, but the men having retired to the tower and refusing to surrender, fire was put to it and they all perished. An outbreak of the Ghiljyes followed in May; but the troops sent against them defeated them, and blew up several of their strongholds. In the autumn Sir R. Sale had to set out to reduce a chief who held some forts in the province of Kohistan, north of Câbul.

Dost Mohammed, who had sought refuge in Tûrkestân, had there formed an alliance with the Usbegs under the Wallee of Kooloom, (a place to the east of Balkh,) and their united forces prepared to march for Câbul through the valley of Bamîan. Col. Dennie hearing of their approach, proceeded to that valley, which he entered (Sept. 17) with only a third of his troops, supposing only a few hundreds of the invaders to be there. To his surprise he beheld a force of 6000 men; and though he had only 500 foot, and 300 horse mostly of the Shâh's troops, and two guns, he resolved to be the assailant. Though the enemy had possession of a chain of forts reaching to the mouth of the pass, they made a miserable defence, and fled in confusion to the pass, along which the cavalry pursued them and cut them down. The alliance between the Ameer and the Wallee was dissolved by this disaster; and the former now moved for the Ghorbund pass (north-east of Bamîan) in order to join his son Ufzul Khân. Sir R. Sale immediately marched to Purwan, near that pass. The troops having ascended (Nov. 1) a hill overlooking the valley, from which they drove the enemy, the 2nd regiment of Bengal horse was sent in pursuit, as the infantry was detained by the guns. They had got about a mile ahead of the column, when a body of horse, supposed to be led by the Ameer, came down the hill to attack them. Capts. Fraser and Ponsonby, who commanded the two squadrons, formed their men in line, and led them, as they thought, to the charge. But they soon found themselves nearly alone in the midst of the enemy. They made their way back, though severely wounded, and saw their men flying. Lieut. Crispin the adjutant was killed, as also was Lieut. Broadfoot of the engineers, and Dr. Lord, a medical man of considerable talent. Various recondite reasons, as is usual, have been assigned for this scandalous conduct, but it seems to have proceeded from mere panic and cowardice. All the men that shared in it were dismissed the service with disgrace, the remainder were drafted into other regiments, and the name of the regiment was struck out of the list of the Bengal army.

Two days after this affair, as Sir Wm. Macnaghten was returning from taking a ride, a horseman rode up to him, and having ascertained that he was the envoy, told him that Dost Mohammed was at hand, and claimed his protection. The Ameer then came up, alighted from his horse and presented his sword. The sword was returned, he was requested to remount, and they both rode on together. A tent was pitched for the Ameer, near the envoy's residence, and some time after he and his family were sent to India.

While these various affairs were taking place in the north, the troops of Gen. Nott, who commanded at Kandahâr, were acting against the Beloochees of Khelât and its vicinity, and much toil and some reverses were experienced, and many gallant deeds performed, which our space does not permit us to relate.

During the greater part of the following year, (1841) little of importance occurred in the north. In the south, first the Kojeek and then the Ghiljye clan gave some occupation to the troops at Kandahâr. The former took arms on being required to pay tribute. In the attack on their fort of Sebee, Lieut.-Col. Wilson of the Bombay horse and two other officers were killed and the assailants repelled; but in the night the Kojeeks abandoned the fort.

On the 29th May, as a small party led by Capt. Wymer was escorting a convoy from Kandahâr to Khelât-e-Ghiljye, it was attacked on the way by a body of Ghiljyes, which during the engagement increased from 2500 to 5000 men. They advanced in three columns, attacking simultaneously in front, flank, and rear. Being checked by the fire of the infantry, they changed their plan of operation, but were again repulsed; and though they showed no lack of courage, they were forced to retire, after keeping up a series of attacks during four or five hours.

On the 2nd July, Capt. Woodburn, with no other troops than the indifferent levies of the Shâh, defeated a force of 6000 Ghiljyes on the banks of the Helmund. Toward the end of August, Akhtar Khân, the Ghiljye leader on this occasion, and another chief, named Akram Khân, engaged with 5000 men, near Kishwurn, a detachment under Capt. Griffin, but with their usual want of success.

At the end of September, the whole of the country presented an unusual, though, as it proved, a deceitful appearance of tranquillity. It was therefore fondly believed that Shâh Shûjah was so firmly established, that he had nothing to apprehend but the occasional outbreaks of the mountain-clans, of perpetual occurrence in Afghânistân, and that therefore the greater part of the British troops might with safety be withdrawn. Sir William Macnaghten, also, proposed proceeding to Bombay, to the government of which he had been appointed, leaving Sir A. Burnes to take his place in Câbul. There were, however, a few circumstances which might have shown to a clear observer, that the political horizon could not be as bright as it seemed to be, and that there was momentary danger of a tempest. The Afghâns are Mohammedans, of the Soonee creed, and bigoted and fanatic; and, however it may be with the Sheeahs, the Soonees have ever shown a bitter aversion to Christians, and a horror at being under their rule; and Shâh Shûjah was generally regarded as the mere deputy of the English. Akbar Khân, the Ameer's eldest son, a man of energy and talent, who had steadily refused to surrender, though earnestly requested by his father, was now at Kooloom, on the watch to take advantage of this

feeling. The chiefs of clans were further displeased at the prospect of regular government, for anarchy was their element; and the reduction at this time, in the amount of the allowances made them for keeping the tribes at the passes in order, and preventing robberies, aided to embitter them. For the Indian government, finding Afghânistân to be such a large and continued drain on its finances, was unceasingly urging on Shâh Shûjah the necessity of reducing the expenses of his government; and as he found great difficulty in collecting revenue, he had recourse to retrenchment, and selected these allowances as the object, under the pretext, that from the fall in the price of grain they would really, though reduced, be as good as ever. This reasoning, however, it is plain, would not convince the greedy chiefs.

Early in October, three Ghiljye chiefs of note suddenly quitted Câbul. After plundering a rich caravan at Tezeen, they posted themselves in the defile of Khoord Câbul, about ten miles from Câbul, and through which the road to India runs. Just at this time Akbar Khân came to Bamian, so there is reason to suppose the Ghiljyes were acting in concert with him. Gen. Sale's brigade was at Câbul, only waiting for the return of a force which had been sent to act in the valley of Zoormut, to the east of Ghuznee, to set out for its winter-quarters at Jellalabâd, on its way to India. A part of it was now (9th) sent forward to Bootkhak, at the mouth of the pass of Khoord-Câbul; and on the 11th, Gen. Sale came in person, with the 13th Light Infantry, and next morning they proceeded to force the pass, which is nearly five miles long, its sides in many places rising to a perpendicular height of more than 500 feet, and approaching to within fifty yards of each other. The Afghâns, armed with their *Juzails*, or long rifles, occupied the sides, and about the middle of the defile they had raised a strong stone breast-work across it. By sending flanking parties up the sides to dislodge the enemy, and by pushing on at all speed, the troops passed through; and the enemy having retired, a part of them returned, and took their post at Bootkhak. The troops from Zoormut having at length joined, Gen. Sale marched (20th) for Khoord-Câbul, and two days later they reached Tezeen, having encountered much opposition on the way. Capt. Macgregor, the political agent, now made a treaty with the chiefs, in which most of their demands were conceded; but Afghâns have little idea of keeping faith with infidels, and the troops on their march for Gundamuk were harassed as much as ever. On the way from Jugduluk to that place, they were one day (26th) very vigorously assailed, and lost some men, and a great deal of baggage. At Gundamuk, Gen. Sale having learned that Jellalabâd was menaced by the enemy, resolved to march for it forthwith. On reaching it (Nov. 12), he found that the information he had got was correct. He immediately set about repairing the defences, which were weak; and to get rid of the annoyance caused by the enemy, a force, not much exceeding 1000 men in all, was sent out (14th) under Col. Monteith, which speedily put to flight at least 5000 of them. To diminish the consumption of provisions, the women and children, and useless part of the male population, were all sent away, and it was resolved to hold the town throughout the winter.

CHAPTER XIV.

Description of Câbul, and the British Cantonment—Errors committed—Outbreak in Câbul—Loss of Commissariat Fort—Taking of Mohammed Shereef's Fort—Of Rika-Bashee Fort—Disasters—Action on the Behmaroo Hills—Loss of Mohammed Shereef's Fort—Negotiations for a Retreat—Murder of the Envoy—Conclusion of Treaty.

EVENTS were, meantime, taking place at Câbul, which will not soon be forgotten. In order to comprehend them, it is requisite to have a tolerably clear idea of that city, and of the positions of the British troops in its vicinity.

The city of Câbul is built on both sides of the river of the same name. Adjoining it, on the north-east, is the Bala Hissar, or royal citadel, in which the king resided; north of which runs some high ground, called the Siah Sung hills, parallel to which on the west, and beyond the river, is another rather higher range, named the Behmaroo hills. From the western, or Kuzzilbash[2] quarter of the city, runs northwards the Kohistan road, close to which on the east, about a mile from the town, was the place selected for the cantonment of the British troops. This was a parallelogram of 1000 yards in length, and 600 in breadth, surrounded by a low rampart and narrow ditch, with round flanking bastions at each corner. Adjoining it on the north was another enclosed space of about half the size, named the Mission Compound, one-half of which was appropriated to the envoy, the other was for the officers of the mission, and his body-guard. The Câbul river flowed about a quarter of a mile to the east, and in the same direction there was a wide canal, about 150 yards from the cantonment. Bridges were made over both the river and the canal. At the south-western angle of the cantonment was the bazaar village; beyond which, on the other side of the Kohistan-road, was the Shâh Bagh, or royal garden.

Lieut. Eyre[3], from whom we derive this description, points out several errors committed by those who placed the cantonment in this position. He says, in the first place, that the Bala Hissar was the only proper place for the troops, that were to keep the city and country in obedience; and that certainly the magazine, at least, ought to have been there, and not in the cantonment, which was fixed in a low swampy ground, and commanded on all sides by hills or forts. But the greatest error of all, and which he says chiefly contributed to the subsequent misfortunes, was the placing the Commissariat stores out of the cantonment, and in an old fort more than 400 yards from it, and which was hardly capable of being defended.

It would seem as if every thing conspired to bring destruction on the British troops. Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had commanded at Câbul, had left the country in the preceding spring. His successor was Gen. Elphinstone, a man advanced in years, and now suffering from disease, which appears to have had the effect of weakening his intellect. He had lost all confidence in his own judgment, and he was swayed at the will of every

[2] Persians, or their descendants.

[3] For the following events, our authorities have been the work of this officer, already quoted (p. 177), and the Journal of Lady Sale.

adviser. Conscious of his own unfitness—a thing, by the way, he should have known before he left India—he had obtained permission to resign the command to Gen. Nott, and return to Europe, and he was now on the eve of his departure for India. The superior officers in general [4], as we shall see, were ill-qualified to make up for the deficiencies of their chief; and the envoy, who was a man of courage and energy, had lulled himself into a belief that all was tranquil, and that the people were friendly.

The principal part of the troops were in the cantonment; a portion, under Brig. Shelton, was encamped on the other side of the Siah Sung hills; the 37th Native Infantry, under Major Griffiths, was at Khoord Câbul. The Shâh's own troops were principally in the Bala Hissar. Sir A. Burnes, and some of the Europeans in the royal service, resided in or near the Kuzzilbash quarter of the town.

Early in the morning of the 2nd November, there was a commotion in the city; the shops were all closed, and a rabble of 200 or 300 attacked the houses of Sir A. Burnes and of Capt. Johnson, the Shâh's paymaster. Instead of letting his guard fire on them, which in all probability would have put an end to the outbreak [5], Sir A. Burnes went and addressed the insurgents from the gallery of his house. But to little purpose; the rabble rushed on, and though his own sepoys, and those of the paymaster, made a gallant stand, they massacred himself, his brother, and Lieut. Broadfoot, a most gallant officer, and every man, woman, and child in the place; and plundered the paymaster's office of all the money that it contained, and then burned the houses.

As soon as what had occurred was known in the cantonment, orders were sent to Brig. Shelton to lead a part of his men into the Bala Hissar, and for the remainder to come into the cantonment; orders were also sent for the 37th to return from Khoord Câbul. The Shâh sent one of his sons with some Afghân troops, his regiment named Campbell's Hindoostanees, and two guns into the city to put down the insurrection; but they were driven off with great loss by the insurgents, and saved their guns with difficulty. As Capt. Lawrence, the envoy's military secretary, was galloping across to the Bala Hissar, to inform the Shâh of Shelton's coming, he was attacked by an Afghân with one of their large knives, and when he escaped him he was fired at by about fifty men, who came out of the city. Shortly after, Lieut. Sturt, the engineer-officer (son-in-law to Gen. Sale), being sent forward by Brig. Shelton, just as he was entering the hall of audience, was fallen on by a well-dressed young man, who gave him three wounds, one in the face, and then ran into an adjacent building, of which the gates were closed as soon as he had passed them. Though Brig. Shelton arrived in the forenoon at the Bala Hissar, and his men were eager to be led against the insurgents, the day was let to pass away in inactivity.

Early next morning (3rd), the gallant 37th Native Infantry arrived in cantonments, having made a most orderly march, though followed by about 3000 Ghiljyes, and without even losing any of its baggage. Some guns and mortars were now sent into the Bala Hissar, with which Brig. Shelton was directed to keep up a fire on the city. In the afternoon, Major Swayne was sent toward the city with some troops along the Kohistan road, with orders to proceed along the walls to the left, and to try to effect a junction with some of the troops from the Bala Hissar at the Lahore gate, near that citadel. But he encountered so sharp a fire from the Kohistan gate, and other places, that he found it advisable to return. Soon after, a large body of Afghâns were seen to issue from the fort of Mahmood Khân, which was 600 yards south-east of the cantonment, close to the river on the road leading from the Bala Hissar to the Shâh Bagh. They drew up in line along the river, and displayed a flag, but a few shots scattered them. An order was now sent for troops to Candahâr.

Next day (4th) the enemy took possession of the Shâh Bagh, and threw a strong garrison into the fort of Mohammed Shereef, which is close to that garden, and within 100 yards of the cantonment, between which and the Commissariat fort they thus cut off communication. The defence of this fort was committed to Ensign Warren, of the 5th Native Infantry, and 100 men. Having reported that he was in danger of being overcome, the general gave hasty orders for a party to go, not to reinforce him, but to bring him off. The attempt was made, but the party was forced to return with great loss. A second attempt also proved a failure. Capt. Boyd, the assistant-commissary-general, having now learned what the general was about, hastened to him, and represented that the loss of that fort would be of irreparable injury, as it contained beside grain all the stores of rum, medicine, clothing, &c., while there were not more than two days' supply of provisions in cantonments, and he knew not where any more were to be obtained. The general now wrote to Warren, to hold out to the last extremity; but the note, it would seem, never reached him, and toward night he wrote to say that the enemy were mining the fort, and preparing to burn the gate, and that his men were deserting. He was informed, in reply, that he would be reinforced at two in the morning!

At nine at night a council sat at the general's. The envoy, who was present, strongly urged the necessity of reducing the fort of Mohammed Shereef. Two men were sent successively to view it; their report was favourable, but still the council did nothing but agree that a detachment should be sent in the morning. Just, however, as it was getting ready, Warren came in, the enemy having set fire to the gate, and the garrison being obliged to escape through a hole in the wall. This event decided the fate of the British; the Kuzzilbashes, who had hitherto been neutral, now declared against them, and they had hardly a friend remaining in the country.

[4] The principal were Brig. Shelton, of the 44th, Brig. Anquetil, of the Shâh's service, Col. Chambers, 5th Light Cavalry.

[5] Both Lady Sale and Lieut. Eyre assert, that Shâh Shûjah had been the origin of the outbreak, in order to get rid of Sir A. Burnes, whom he disliked. A chief, named Taj Mohammed, went to Burnes the day before, and told him what was to occur, but he not merely refused to credit him, but actually insulted him. On the day of the outbreak several chiefs went to the house of Capt. Trevor, of the Shâh's service, offering their assistance. Every thing shows that with a little energy and common prudence, it might have been suppressed.

In the morning (5th) the troops, especially the native, when they heard of the capture of the fort, were furious to be led to its recapture. Lieut. Eyre now urged the general to send a party to take Mohammed Shereef's fort, by blowing the gate open with gunpowder. He gave his consent; but, through the want of judgment or of spirit, as it would appear, of Major Swayne, who led the party, the attempt proved a failure. The general recalled the troops, though, according to Lady Sale, the enemy were actually making their escape from the fort. Next day, however (6th), it was regularly breached, stormed, and captured. Some smart fighting then ensued, in an attempt to get possession of the Shâh Bagh, but the enemy, though routed in every encounter, assembled in such numbers that it could not be accomplished.

Plans were formed and proposed for recovering the Commissariat-fort, but still the general and his advisers hesitated, and nothing was done. On the 9th, at the express desire of the envoy, Brig. Shelton was summoned from the Bala Hissar to assist the general, whose mental incapacity was apparent. He came, but he added little to the wisdom of the council, for his whole thoughts were how to get back to India as quickly as possible, and he urged an immediate retreat to Jellalabâd, a course to which the envoy was most strenuously opposed. Excepting undaunted courage, Shelton does not appear to have possessed any of the qualities necessary for command. Despondency prevailed in general among the officers, and spread to the men.

The enemy, reinforced by great numbers of Ghiljyes, now occupied the two ranges of hills between which the cantonment lay. Those on the Siah Sung descended into the plain, and took possession of all the forts in it. As one of these, named the Rika-bashee fort, was opposite and within musket-shot of the Mission Compound, into which the enemy began to pour their shot, and as further, if they were allowed to surround the cantonment it would be impossible to get any provisions, the general, at the express desire of the envoy, who was obliged to take the whole responsibility on himself, ordered a force under Brig. Shelton to advance to storm it (10th). Unfortunately, Capt. Bellew, who was to blow open the gate, missed it, and only blew open a wicket. The storming party, led by Col. Mackrell, then advanced under a sharp fire from the walls. Only the colonel and a few officers and men got in, but the garrison thinking they were followed by all the rest fled out of the opposite gate. But just then a party of the Afghân horse charged round the corner of the fort next the wicket. A cry of "cavalry" was raised, and a bugler by mistake sounding the retreat, the troops began to run. By a most extraordinary display of valour, Brig. Shelton at length succeeded in rallying them, and the fort was taken, but in the meantime all within it had perished, except Lieut. Bird and a Sepoy. For when they found that their comrades had retreated they closed the gate and fastened it with a bayonet; but the Afghâns soon returned, and having contrived to draw the bayonet, rushed in and slaughtered all that were there except those two, who retired into a stable, whence, till they were relieved, they kept up a deadly fire on their assailants, killing upwards of thirty of them. The entire British loss was 200 killed and wounded. Four other forts were evacuated by the enemy, and there was found in them a good deal of grain. As they were only able to take away one half of it before nightfall, Capt. Boyd requested Brig. Shelton to leave a guard in a small fort; but he refused, and during the night the Afghâns carried off the remainder of the grain.

On the 13th, as the enemy were in considerable force on the western heights, whence they fired into the cantonment, Shelton was sent, at the desire of the envoy, to dislodge them. This was done after some hard fighting, the Afghâns advancing on the very bayonets of the infantry and driving them down the hill, and "this," says Eyre, "was the last success our arms were destined to experience."

On the 15th Major Pottinger, political agent in Kohistan, and Lieut. Haughton, arrived in cantonments. They were both badly wounded, and had had almost a miraculous escape from Charikar. They had been for several days besieged by large numbers of Afghâns; the sufferings of themselves and their men (mostly Ghoorkas and Afghâns,) from thirst, had been dreadful; the Mohammedan soldiers had deserted, and the remainder were destroyed in their attempt to reach Câbul. Intelligence of another disaster also arrived. A detachment under Capt. Woodburn, which was coming from Ghuznee to Cabul, was surprised and cut to pieces by the enemy.

Little or nothing was done now till the 22nd. The question of removing into the Bala Hissar was frequently discussed, and Eyre is decidedly of opinion, that had that course been adopted, the subsequent calamities might all have been averted. But Brig. Shelton was so determined on a retreat to Jellalabâd, that he set his face against every other proposal. Some ammunition was merely conveyed to the Bala Hissar. The village of Behmaroo, which stands at the north-east extremity of the hills named from it, and about half-a-mile from the cantonment, was the place from which the troops had of late drawn their supplies of grain. On the 22nd, as the enemy was seen crowning the hill over it in large numbers, it was resolved again, at the desire of the envoy, to anticipate them in occupying that village. The task was committed to Major Swayne of the 5th N. I., and just as he had done at the fort of Shereef Shah, instead of entering boldly and charging the enemy who were in the place, he kept his men under cover, doing nothing but merely firing on the houses. Lieut. Eyre was sent with a gun, but could get no position for it except in the open field, where the gunners were exposed to the fire of the enemy's marksmen, as also were the cavalry which were stationed behind it. In the evening the troops were recalled, and in the night Akbar Khân arrived at Câbul.

At a council held at the general's that night, it was resolved that a force under Brig. Shelton, should in the morning take the village by assault, and then maintain the hill over it against all the forces of the enemy. The troops set out at two in the morning, and crossing the Kohistan road, ascended a gorge in the Behmaroo heights opposite the cantonments, and which divides them into two hills. Having dragged up the only gun they had with them, they brought it to a knoll over the village, and a fire was opened on an inclosure in it, which was supposed to be the enemies' principal bivouack. Several officers now urged Shelton to

take advantage of the panic of the enemy, and storm the village while it was yet dark, but he would not consent. At daybreak he sent a party to storm under Major Swayne; but this officer missing the gate which was open, came to a wicket which was barricaded, and then as usual got his men under cover. After they had been there about half an hour, suffering from the enemy's fire, they were recalled, as large bodies of men were seen issuing from the city; and the brigadier, leaving three companies of the 37th N. I. under Capt. Kershaw as a reserve on the knoll, moved back with the rest to the part of the hill over the gorge. A squadron of irregular horse under Lieut. Walker had been sent down into the plain on the west to intercept fugitives from the village. As the enemy was in great force on the hill beyond the gorge, (10,000 it is said) and their *juzails* carry a long way, Shelton was advised to erect a *sunga* or stone breast-work for the defence of the men; but he refused as usual.

The cavalry of the enemy swept the plain to the west, and it was found necessary to recall Lieut. Walker. The British position was, therefore, now surrounded on all sides, except that next the cantonment. Brig. Shelton had drawn up the infantry in two squares, and placed the cavalry behind them in one mass, thus presenting a broad mark for the enemies' *juzails*, from which the troops suffered severely. Bodies of the enemies' cavalry were now seen issuing from the Shâh Bagh in order to get between the troops and the cantonment; but they were checked by some troops in a *musjeed* or tomb, and by a fire from the cantonment. Swarms of Ghazees had at this time descended in the gorge, and creeping up the other side, picked off the British skirmishers; and though the brigadier offered 100 rupees to any man who would take a flag which they had planted within thirty yards of the first square, none would stir. As fruitless were the efforts made to get the men to charge bayonets. The Ghazees now made a rush at the gun; the cavalry refused to charge when ordered, and all but the second square gave way and ran. The officers with great difficulty succeeded in rallying them behind this square. The Ghazees then retired, taking with them the limber and horses of the gun.

It was now past noon; fresh assailants poured forth from the town and village, and the firing of the long *juzails* was thinning the troops, who were suffering from heat and thirst. Brig. Shelton then sent to request Major Kershaw to move up and join him. But that officer, who had been the whole morning hard pressed by the enemy from the village, and who feared if he quitted the knoll his retreat would be cut off, suggested that it would be better for them to fall back on him. By this time the front ranks of the first square had been mowed down, and when they began to retire toward Major Kershaw, the Ghazees made a rush and completely broke the square. All order was now lost; the men rushed down the hill and made for the cantonment; the reserve followed their example, the enemy poured round them from all sides, and but that the pursuit was checked by a fire from the Mission Compound, and that a chief named Osman Khân halted and drew off his men who were foremost in the pursuit, hardly a man would have escaped. As it was the loss was tremendous, for as the wounded were left behind they were all massacred.

Lieut. Eyre notices and severely comments on not less than six gross errors committed by Brig. Shelton on this disastrous day, namely:—taking but one gun with him; not storming the village in the dark; not raising a *sunga;* placing the cavalry where it could not act and was exposed to the enemies' fire instead of on the plain; refusing to retreat in time. The last we shall state in the indignant writer's own words: "All," says he, "have heard of the British SQUARES at Waterloo, which defied the repeated desperate onsets of Napoleon's choicest *cavalry.* At Behmaroo we formed squares to resist the *distant fire of infantry,* thus presenting a solid mass against the aim of perhaps the best marksmen in the world; the said squares being securely perched on the summit of a steep and narrow ridge, up which no cavalry *could* charge with effect. A Peninsular general would consider this to be a novel fashion; yet Brig. Shelton had the benefit of Peninsular experience in his younger days, and, it must be owned, was never surpassed in dauntless bravery."

There remained only two honourable courses now, to retire to the Bala Hissar and defend it to the uttermost, or to make a bold effort to reach Jellalabâd. But against the former Shelton and the others made their old objections of difficulty and danger, as if any course could be free from them; and it was resolved to have recourse to negotiation to effect a retreat to India. A letter from Osman Khân to the envoy having arrived, he requested the opinion of the general as to the possibility of retaining their position; and he, as no doubt he was instructed, replied that it was impossible, and advised negotiation. But the terms proposed by the chiefs were not to be endured, even by those most anxious for retreat. The British were required to deliver up Shâh Shûjah and his family, and lay down their arms, in which case their lives might perhaps be spared and they permitted to leave the country.

Little occurred during some days. On the night of the 4th, then December, the Afghâns made a fruitless attempt to blow open with powder the gate of Mohammed Shereef's fort; but next day they succeeded in destroying the bridge over the river, at which they had been at work unopposed for the last ten days, though the bridge was of the utmost importance, and it might have been secured by placing a party in a small fort close by it, and several officers had solicited to be allowed to do so, but in vain, the principle of the leaders being to listen to no salutary counsel. In the night, Lieut. Sturt succeeded in destroying a mine which the Afghâns were running under one of the towers of Mohammed Shereef's fort, and in the morning (6th) its garrison was relieved by a company of the Queen's 44th under Lieut. Gray, and one of the 37th N. I. under Lieut. Hawtrey. In order to destroy the mine, it had been necessary to make a breach in the wall, which however had been well barricaded and secured. But some Afghâns having now crept up to it, fired in through the barricade and wounded Lieut. Gray. On his retiring to have his wound dressed, his men lost all courage, and they collected their bedding as if for a retreat. A sudden rush of the enemy at the breach completed their panic, and they flung them-

selves precipately over the walls. The Sepoys, who at first remained firm, at length followed their example, and Lieut. Hawtrey was the last to leave the fort, of which the enemy took immediate possession. A party of the 44th, who were stationed in the bazaar-village, also showed so much inclination to follow the example of their comrades, that it was found necessary to replace them by a company of the 37th N. I.

So matters remained till the 11th, the chief military men being all for negotiation and retreat on almost any terms. On that day the envoy had a meeting with the Afghân chiefs on the plain toward Siah Sung, in which he proposed, as the heads of a treaty, the complete evacuation of the country by the British, they being furnished with supplies on the road, and some chiefs accompanying them as hostages; the Ameer, his family, and others to be allowed to return, and Shâh Shûjah at his option to remain or to depart with the British; an amnesty to be granted to all who had sided with the Shâh or the British; means of transport for baggage, &c., to be supplied. After some violent opposition from Akbar Khân, the chiefs assented to these terms, and it was arranged that the British should depart in three days. Next day, however, came a new proposal from the chiefs, namely, that the Shâh Shûjah should continue to reign on condition of marrying his daughters to the principal chiefs, and of his giving up the practice of keeping the great men standing at his gate waiting for an audience, a practice which had mainly contributed to make him unpopular. Such was the absurd pride of this infatuated prince, that it was with the utmost reluctance he consented to these reasonable terms, in making which, it may however be doubted, if the chiefs were sincere.

At two in the afternoon next day (13th), the British troops began to evacuate the Bala Hissar. Akbar Khân was at the gate to escort them; but his men having endeavoured to force an entrance, the king's guard shut the gate, and a round or two of grape was fired on them; Akbar Khân, hoping to be able to renew the attempt with better success if the gate was opened to readmit the troops, declared that it was now too late, and no longer safe for them to proceed, and that they must wait till morning. But the king refused to let them in; and they had to spend the night exposed to the bitter cold, without shelter or covering. Early in the morning they set out, and at nine o'clock they reached the cantonment.

Two days after (16th) the Shâh withdrew his consent from the arrangement that had been made, and the treaty became as at first. The chiefs now refused to supply provisions or forage, unless all the forts were given up to them; and though this was putting themselves completely in their power, the general and his council consented. On the 18th there was a fall of snow, which covered the ground to the depth of five inches, and remained on it all through the winter. The chiefs now (20th) demanded a portion of the guns and ammunition immediately, and that Brig. Shelton should be given as a hostage. Lieut. Sturt, in indignation, urged the general to break off the treaty, and march at once for Jellalabâd. A council sat, but, like all councils of war, it decided against action and enterprise. Gen. Sale had already declared that it was quite impossible for him to march to Câbul, and they now learned that the reinforcement which they had expected from Kandahâr, had been stopped by the snow.

On the 21st, the four hostages which were to be given were agreed on, the chiefs not insisting on Shelton's being one, as he had "expressed a decided objection to undertake the duty." Next day, Capt. Skinner, who was living at this time under the protection of Akbar Khân, was the bearer of the following proposals to the envoy, that Ameenoolah Khân, one of the principal chiefs, should be seized on the following day, and delivered up to him; that our troops should occupy the Bala Hissar, and Mohammed Khân's fort; Shâh Shûjah continue to reign, and Akbar Khân to be his vizir, and the British troops to remain where they were till spring. The envoy, glad to catch at any thing that promised to extricate him from his present difficulties, assented to this plan, though it had treachery on the face of it, and signed the paper on which it was written.

On the following day (23rd), about noon, the envoy set out, accompanied by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, to meet Akbar Khân in the plain toward Siah Sung. He requested the general to have two regiments and two guns in readiness for secret service, namely, occupying the fort and the Bala Hissar, and to keep the garrison on the alert, and the walls strongly manned. When those who were with him expressed their apprehension of the danger he was encountering, from the well-known treachery of the Afghâns, he declared that he had no confidence in them, but that he thought the chance of success worth the risk. "At any rate," he added, "I would rather suffer a hundred deaths, than live the last six weeks over again." Near the bridge they were met by Akbar Khân, and some other chiefs, among whom was a brother of Ameenoolah's, but even that did not open the envoy's eyes; neither did the appearance of crowds of armed Afghâns, that were hovering about on all sides.

After the usual civilities, the envoy presented Akbar Khân with an Arab horse, for which 3000 rupees had been given that morning. They all then sat down near some rising ground, which partially concealed them from the cantonment. Capt. Lawrence drew their attention to the number of armed followers that were around them, in order that they might be removed, but Akbar Khân exclaimed, "No; they are all in the secret;" and he scarce had spoken, when the hands of the envoy and his companions were suddenly grasped from behind, and their swords and pistols were snatched away. The three officers were dragged off, and each made to mount behind a chief; and in their last view of the envoy, they beheld him struggling violently with Akbar Khân, "consternation and horror depicted on his countenance." Numbers of fanatic Ghâzees rushed on them, but the chiefs defended them till they reached Mohammed Khân's fort, where Lawrence and Mackenzie were placed in safety; but Trevor, happening to fall from the horse, was slaughtered without mercy. In the fort, while all were congratulating the chiefs on the success of their stratagem, one voice alone, that of an old Moollah, was raised to condemn it. He cried, that "the name of the Faithful was tarnished, and that in future no belief could be placed in them; that the deed was foul, and could never

be of advantage to the authors." In the night they were taken to Akbar Khân's house in the city, where he received them courteously, and expressed his sorrow for the events of the day. They now learned, for the first time, the fate of the envoy and of Capt. Trevor.

It seems that the plan which had been arranged, was to seize the person of the envoy, and bring him into the city, where the chiefs hoped to be able to make him consent to any terms they would dictate. But he made so strenuous a resistance, that Akbar Khân, despairing of being able to carry him off alive, and excited by his passions, shot him in the body with a pistol, his own gift at the conference; and the Ghâzees then rushed on and hacked him to pieces. His head was cut off, and his body and that of Capt. Trevor, were afterwards exposed in the bazaar of the city.

Such was the fate of Sir William Macnaghten, the original author of the ill-omened expedition to Afghânistân. He was a man of considerable talent, but, as would appear, not of correct political views; full of confidence in himself, and too ready to place confidence in others. His last acts evinced great imprudence; but it is only fair to conclude that his sufferings, from the lamentable incapacity and total want of decision and energy in his military coadjutors, had made him desperate, if they had not actually impaired his mental powers. Had he possessed the requisite authority, it is probable that he would have averted the subsequent calamities; for with him, as we may have observed, had originated every measure of energy.

It may well be supposed, that the *fainéans* in the cantonment made no effort to avenge his fate. On the contrary, as soon as they had ascertained it, they requested Major Pottinger to act in his place, in carrying on the treaty with the chiefs. These now required, that all the guns but six should be left behind; that all the treasure should be given up; and that married men and their families should take the place of the present hostages. Christmas-day passed gloomily. The day following, letters came from Peshawur announcing the march of reinforcements from India, and Osman Khân offered to escort them all safe to Peshawur for five lacs of rupees. Shortly after arrived some *shroffs*, or bankers, for the purpose of negotiating bills on India to the amount of fourteen lacs, payable on the promise of the late envoy to the chiefs, if the troops were conducted safely to Jellalabâd. Major Pottinger protested strongly against thus binding the government, merely to save their own lives and property, and proposed rather to hold out at Câbul, or to march for Jellalabâd. But the council of war decided unanimously to treat and to pay any thing, rather than to fight. As the chiefs required four married hostages with their families, a circular was sent round to try if that number would volunteer, on being assured of an allowance of 2000 rupees a month; but Lieut. Eyre alone consented to remain. The chiefs, therefore, agreed to waive that part of the treaty; the bills were given, the guns were transferred, and the sick were sent into the city, where they were to remain under the protection of the chiefs.

CHAPTER XV.

The Retreat—Slaughter at Khoord-Câbul Pass—Delivery of the Women and Children—Massacre at the Tungee Tareekee—In the Jugdulluk Defile—Total Destruction of the Army—Defence of Jellalabâd—Of Kandahâr—Lord Ellenborough Governor-general—Loss of Ghuznee—Victory at Jellalabâd—Advance of Gen. Pollock—Re-occupation of Câbul—Advance of Gen. Nott—Destruction of Ghuznee—Recovery of the Captives—Evacuation of Afghânistân.

At nine o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 6th January, 1842, the British forces issued from their cantonments to undertake a dreary march, over a country covered with snow and through dangerous defiles, for Jellalabâd. They numbered 4500 fighting men, and the camp followers amounted to at least 12,000 men, beside women and children. An Afghân chief, named Jubbar Khân, was to be their escort. It had been the earnest advice of their Afghân friends, that they should, if possible, get through the Khoord Câbul pass on the first day, but perhaps it was not possible; at all events, the general would not make the effort, and they advanced only six miles that day. They bivouacked for the night in the snow, and numbers died of the cold.

The following morning (7th) they marched four miles to Bootkhak; but, instead of entering the pass, they halted there for the night, at the desire of Akbar Khân, who, it seemed, was now to be their escort. This day they sustained many attacks from the Afghâns, and were obliged to spike some of their guns. Akbar Khân required that six more hostages should be given, to ensure their not going beyond Tezeen till Gen. Sale should have evacuated Jellalabâd; and next day (8th) Major Pottinger, and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie, whom he specified, were sent to him. About midday the mingled mass began to enter that formidable defile, of which the sides were filled with ferocious Ghiljyes. The stream which ran foaming and roaring through it had to be crossed eight-and-twenty times. No order could be preserved; soldiers and camp-followers alike pressed on amid the dense shower of balls from the Ghiljye *juzails*, and 3000 are stated as the lowest number of those who perished in the pass. In this fatal passage Lady Sale's son-in-law, Lieut. Sturt, was mortally wounded. That gallant lady herself was also wounded in the arm, as she galloped along with the advance. At length they reached Khoord Câbul, where they bivouacked under a fall of snow which lasted till morning. The troops were most anxious to go on, justly deeming their only chance of escape to be in the rapidity of their advance; but at the desire of Akbar Khân, the general made them halt. About noon, Capt. Skinner arrived with a proposal from that chief, that all the women and children in camp should be placed under his protection, and he promised to escort them safely, keeping them a day's march in the rear of the army. Though little reliance could be placed on Afghân honour, the general was persuaded by Capt. Skinner to trust him, and the married officers with their families, and the other women and children, were committed to the charge of a party of Afghan horse, sent for the purpose. During this

day the men belonging to the Shâh's troops began to desert in great numbers.

At break of day on the 10th, the whole mixed multitude were again in motion, every one, as usual, pressing forward to the front as the only place of safety. The advance, consisting of the 44th and some troopers, managed at length to get to the front, and reached a narrow gorge (not more it is said than ten feet wide) named the Tunghee Tareekee, or Dark Pass, on the height to the right of which the Afghâns had taken their post, whence they poured incessant volleys into the gorge. The advance pushed through, though with great loss, and reached Kubbar-e-Jubbar about five miles off, where they were at length joined by some stragglers, from whom they learned that of all the troops which had marched that morning from Khoord to Câbul, there remained now only themselves. The whole of the main and rear columns had been cut off, for the men had flung away their arms and fled, and the Afghâns rushing on them sword in hand had massacred them without mercy. The whole British force now consisted of 50 artillerymen with one howitzer, 70 men of the 44th, and 150 troopers. There still remained about 4000 of the camp-followers.

The general sent Capt. Skinner to remonstrate with Akbar Khân on this breach of treaty. But he declared, whether truly or not, that it was totally out of his power to restrain the Ghiljyes in their present state of excitement; and he proposed as the only resource, that the troops should lay down their arms and place themselves under his protection, and he would convey them safe to Jellalabâd; but the camp-followers as being so numerous must be left to their fate. To these terms the general could not bring himself to consent, and the march was resumed. Numbers of the camp-followers, and some wounded officers, had gone on before; and when the troops came to a narrow defile about five miles off, leading into the Tezeen valley from the heights named the Huft Kotul, they found it strewed with dead bodies. The defile was three miles long, and its heights were covered with Ghiljyes; and but for the dauntless valour and energy of Brig. Shelton, who commanded the rear-guard, the whole of the troops would have been destroyed. At four in the day they reached the ground where they were to bivouack for the night. Not less than 12,000 persons had perished within the last four dreadful days.

Capt. Skinner being sent to Akbar Khân, brought back the same answer as before. As it was of the utmost importance to be able to get through the strong pass of Jugdulluk before the enemy should have time to occupy it, the troops, abandoning their last gun, set out at seven in the evening for that place twenty-one miles distant. Owing to the darkness, they did not sustain as much loss as usual, and in the morning (11th) they reached Kuttur-Sung within ten miles of Jugdulluk. But now every inch of the road was contested, and though Shelton with the rear-guard performed prodigies of valour, the fire of the *juzails* was murderous. At five o'clock, Capt. Skinner who had been sent to Akbar Khân, returned with a request from that chief for the general to meet him at a conference, and a demand for Brig. Shelton and Capt. Johnson as hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabâd. They all went, and were received with apparent kindness; food was immediately supplied them, and they enjoyed a refreshing sleep for the first time since they had left Câbul.

Akbar Khân had assured them that food and an escort should be sent to the famishing troops. But none came; and all through the next day (12th) they were exposed to constant attacks from the Afghâns, by one of whom Capt. Skinner was treacherously killed. At night, leaving the sick and wounded behind, the survivors set once more forward; but the Ghiljyes were on the alert, and in the Jugdulluk defile, a massacre similar to that in the Tungee Tareekee ensued. Brig. Anquetil, Col. Chambers, Major Thain, and thirteen other officers were among the slain. Next day (13th) the survivors made their way to Gundamuk, but here the tragedy was completed by a rush of the Afghâns sword in hand. Capt. Bellew and about a dozen other officers with some troopers had ridden off for Jellalabâd, but of the whole number only one, Dr. Brydon, reached that place. Never, perhaps, since war began among mankind, has the destruction of an army been more complete; and it is lamentable to think that it was entirely caused by the disgraceful incapacity, ignorance, and wilfulness of those to whose care it had been committed.

Widely different was the conduct of the real soldier who commanded in Jellalabâd. Though without money, short of both provisions and ammunition, and with a force scarcely adequate to the defence of the place, he refused to obey the order to evacuate it, and calmly awaited the attack of all the forces the Afghâns might be able to bring against it. A brigade had been assembled under Col. Wylde to relieve him; but it proved unable to effect the passage of the Khyber Pass, and it was found necessary to abandon the fort of Ali Musjeed.

In Kandahâr it had at first been attempted to obtain the aid of the neighbouring chiefs by money, and a lac of rupees was thus fruitlessly expended, for they all went off and joined the enemy. As they had assembled in force near the city, Gen. Nott led out his men (Jan. 12) to attack them. He found them posted with a morass in front, and while the British troops were at a distance, they kept up a fire with their matchlocks; but on their nearer approach they broke and fled with precipitation.

Such were the closing events of the unfortunate administration of Lord Auckland. How far he was personally to blame for what occurred, it is not easy to ascertain; but his great error seems to have been the sanctioning the profitless project of restoring Shâh Shûjah. On the last day of February his successor, Lord Ellenborough, landed at Calcutta.

One more disaster befell the British arms in Afghanistân. Col. Palmer, who commanded in Ghuznee, had applied to the authorities at Câbul for permission to repair the works and lay in provisions, but to no purpose. At length, just when it was too late, he ventured to act on his own responsibility. On the 20th November came, as we have seen, the first fall of snow, and on the same day the enemy made their appearance. But the next week they retired on hearing of the advance of troops from Kandahâr. They soon,

however (Dec. 7), returned in greater numbers. Policy suggested to turn the inhabitants out of the town; but an unfounded idea of their being faithful to the British, and the reflection on the cruelty of turning so many poor people out to perish in the snow, made the idea be dismissed at once. The consequence was, that they dug a hole through the wall (16th), and admitted their countrymen, and the garrison after a night and a day's hard fighting, had to retire into the citadel. The weather now proved extremely severe, the snow often fell to a depth of two feet, firing was exceeding scarce, and provisions very scanty, the sufferings of the men who were natives of India were almost beyond endurance. A kind of truce, therefore, was made with the enemy (Jan. 15), by which the fort was to be surrendered on the arrival of Shems-ud-din Khân. This person did not arrive till the middle of February, and Col. Palmer continued to amuse him for some time longer. At last the patience of the Afghâns was exhausted, and the garrison marched out (March 6), under the security of a treaty signed and sworn to by all the chiefs that they should be escorted in safety to Peshawur, with their arms, baggage, &c. They were to remain in a part of the town under the citadel till the road to Câbul should be clear. But they soon had a specimen of the usual Afghân faith; the very next day their quarters were attacked, and many of them slain by the Ghazees. This continued till the 10th, during which time Shems-ud-din repeatedly sent, offering the officers his protection if they would leave the Sepoys to their fate. This they steadily refused to do; but the men themselves, thinking they had no other chance of escape, resolved to dig a hole through the wall, and try to reach Peshawur, which they fancied not to be more than fifty or sixty miles off through the mountains. They asked their officers to accompany them, and on their refusal made the attempt, but with the success that might have been anticipated. They got bewildered in the fields, and in the morning they were cut to pieces or made prisoners. The officers had mean time surrendered, and on renewed oaths of kind usage, but they were, of course, ill-treated and plundered. The treatment, however, varied according to the intelligence that came from Jellalabâd or Kandahâr, and the hopes or fears of their guards.

Before Lord Auckland resigned the government, he had been making preparations for the relief of Jellalabâd, and immediately after Col. Wylde's repulse, a force of some magnitude was assembled for that purpose at Peshawur, to move under the command of Gen. Pollock; but it was not till April that that officer was able to march for the Khyber Pass. Meanwhile Gen. Sale had succeeded in putting the works of Jellalabâd in a condition to resist any attempt of the Afghâns, when there occurred (Feb. 19) one of those earthquakes which are common in that country, and which levelled in an instant the greater part of the works. The garrison, undismayed, instantly commenced the labour of restoration, and by the end of the month the town was again in a state of defence. Akbar Khân, who was now only seven miles off, could find no solution of this phenomenon but magic. He soon after invested the place, and kept up a strict blockade. Various gallant sallies took place, and at length (April 7) a brilliant attack was made on his camp. Three columns, two of 500 men each and one of 360 led by Cols. Dennie and Monteith and Capt. Havelock, issued from the town early in the morning. They found the enemy, 6000 in number, drawn out before their camp, their right resting on a fort, their left on the Câbul river; some works were filled with marksmen. Capt. Havelock's column succeeded in piercing the enemies' left; the central one directed its efforts against a square fort in the line which was obstinately defended, and here the gallant Dennie fell mortally wounded. The rear of this fort being gained, orders were given for a general attack on the enemies' camp. The Afghâns made every effort, by a sustained fire and by charges of cavalry, to check their advance, but in vain; their line was penetrated on all sides, their guns were captured, and their camp set on fire; and their whole force was soon in full retreat. Nine days after this victory (16th) Gen. Pollock and his forces reached Jellalabâd. By the judicious employment of flanking companies to storm the heights, he had threaded the formidable Khyber Pass without any loss of men or baggage.

Gen. Nott still retained Kandahâr. Leading out a part of his troops (March 7) he drove the enemy over the rivers Turnak and Urgundab, and then (9th) put them totally to the rout. During his absence an attempt on the city was defeated with great loss to the assailants. In the end of the month, Brig.-gen. England, who was advancing from Sinde, having reached Quetta in safety, was as he moved on from that town so vigorously opposed by the enemy in the passage of a narrow defile, that he was obliged to fall back to Quetta with a loss of 98 men killed and wounded.

In this month also occurred an event, which, though of no great consequence in itself, tended to relieve the British government from some embarrassment, namely, the death of Shâh Shûjah. As he was riding from the Bala Hissar to his camp at Siah Sung with the eldest son of Nawab Zemân Khân[7], the latter shot him with a double-barreled gun.

There was now a victorious British force at Jellalabâd, and another at Kandahâr, which could be easily reinforced from Sinde. The Afghâns, it was clear, could not withstand the British troops in the field, and they never could remain long at unity among themselves. The fine weather, moreover, was at hand, and provisions would be more easily procured. It is of absolute necessity in the East to make a display of power, as forbearance is sure to be ascribed to impotence. All, therefore, we should suppose, pointed out the policy of the return of the British to Câbul, and making the Afghâns conscious of their power. But such had not been the policy of Lord Auckland. Overwhelmed, as it would appear, by the turn affairs had taken at Câbul, his only thought had been how to get the remaining troops out of that fatal country; and it was for this sole purpose that the forces of Generals Pollock and England had been assembled. The policy of his successor was not different; in all his letters and orders to Sir Joseph Nicholls, the commander-in-chief, to Generals Pollock and Nott, the theme is the speedy evacuation of Afghâ-

[7] On the outbreak of November 2, the Afghâns had proclaimed this person Shâh, and struck money in his name.

nistân, provided the prisoners had been recovered. Against that course these two officers remonstrated in strong terms; and it was at first conceded, that the troops should not commence their march for India till the autumn, and at length, in the month of July, a reluctant consent was given to their advance on Câbul, if they felt themselves strong enough to do it in safety. From all which it appears quite plain, that the restoration of our military glory in the eyes of the people of the East, was due solely to those two distinguished officers, both of whom belonged to the Company's service.

As soon as Gen. Pollock had obtained permission to act on the offensive, he had sent out a force under Brig. Monteith, which destroyed five-and-thirty forts in the vicinity of Jellalabâd. On the 23rd August, he marched from that place for Gundamuk. On his arrival there (23rd), he learned that the enemy were in some force at a fort and village two miles off; and next morning he led a part of his troops against them, but they fled after a slight resistance. The troops remained nearly a fortnight at Gundamuk, and then (Sept. 7) resumed their march for Jugduluk, in two divisions, under Sir Robert Sale and Gen. McCaskill. The first division, on coming to a pass on the road, found the heights, which formed a kind of amphitheatre on the right, held by the enemy, who were thus enabled to fire into the column across a deep ravine, and do some injury. Some troops were sent to dislodge them, before whom they retired without fighting, to the summit of a steep lofty mountain. But hither they were followed, though with great labour and difficulty, and they retired as usual. The first division then advanced to Tezeen, where it was joined by the second. A halt was made for a day, to refresh the cattle belonging to the latter; and the enemy ascribing this, of course, to the fear of advancing, commenced attacking the pickets on the left flank, and when repelled there, on the right, but with as little success. Next day (13th), when the army commenced its march, all the hills round the valley of Tezeen were occupied by the enemy, and their horse appeared in the plain. Troops were sent to dislodge them from the heights, and they advanced boldly to meet them; but they could not withstand the bayonet, and their horse were scattered by the charge of the British cavalry. At the fatal Huft Kotul, leading out of the valley, the Afghâns offered a determined resistance, but they were driven from position to position, and the whole British force, emerging from the pass, marched unopposed to Khoord Câbul. The Afghâns are said to have had on this occasion 16,000 men in the field, led by Akbar Khân in person. The British loss was only thirty-two killed and 130 wounded. On the 15th, Gen. Pollock encamped at Câbul; and next day, amid the roar of artillery, the shouts of the troops, and the sound of martial music, he planted the banner of England on the Bala Hissar.

We are now to trace the march of Gen. Nott to the same place. In May, he had been joined by Gen. England, and by the garrison of Khelat-e-Ghiljye, which he had been ordered to withdraw. While the troops sent for this last purpose, under Col. Wymer, were away, the enemy to the number of 10,000 occupied some hills near Kandahâr; but Gen. Nott, with only 1000 infantry, 250 cavalry, and twelve guns, marched out against them, and carried their positions in less than an hour[8].

When Gen. Nott got permission to move, his confidence in his troops was such, that he resolved to take only a part to Câbul, the rest retired with Gen. England, by way of Quetta, to Sinde. On the 9th Aug. Gen. Nott commenced his march, with a large stock of ammunition and provisions for forty days. They met with little annoyance till the 28th, when a party sent out to protect some grass-cutters, whom the enemy had fallen on, came in the ardour of pursuit on an Afghân army, by whom they were driven off with considerable loss. As the attack on the grass-cutters had proceeded from an adjacent fort, a party was sent against it. Some persons came out to sue for forbearance, and an officer and some men were directed to enter, and see if their statements were true. But as they approached the fort, they were greeted with a shower of balls, and the troops then rushed in and slaughtered all in the place, which proved to be full of armed men. Shems-ud-dîn, of Ghuznee, being now in the vicinity of the British camp in great force, Gen. Nott led out one-half of his troops against him (30th). After a cannonade on both sides the British advanced to the attack, and the enemy at once broke and fled. The troops at length (Sept. 5th) appeared before Ghuznee, and were preparing to make an assault the next day; but when the morning came it was found that the citadel had been evacuated in the night. As it had been determined to destroy this place, fourteen mines were sprung under the walls of the citadel, and the gateways and principal buildings of the town were fired[9]. On his further march to Câbul, Gen. Nott dispersed a force of 12,000 Afghâns, and he reached that city on the 17th, two days after Gen. Pollock.

A few days after the arrival of Gen. Nott, a force was sent under Gen. McCaskill against Istalif, a place about twenty miles north-west of Câbul, strongly situated on the side of a mountain. The Afghâns reposed great confidence in its strength, but it proved unable to resist the British. A great portion of it was destroyed, and the same was the fate of Charikar; and thus terminated the military operations in Afghânistân.

The recovery of the prisoners was now the only matter of importance. After the fatal 9th of January, they had been conveyed to the vicinity of Jellalabâd, where they had been detained in a fort, at a place named Buddeeabad, while Akbar Khân was engaged in his operations against that town. After his defeat, on the 7th April, they were removed, and taken to different places on the way to Câbul. During these removals, Gen. Elphinstone breathed his last, and his body was sent to Jellalabâd for interment. On the 24th May,

[8] On this occasion, he said, in a letter to Gen. Pollock, "I would at any time lead 1000 Bengal sepoys against 5000 Afghâns. My beautiful native regiment," he adds, "are in perfect health and spirits."

[9] The tomb of the celebrated Sultan Mahmood was at Ghuznee (above, p. 10), and as it was reported that its doors had belonged to the temple of Sômnât (p. 9), Lord Ellenborough directed that they should be brought as a trophy to India. This absurd act has been commented on and ridiculed abundantly. We may just observe, that that temple had ceased to exist for ages, and that a great portion of the British troops in Afghânistân were Mussulmans.

they arrived at a fort in a valley, about three miles from Câbul, and there they remained till the 25th August, when they were obliged to set out for Bamian, it being Akbar Khân's declared intention—as Gen. Pollock refused to evacuate the country on condition of their being released—to send them to Kooloom, to be distributed as slaves among the Usbeg chiefs. Their conductor, named Saleh Mohammed Khân, was an Afghân, who had been a subahdâr in one of Shâh Shûjah's regiments, but who had deserted to Dost Mohammed in 1840. On the 3rd September, they reached the valley of Bamian, where they remained till the 11th, when a positive order for their immediate departure for Kooloom came from Akbar Khân. All hope of deliverance seemed now at an end, and they were resigning themselves to their fate, when Major Pottinger came to say that Saleh Mohammed had offered to deliver them to the British general, on being assured of 20,000 rupees in cash, and 1000 rupees a month for his life. With this offer they gladly closed, and they all signed their names to the requisite documents.

Still they were by no means out of danger, for Akbar Khân was hourly expected to arrive, on his way to Kooloom, and Saleh Mohammed's troops could not be relied on. On the other hand, the Huzareh tribe, that inhabited the valley of Bamian where they were, being mostly Sheeahs, were strongly in their favour, and declared their readiness to take up arms on their side against Akbar. Major Pottinger boldly nominated a new governor to the province, in the name of the British government, and made grants to the different chiefs; and the two little forts which they occupied were secured as well as was possible. On the 16th, hearing that Akbar Khân was a fugitive in Kohistan, they ventured to commence their flight. Next day, when resting after the descent of a mountain, they beheld a party of horse, emerging from a pass into the valley. These proved to be a body of 600 Kuzzilbash horsemen, who, accompanied by Sir Richmond Shakespear, had set out from Câbul to deliver them, and had travelled ninety miles in two days. No time was lost in advancing, and on the 20th they met at Argundee Gen. Sale and his brigade, who had been sent to meet and protect them. We need not say that the meeting was a most joyful one[1].

It only remained now to withdraw the troops from Afghânistân, and to renounce all connexion with that country. Dost Mohammed and his family were, accordingly, set at liberty; and on the return of the army, the Governor-general indulged his taste in a grand military pageant at Ferozepore, where was a great display of painted elephants and triumphal arches, with waving banners and the roaring of artillery. The old doors of Mahmood's tomb, also, performed a part in this military pantomime. It had also been intended, in imitation of the Romans, to parade Dost Mohammed and his family in the procession, but the good sense of the Governor-general, or of his friends, saved the English name from this stain[2].

Thus terminated in pageantry a useless and calamitous war, entered into, as we have seen, without necessity and without the requisite degree of information, and conducted in a manner calculated to disgrace the British name, had it not been for the talents of a Sale, a Nott, and a Pollock, who spurned at the idea of quitting a country as fugitives which they had entered as conquerors. The expense also proved by no means inconsiderable; for it is asserted that this effort to keep off the Russian bugbear cost the Indian government not less than seventeen millions sterling.

CHAPTER XVI.

Transactions in Sinde—Sir C. Napier sent thither—Attack on the Residency—Battle of Meeanee—Reduction of Sinde—Observations on that Transaction—Affairs of Gwalior—Battle of Maharajpoor—Conclusion of Treaty—Sir Henry Hardinge Governor-general—Death of Runjeet Sing—Affairs of the Punjâb—Campaign of the Sutlej—Battle of Moodkee—of Ferozshuhur—of Aliwâl—of Sobraon—Treaties—CONCLUSION.

AFTER the close of the Afghân expedition, the attention of the government was directed to Sinde, a country with which the British had hitherto had few relations.

In 1786, the dominant tribe in Sinde, named Kulbooras, had been displaced by another tribe named Talpoora. Meer Futteh Ally, the chief of this tribe, fixed his abode at Hyderabâd, and associated his three brothers in the government with himself. He assigned two other portions of the country to two of his relations, and hence arose the states named Khyrpoor and Meerpoor, in the former of which the system of a plurality of rulers prevailed as at Hyderabâd. These rulers of Sinde are usually named the Ameers. Their title, as we have seen, was the usual oriental one of superior might, and was therefore as good as those of most rulers in India.

The transactions of the British with the Ameers, were of little moment till 1832, when the English merchants having begun to fancy that a great and lucrative trade might be opened with the nations of Central Asia by means of the Indus, a treaty was, as we have seen, concluded with the Ameers for opening the navigation of that river to the British under certain conditions, two of which were, that they should convey no military stores through the country, and put no armed vessel on the Indus. Some years later (1836), Sinde being menaced by Runjeet Sing, the British government appeared as mediators; and by a treaty concluded with the Ameers (1838) they agreed to the residence of a British minister with an escort in their country.

About two months after the tripartite treaty was concluded, and as Sinde had formerly paid tribute to Câbul, Shâh Shûjah agreed to give up all claim to this tribute, which *he* had never received, for such a sum as would be determined by the British government. To this arrangement the Ameers,

[1] Including Ladies Macnaghten and Sale, there were thirteen ladies with nineteen children, eight of whom belonged to the widow of Capt. Trevor. Lady Sale acknowledges that, according to Afghân ideas of elegance and comfort, they had on the whole been well treated by Akbar Khân.

[2] As Lord Auckland commenced with adopting the phraseology of the French republic, so Lord Ellenborough continued it. His imitation of Buonaparte's bulletin is but too well known for his fame.

however, had not given their consent, and when informed of it they produced a written release from Shâh Shûjah. The resident confessed himself perplexed by the appearance of this document; but Lord Auckland declared that it was not incumbent on the British government "to enter into any formal investigation of the plea adduced by the Ameers," that is, that right or wrong they were to be made to give money for the Câbul expedition. This was followed by a demand of a passage for part of the troops through their country, in contravention of the treaty of 1832. It was now also discovered that one of the Ameers was in correspondence with the court of Persia, and great indignation was expressed at this "duplicity," in violating the "close alliance" maintained with the British government, an alliance, if it may so be called, forced on the Ameers. To punish this conduct, nothing would content Lord Auckland short of their signing a subsidiary treaty, by which as large a military force as should seem fit to the Governor-general should be stationed in their country; and as they were "to derive vast advantages" from its presence, they were to bear a part of the expense of its maintenance. The Ameers remonstrated, and referred to the former treaties; but the troops of Sir J. Keane were approaching in one direction, and those of Sir Willoughby Cotton in another, and might was right, so they were obliged to affix their seals to a treaty amended and altered at the Governor-general's pleasure.

Such were the dealings of Lord Auckland with the Ameers of Sinde, and in our candid opinion, no transaction on the part of the British in India, so repugnant to the principles of justice, had taken place since the days of Warren Hastings. Lord Ellenborough had now to act on *his* views of justice, and the law of nations with respect to these princes, who, there is no doubt, when they heard of the disasters at Câbul had hoped to be delivered, and, as it was asserted, had engaged in correspondence with parties hostile to the British, but who certainly had done nothing more. Lord Ellenborough was going at first to threaten them with the confiscation of their territories; but he finally determined only to require territory in lieu of the tribute which they were to pay on account of the "vast advantages" derived from the subsidiary force, and he sent Major-gen. Sir Charles Napier to exercise the chief military and civil authority in Sinde.

Sir C. Napier having reported that the Ameers levied tolls on the river contrary to the treaty, and expressed his opinion that as "the more powerful government would at no distant period swallow up the weaker," it would be better to come to the result at once, "if it could be done with honesty;" the draft of a treaty was forwarded to him, and he was left to look to the honesty of the transaction himself. By this treaty, certain portions of territory were pointed out to be assigned to the British, and another portion was to be given to the Khân of Bhâlpûr, their faithful ally; the Ameers were to provide fuel for the steamers on the Indus, and if they failed, the Company's servants might cut timber on their territories; finally, the right of coining, the great mark of sovereignty in the East, was to be taken from them, and the coin was to bear on one side, "the effigy of the sovereign of England." The justice of these harsh measures was based on the authenticity of letters said to have been written by two of the Ameers; and as that was denied, and it is well known how common and how skilful forgery is in the East, that justice is certainly very problematic. Before this treaty had been accepted by the Ameers, Sir Charles Napier began to act as if it was really in force, and threatened them with amercement if they attempted to collect revenue or impose taxes in the districts they were to lose.

In order to prevail on the Ameers to divest themselves of their power, Major Outram, who had been resident at Hyderabâd, was summoned thither from Bombay, and he succeeded in inducing them to set their seals to the instrument of their degradation. But the Beloochees were not satisfied at this humiliation of their chiefs, and the Ameers assured Major Outram, that if Sir Charles Napier continued to advance on Hyderabâd, there would be an outbreak. He did however continue his march; and the consequence was, that an attack was made on the residency (Feb. 15, 1843,) by large masses of horse and foot; and it was only by getting on board a steamer, that the resident and his escort escaped, though with the loss of the greater part of their property.

They reached the camp of Sir C. Napier in safety, and the troops moved on to Meeanee, within six miles of Hyderabâd on the west side of the river (17th), where they found the forces of the Ameers occupying a strong position. They attacked them at once, and after an obstinate conflict put them to flight. The British loss was 62 killed and 195 wounded, among whom were a great many officers; that of the enemy was said to have been 5000 men. After the battle, six of the Ameers surrendered, and Sir C. Napier entered Hyderabâd as a conqueror (20th). Shortly after (March 24th) he marched out to attack the Ameer of Meerpoor, who was still in arms. He found him with a large force strongly posted behind a deep water-course, where he attacked and defeated him with a loss to the British of 267 killed and wounded. He then advanced and took possession of Meerpoor, and a detachment under Major Woodburn secured the strong fort of Omercote in the desert. The remaining Ameers were gradually reduced to submission, and removed to the Company's territories, and Sinde has remained a British possession.

Such is a slight sketch of the history of the occupation of Sinde by the British; a transaction, as appears to us, at variance with all the principles of justice. Its true origin we believe to have been the vague notion that was entertained of the vast and lucrative markets that might be opened for our manufactures by means of the Indus; and we know that when the spirit of gain is evoked it cannot be laid by the wand of justice. The arguments by which it is defended are feeble and unsatisfactory. It is said, for example, that the Ameers had gained their power by the sword. How else is power gained in the East? How did we gain our own? They had possessed it for sixty years, and we had made treaties with them as the rightful rulers of the country. Our own Indian empire, too, is not so very ancient. Their position, it is added, was not "that of a native prince succeeding a long line of ancestors, the object of the hereditary affection of his subjects." Is that our

own position? Or where in India, unless perhaps in Rajputana or Travancore, is it to be found? Again it is said that the overthrow of their power was "duty to the people they had so long misgoverned." Who imposed this duty on us? Will not this principle justify us in overturning every actual government, not merely in India but every where else, where we think the people may be happier under our own rule? But the whole plea is mere hypocrisy; no nation ever yet made conquests with such a view.

The trade of the Indus has as yet proved to be of no importance; our troops perish in Sinde, from the unhealthiness of the climate; and it is asserted that the annual expenses of government exceed the revenue by one million sterling[3].

Thus was Sinde reduced; the state of the court of Gwalior next demanded the attention of Lord Ellenborough. Sindia died childless, in 1827; and a boy of the family, who was said to be the next heir, became his successor. He too died childless in February, 1843, and his widow, a woman of thirteen years of age, adopted a boy of eight years, reputed to be his nearest relative, and he was appointed Maharajah. As both mother and son were children, by the influence of Col. Spiers the resident, Mama Sahib, the maternal uncle of the late Maharajah, was appointed to be regent. Nothing is more tiresome and unprofitable than trying to trace the intrigues of Indian courts; suffice it then to say, that toward the end of May, Mama Sahib was obliged to quit the camp at Gwalior, by a party of which the young Maharanee, or queen, was the ostensive; but a man, called the Dada Khasjee Walla, was the real head, and into whose hands fell all the power of the state.

As this was plain usurpation, the resident applied for permission to summon troops from Agra, to reinstate the regent; but Lord Ellenborough gave a most positive refusal. The resident, however, was directed to quit Gwalior, and he retired to Dhôlpoor, beyond the Chumbul, out of the Maratta territory. The Maharanee became very anxious for his return, but was informed that that could take place only on the condition of the banishment of the Dada, or the delivery of him up to the British government. The letter, however, containing this demand, the Dada contrived to intercept; an act, which the Governor-general declared to be "an offence of a most criminal character against the state of Gwalior, amounting to a supercession of the Maharanee's authority," an authority of which we now hear for the first time.

But the real power in Gwalior lay with the army, which consisted of not less than 30,000 men, and had been commanded in a great measure by European, or half-caste officers, but whom the troops had deprived of their authority. This army was now divided into three parties; one friendly to the Dada, one hostile to him, and the third neutral. The second party seized the Dada, and Bapoo Setowlea, one of their chiefs, sent to inform the resident of what they had done, and to claim his approval; but all the efforts of the resident were not able to gain him possession of the Dada's person. The two opposed divisions of the army soon after cannonaded one another for the better part of two days. The firing ceased at the command of the Maharanee, and the chiefs were invited to a conference, the result of which was, that Bapoo Setowlea became minister, and the Dada was conducted a prisoner to Agra.

This measure was, no doubt, expedited by the presence of a British army on the frontiers; for the alarming state of affairs in the Punjâb had obliged Lord Ellenborough to depart from his non-interference system, and resolve to remove danger on the side of Gwalior, in case of a war with the Sikhs. But he had lately (Nov. 1) declared, that the only point to be pressed was the expulsion of the Dada; and that being effected, it was to be supposed that he would stop the further advance of the British troops. On the contrary, at a conference held with some of the chiefs (Dec. 20), he stated that the only condition on which the march of the army could be stopped, was their ratifying within three days a treaty for increasing the contingent under British officers at Gwalior, and assigning districts to be managed under the British government for its support. A right of interference, as grounded on the treaty of Bûrhanpûr in 1804, was also asserted by the Governor-general.

In a conference held on the following day, the subject of a meeting between the Governor-general and the Maharajah was discussed. It seems to have been the etiquette hitherto, on such occasions, that the latter should cross the frontier to pay the first visit, and the chiefs earnestly requested that this usage might not now be departed from, as the unruly troops of Gwalior might break out, supposing the British to have crossed the frontiers with hostile views. Col. Sleeman, the new resident, also wrote, warning the Governor-general of the probable consequence of the troops crossing the Chumbul. But that river had been already passed; and a proclamation was issued from Hingona (25th), announcing that the British army had come to protect the Maharajah's person, and maintain his authority. That very day, Bapoo Setowlea, who had been one of the negotiators, quitted the British camp, and returned to Gwalior to take the command of a division of the troops; and on the following day, Angria, another of the negotiators, also departed.

The Marattas had taken up a strong position, at a place named Chonda, south of the river Koharee; and Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, made preparations for attacking them at that place. But on reaching Maharajpoor, on their march for Chonda (29th), the British troops, to their surprise, were received by a fire of artillery, a part of

[3] By the Indian Correspondent of the Times Newspaper.—As we write, there appears (Times, March 23) a general order of Sir C. Napier's, from which it appears that the army in Sinde is to be reduced to the ordinary garrison of a frontier province. He asserts, that the conquest has not cost a single rupee, "for had the Ameers continued to rule the land, not a soldier could have been withdrawn from the force which occupied Sinde in 1842; on the contrary, strong reinforcements must have been added to it." But not a word of the justice of that occupation An immense increase of revenue, but of which he cannot tell the amount, has taken place, he says, in Bombay, by the suppression of the smuggling trade in opium in Sinde; and "commerce is already actively commencing between Kurrachee and Sukkur, ready to branch forth into the Punjâb." Finally, great harmony prevails between the conquerors and the conquered, if that term can be applied to a people "who have been freed from a degrading and ruinous tyranny which, sixty years ago, was established by traitors over the country of their murdered sovereign."

the enemy's forces having moved thither during the night. The plan of attack was now changed; one column, under Gen. Littler, being directed to advance on Maharajpoor, while another, under Gen. Valiant, was to take it in reverse. In the first, the Queen's 39th, led by Major Bray, and supported by the 56th Native Infantry, drove (in dashing style) the enemy from their guns into the village, where, however, they defended themselves gallantly, and a sanguinary conflict ensued. The second column acted with equal spirit, and the Marattas were driven off with the loss of twenty-eight guns. Gen. Valiant now moved to attack the right of the enemy's position at Chonda. On the way, he had to take three strongly intrenched positions, which the enemy defended with desperation, but they all were carried in succession. Gen. Littler's brigade now advanced to attack the main position in front; and it was carried by a rush of the 39th, whose gallant commander was severely wounded by the blowing up of a tumbril, after he had witnessed the fall of his son, a fine youth, an ensign in the regiment. The Marattas were speedily routed in all directions; but the loss of the victors in killed and wounded was very severe. They had never, perhaps, experienced so obstinate a resistance from a native army in India.

On the same day, the left wing, under Gen. Grey, defeated another large body of the Marattas, and captured their guns, twenty-four in number, at a place named Antree, twelve miles south of Gwalior.

No further resistance was now to be apprehended. On the 5th January (1844), Lord Ellenborough and the army arrived at Gwalior. A new treaty was concluded, by which, till the Maharajah should have attained the age of eighteen, the government was to be conducted by a council of regency, acting under the advice of the British resident; the contingent force was to be increased, and the revenues of specified districts were to be assigned for its maintenance; the troops of the Maharajah were never to exceed 9000 men, of which, not more than a third were to be infantry, with twelve field-pieces, and twenty other guns, &c. &c. This treaty was ratified on the 13th, by which time the disbanding of the Gwalior army had nearly been effected. It took place without the slightest commotion; a part of the men enlisted in the new contingent force, the rest departed, having been paid all their arrears, and receiving a gratuity of three months' pay.

Lord Ellenborough reached Calcutta on the anniversary of his landing there, two years before (Feb. 28); but the period of his Indian rule had expired; for in the following month of July, he learned that the Court of Directors had removed him from the office of Governor-general. The motives of the Directors for this act, no instance of which had occurred since the passing of Pitt's India Bill, are only matters of surmise, and we therefore will not enter into them. The ministry, to console his wounded pride, bestowed on him an earldom; and he was made afterwards First Lord of the Admiralty, an office for which, we believe, he was much better qualified, than for the government of an empire.

The successor to Lord Ellenborough, nominated by the Court of Directors, was Sir Henry Hardinge, a distinguished military man, and the choice was fully approved of by the ministry. On reaching India, he found the condition of the Punjâb to be such, that there was every prospect of a necessity for British interference; and, as we shall see, the necessity arose in a way which might not have been expected.

On the 27th June, 1839, not many months after his celebrated interview with Lord Auckland, the Maharajah, Runjeet Sing, breathed his last, at the age of fifty-eight years. The tenacity with which he clung to life, after it had apparently ceased to yield him any enjoyment, is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of human existence, and curious in the view of the moralist and the philosopher. His avarice even yielded to it; and in the fond persuasion that the decree of fate could be averted with gold, he lavished his treasures on shrines and devotees. But all availed not to save, and the Lion of the Punjâb shared the lot of ordinary mortals. His character will always remain in Indian history as that of one of the most remarkable men that have appeared in it; and when we consider the disadvantages under which his career commenced, and the power to which he ultimately attained, we may almost venture to style him great. Unlike his contemporary, Mehemet Ally, of Egypt, his empire was obtained without massacre; and if not humanity, the absence of ferocity was a leading trait of his character.

Runjeet was succeeded by his eldest son, Khuruk Sing, a person of feeble intellect. His vizir, appointed by his father, was the able Dhyan Sing [4], one of the Jummoo brothers, as they were named, from Jummoo, the place of their birth, on the left bank of the Chenâb, in the Lower Himalaya. They were of the Rajpût tribe, named Dogur; and Dhyan, having entered the service of Runjeet Sing, rose speedily to favour and command. He then introduced his brother, Gholab Sing, also a man of talent, to whom the Maharajah gave Jummoo, in jagheer. A third brother, Sûchet Sing, also obtained favour and wealth at the court of Lahore, but he was inferior to his brothers in mental power. We are not to suppose that the Jummoo family were without rivals; there was, in fact, an opposite party at court; and Khuruk, like all weak princes, soon had a minion whom he sought to exalt. This was a man of mean origin, but of handsome person, and a bold intriguing disposition, named Cheit Sing, who, not content with the undue favour he had obtained, laboured to supplant the Jummoo brothers. The consequence was, that Dhyan Sing invited the Maharajah's son, Nou Nehal, to come from Peshawur to court, to aid in removing the favourite; and on his arrival (Oct. 8), the citadel was surrounded by the troops of Gholab Sing, at night, and the prince and the brothers entering the apartment of the Maharajah, cut Cheit Sing to pieces, and placed the rajah himself under restraint. The government was administered in his name by his son; but in less than a month he followed his favourite to the tomb, from the effect, it is said, of a slow poison. At the conclusion of the funeral rites of his father, as Nou Nehal was passing on his elephant out of one of the gates of the city, on his way to the Râvee to bathe, a beam fell from it, which killed both him and a son of Gholab Sing's.

[4] We may here observe, that every Sikh bears the *cognomen* of Sing.

Sher Sing, the reputed second son of Runjeet, was immediately proclaimed by Dhyan Sing, but Chund Kowr, the mother of Nou Nehal, availing herself of a Sikh rule of succession, by which the title of a man's widow is superior to that of his brother, claimed the throne of her deceased husband. She was a woman of energy, and through the influence of her paramour, Ajeet Sing, she obtained the support of the powerful Sindawala family to which he belonged, the next heirs to the throne after the direct line of Runjeet. Dhyan's son Heera Sing and his brother Gholab Sing took the same side, and he was, therefore, obliged to give way, and proclaim Chund Kowr Ranee, or queen (Nov. 30).

The Ranee was a woman of the most dissolute habits, and devoid of all prudence and regard to decency; she also offended the troops by omitting to bestow gifts on them, and by even abridging their privileges. The soldiers soon became turbulent, and insurrections broke out in various parts. Sher Sing was now encouraged to maintain his pretensions, and by the advice of Dhyan Sing, who had left Lahore to meet him, he set out with a party of only 500 men for that capital. On his arrival (Jan. 10, 1841), Gen. Ventura went out to him with 6000 men; and that same day, Dhyan Sing joined him with 15,000 hill-men from his estates in the mountains. Having gained an entrance into the city (14th), they assaulted the citadel, which was gallantly defended against them, chiefly by the troops of Gholab Sing. Dhyan Sing, however, having obtained from the troops a promise of pardon for his brother and son, the citadel surrendered. Gholab and Heera retired with their troops beyond the Ravee, the Sindawala chiefs to the British territory; and the Ranee was suffered to remain in the fort with an ample allowance. Sher Sing was proclaimed anew, Dhyan was restored to his offices, Gholab and Heera returned to court, and the latter was appointed commander-in-chief.

The Punjâb was now destined to feel the evils which are certain to be the result of maintaining a large army as the stay of despotism, as soon as the vigorous hand of him who formed and alone could control it is removed. The darling object of Runjeet Sing had been the formation of an army powerful from its numbers and its discipline. His troops, regular and irregular, horse and foot, exceeded 80,000 men, of which a third were regulars disciplined by Messrs. Allard, Ventura, Avitabili, Court, and other European military adventurers who had entered his service. His artillery consisted of 376 guns, and about the same number of swivels. These disciplined troops, named the Khalsas, now aware of their strength and their importance, committed what excesses they pleased; and the year 1841 is described as a year of terror in the Punjâb.

In the course of the following year, through the intervention of the British government, a reconciliation took place between Sher Sing and the Sindawala chiefs, and they were recalled and restored to their estates. They seem to have acquired in some measure the favour of the Maharajah, who was an indolent luxurious man, and they were treated with much respect by Dhyan Sing, who had now been raised to the highest rank in the state next to the throne. In what ensued, there is much mystery. A conspiracy is said to have been formed against the Maharajah by the Jummoo and Sindawala chiefs. Dhyan Sing, finding the favour of the prince withdrawn from him (1843), retired, in his usual manner, to his estates; but he was menaced that if he did not return and settle his accounts for the last five years, Gen. Ventura would be sent with his troops against him. He, therefore, appeared at court, and there he addressed his master, and commented on his conduct with much freedom. There was an apparent reconciliation; but Sher Sing seems to have resolved on humbling the Jummoo family if possible. He was warned, it is said, that there was a conspiracy against him, and the very day of the proposed outbreak was even named, but he gave no heed. He was also made to observe how the troops were closing round Lahore, under the pretext of the approaching festival of the Dussera; but he replied that he wished to see them all assembled on that occasion.

There was also another very suspicious circumstance. A boy of eight or nine years of age, named Dhuleep Sing, whom Runjeet had acknowledged as his child, though he knew it not to be the case, was now at Jummoo. Dhyan Sing caused him to be brought to Lahore, and in a public *durbar* (Aug. 31) he informed the Maharajah of what he had done, and proposed that a salute should be fired on this occasion. Sher Sing inquired why he was come, and he was told that it was to see his mother, who was sick. Some days after, the Maharajah received private information that Dhyan Sing, and the other chiefs, had sat in secret council at the house of Dhuleep Sing's mother; and Gen. Ventura, having craved an audience, informed him that they had certainly conspired against him, that it was with this view they had brought Dhuleep to Lahore, and that Gholab Sing was on his way to aid them. Still he would not give credit to the fact of a conspiracy. When Gholab Sing arrived (Sept. 8), he was received with much favour, and both he and Dhyan Sing were profuse in their declarations of loyalty.

On the 15th, as the Maharajah was amusing himself in one of the royal gardens, Ajeet Sing and Lena Sing, two of the Sindawala chiefs, went to him, and while he was examining a rifle, which they offered him (for he was a great gun-fancier), Ajeet shot him in the face with a pistol, and they instantly struck off his head. Lena then went to an adjacent garden, where Pertab, the young son of Maharajah, was at the time, and beheaded him also[5]. The two chiefs then proceeded toward the city; and on the way they met Dhyan Sing, who was alone. They told him that there had been a disturbance, and that the Maharajah had been slain, and proposed that he should go back with them to settle the succession. He consented, and as they drew near the gate, Ajeet fired a pistol at him; "O sirdar, what a foul deed!" he cried, laying his hand on his sword; but he was shot down by Ajeet's followers.

All concord, if ever there was any, between the Sindawala and the Jummoo chiefs, was now at an end. The former threw themselves into the citadel, while Heera Sing, accompanied by his uncle, Sûchet, went to the nearest troops, and displaying to them the crimes of the Sindawalas, offered them

[5] These murders are related in various ways.

large gratuities and increased pay, if they would aid him to avenge the death of his sovereign and his father. They evinced the utmost alacrity; and the following day the citadel was invested by 50,000 men. The Sindawalas made a desperate resistance, but toward evening it was taken by storm; and Ajeet, Lena, and 600 of the garrison were put to the sword. The soldiers now were not to be restrained; they murdered and plundered at their will in the city, whence every one fled that could, including the French officers.

The young Dhuleep Sing was now proclaimed Maharajah; and Heera Sing, though only three-and-twenty, became his vizîr. He was supported by his uncles, and by Lena Sing Majethia, the most respectable of the Sikh sirdars. The great difficulty was to keep the Khalsas in order; and for this purpose large sums of money were distributed among them. But as it was found impossible to satisfy their cupidity, attempts were made to counterbalance their power, by introducing a great number of Hindustanees into the service, and by the presence of a large body of hillmen, which Gholab Sing brought down from Jummoo.

But Heera Sing was not destined to taste of tranquillity in his high post. His uncle, Sûchet. speedily became discontented. The Mâe Chund, the mother of Dhuleep, a clever but unprincipled woman, aided by her brother, Jowahir Sing, soon contrived (Nov. 24) to get the young Maharajah out of the city; and Jowahir, presenting him to the troops, implored them to save him from Heera, who was determined to destroy him. Heera, however, easily convinced the soldiers of the falsehood of this charge, and Jowahir Sing was put in irons. But now Sûchet declared openly for Mâe Chund, and two adopted sons of Runjeet, Kashmeera Sing and Peshora Sing, having escaped from the custody in which Heera had placed them, took arms, and were joined by several of the Khalsas; Sûchet, hearing that the army at Lahore was disaffected, and would willingly act under his command, approached that city with not more than 600 men. His nephew moved against him with 20,000 of the Khalsas; and Sûchet, madly rushing on them, perished sword in hand (March 27, 1844).

The news of this event caused the two princes to quit the place where they then were; but they were soon after joined by a priest of great influence named Bhâe Bheerling, and by Lena Sing Majethia, and by Uttur Sing the head of the Sindawala family. They marched down the right bank of the Beyah till they were met (May 6th) by Heera Sing, who had again induced the Khalsa soldiery to declare for him. In the battle that ensued they were totally defeated, Kashmeera Sing, Uttur Sing, and the Bhâe, were slain. Peshora, who had fled in the commencement of the action, and Lena Sing, sought refuge in the British territories. Heera Sing on his return to Lahore was formally installed in the office of prime-minister, receiving the title of Rajah Saheb. He endeavoured to reform the army by giving their discharge to all the Sikhs that sought it, and by enlisting Mohammedans and Hindustanees in their places. He also dismissed all the remaining European officers, and began to manifest a strong anti-English feeling.

But whatever might have been the intentions of the Rajah Saheb toward the English, he was not destined to put them into execution. The Mâe and her brother had not ceased to intrigue against him; the old Khalsa chiefs had always disliked the Jummoo family and the Dogur clan to which they belonged; and the army, now that he could not supply their ever-craving avarice, had grown at least indifferent. Jowahir Sing began his manœuvres by asking for a military command. This the Rajah Saheb refused, but he gave him a jagheer on which he required him to reside. But he only went to Amritsir, the great seat of the Sikh religion, whence he carried on his intrigues. The Rajah Saheb was preparing to act against him; but meantime the *punchayets* or committees of five of the different corps of the army—who, by the way, greatly resemble the agitators of the days of Charles I. and Cromwell—had renounced their allegiance to him, and pledged themselves to acknowledge no other authority than that of the Mâe, and such as she should appoint. Heera assembled the officers (Dec. 20), and telling them that as he owed his authority, which was now disputed by the Mâe and her party, to the army, he was ready to resign it if such was their desire. The officers required time to retire and consult with the troops whom the Mâe and her friends meantime had gained over completely; and on the 21st they all assembled, and Jowahir Sing taking the young Maharajah placed him on a state elephant, and presented him to them. Heera next day seeing the turn affairs had taken, set out for Jummoo with some of his friends, and about 600 soldiers. But he was overtaken by Jowahir Sing before he had gone more than fifteen miles. His men abandoned him; and himself and his friends having taken shelter in a house the Khalsas set fire to it, and they were forced to come out; he offered in vain to surrender; they were ruthlessly cut to pieces, and their heads were stuck over the gates of Lahore.

The Ranee, as we are now to call her, proposed that the vacant office of vizîr should be given to her brother. But the troops refused, and they sent to offer it to Lena Sing who was residing at Benares; by whom, however, it was prudently declined. They at the same time sent an offer of the post of commander-in-chief to Peshora Sing who was at Ferozepore, by whom it was eagerly embraced. But on coming to Lahore, he found the Ranee and her party too strong for him, and he was forced to be content with a jagheer at Sealkôt. It was also proposed at this time in the *durbar*, to recall the European officers, in order to conduct operations against Gholab Sing, whom the Khalsa chiefs were anxious to destroy; but the troops would not heed them; they treated their officers at their caprice, and their *punchayets* were the real rulers of the state, the affairs of which were conducted, under them, by the Ranee, her brother, and the Bhâe Ram Sing, the young Maharajah's guardian. Of these the first was a woman of talent, and even of education, for she could write, a thing so rare with Oriental females; the second, a drunken profligate without either talent or education; the third, a man of energy and capacity.

In the month of February (1845) about 9000 of the Khalsas were induced by the hope of plunder to march against Gholab Sing. That prudent chief having removed the greater part of his trea-

sure to an impregnable fortress, awaited their attack at Jummoo. He was meantime negotiating with them and with their commander Lal Sing, and he agreed to pay down to them fifteen lacs of rupees, and at a future period to transmit fifty lacs to the treasury. A party was accordingly sent on to Jummoo to whom the money was paid; but as they were on their way back, they were fallen on by the hillmen, who cut them nearly all to pieces, and recovered the treasure for Gholab Sing. The Khalsas, in a rage at having been thus tricked, attacked the troops of the rajah; but they experienced a repulse, and shortly after he fell on their camp, and killed about 2000 men beside several of their sirdars. A great number of them were soon induced to join him; and he then marched for Lahore at the head of 17,000 men. As he approached that city, more of the troops went over to him, and he felt so conscious of his strength and influence, that he accepted an invitation to enter it. He was received at the *durbar* with the greatest honour; he laid his head on the ground before the *purdah*, or curtain, behind which the Ranee sat, in token of respect and obedience. She caused him and her brother to join hands in proof of friendship, and she made him an offer of the vizîriat, which, however, he prudently declined; but he accepted the command of the army. With great difficulty the Ranee at length succeeded in inducing the troops to consent to the appointment of her brother to the office of vizîr.

In the month of May the capital was visited by the cholera morbus, which carried off 22,000 persons, soldiers as well as citizens. While it lasted, it gave some check to the riot and disorder that prevailed in court and camp; but as soon as it began to decline, they broke out with redoubled force. Drunkenness, the most prominent vice of the court of Runjeet Sing, was dominant; the Ranee herself drank to such excess, that her faculties began to be impaired, and she was sinking into stupor: her lust also knew no bounds; Lal Sing, but not he alone, was her known paramour. The vizîr often got so drunk among horse-jockeys, common servants, and dancing-girls, that he was for days unable to hold a *durbar*. Even the young Maharajah was not exempt from the common vice.

Encouraged by the appearance of things in Lahore, Peshora Sing raised the standard of revolt. The troops sent against him were defeated; he made himself master of Attock, and the Khalsa troops that marched to recover it joined his standard. He was invited to Lahore, with an assurance that the leading sirdars were resolved to place him on the throne, and that the army was all in his favour. He fell into the trap, and was murdered on his way thither toward the end of August. Gholab Sing, now seeing another revolution a-brewing, in which he did not wish to have any share, quitted the capital, on the usual pretext of his wishing to pay a visit to his estates.

About the middle of September, the army encamped on the plain of Mujan Meer, close to Lahore. The *punchayets* met in nightly deliberation, and they sent their commands to all the officers of the government. They required the Ranee to repair to the camp with her son, and to deliver up her brother, and the murderers of Peshora Sing, if he were really dead. The Ranee and her brother tried to negotiate; but the troops were inexorable. They even attempted to engage them in collision with the British, but with as little success. The vizîr then by bribing the troops at the fort thought to make his escape, but he was stopped by those at the gate and was forced to return. Finding all further evasion hopeless, the Ranee ascended her palankeen (21st), and followed by her son on a state-elephant with Jowahir Sing in the howdah with him, she proceeded to the camp. It being dark when she reached it, she was conducted forthwith to a tent prepared for her. The driver of the Maharajah's elephant was ordered to make him kneel, and on his hesitating he was fired at and wounded. When the animal knelt, the Maharajah was taken out and conveyed to his mother's tent. The elephant was then made to rise, and a volley was poured into the howdah. Jowahir Sing, who had not been struck, began to plead for his life; but a second volley brought him to the ground, and he was then cut to pieces. In the morning the Ranee was permitted to return to the fort; and as she passed the body of her brother she burst into loud lamentations. It was given up to her to be burnt; and as the barbarous practice of *suttee* still prevails in the Punjâb, four of his wives were induced to immolate themselves. Even these poor creatures were plundered of their jewels and ornaments by the brutal soldiery. They died pouring forth blessings on the Ranee and her friends, and imprecating curses on the Khalsas, declaring that during the present year the Sikhs would lose their independence, their sect be annihilated, and the wives of the Khalsas be widows. As the last words of these victims are esteemed prophetic, these assertions made a deep impression on the hearers.

While the office of regent was left with the Ranee, the troops, like the prætorian guards at Rome, actually put the vizîriat up to auction; Lal Sing offered fifteen rupees a man, but they would not have *him* on any account; another offered eighteen rupees. Gholab Sing was the person they wished to have, provided he would raise their pay, and give them a liberal donation; but he declined, as also did Tej Sing, the governor of Peshawur, who had come to Lahore. The Ranee then proposed to decide the question by lot, in a way that was much used by Runjeet Sing, namely, by five slips of paper, two of which should be blank, and the remainder contain the names of persons from whom the selection was to be made. These names were Gholab, Tej, and Lal Sing; the young Maharajah drew the lot, and by chance or management, it proved to be that of the last named; but still the troops would not have him. The Ranee then, giving up in a great degree her debaucheries, displayed her former energy, and carried on the government herself. But want of money put it almost out of her power to manage the rapacious soldiery, who were now on the point of proclaiming the infant son of Sher Sing. To avert this danger, she and her party proposed to them to cross the Sutlej, and invade the British territory, where a rich harvest of plunder might be gathered. The *punchayets* held long and anxious deliberations on the subject; at length, confident in their strength, and urged by their cupidity, they called (Nov. 17th) on their commanders, Tej

Sing and Lal Sing, to lead them to the Sutlej, pledging themselves to be faithful, and to obey their orders. The resolution was approved of by the *durbar*, and money for the purpose was taken from the sacred treasury at Govind-ghur, and the Sikh army of 60,000 men[6] and 200 guns marched for the Sutlej.

To get rid of their turbulent soldiery was, as we may perceive, the real cause for their rushing madly into war with the British: the reasons assigned were four, namely; the military preparations made by the British; their not giving up eighteen lacs of rupees said to have been deposited by Sûchet Sing in the treasury at Ferozepore; the non-restitution by the Rajah of Nabba (a protected Sikh) of a village which had escheated to him; the refusal of a passage to the Khalsa troops to the Sikh possessions on the British side of the Sutlej. Vigorous efforts, it is also said, had of late been made to seduce the Hindoos in the British service from their allegiance, by appealing to their religious prejudices, and by promising them promotion and reward. Though these attempts had been utterly without effect, the Sikhs relied so much on them, that Lal Sing openly vaunted that he would bring over the whole British army, and take Ferozepore without fighting.

Never, it may be observed, was a war more unprovoked. The conduct of the British government, ever since the death of Runjeet Sing, toward that of Lahore, had been the most friendly conceivable. Advice and warnings were given, and provocations were overlooked. Precautions were no doubt taken against an outbreak like the present, but the actual occurrence of such an event had been hardly ever contemplated.

The Sikh troops marched from Lahore (24th) in parallel divisions, and they assembled (Dec. 8) on various points of the Lower Sutlej, or Garra, from opposite Ferozepore to Huree-Ke Ghât, at the junction of that river with the Beyah. After a halt of two days, they commenced the passage by a bridge of boats at Sobraon, about ten miles above Ferozepore, and in three days their whole army with its guns was on the British side of the river. Having partly invested Ferozepore, they moved on to Ferozeshuhur, about ten miles in advance of that place, where they took up an entrenched position. This camp contained about 50,000 men with 108 guns.

The Governor-general had set out from Calcutta for the Upper Provinces in October. On the 26th November, having received intelligence from his agent, Major Broadfoot, of what the Sikhs were supposed to be contemplating, he held a conference at Kurnaul with Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief. He thence proceeded to Umbala, where he remained a few days making preparations for the campaign, which was now inevitable. On quitting that place (Dec. 6), he proceeded to Ferozepore, and thence to Loodiana, each of which was garrisoned so as to be able to hold out till it could be relieved. From the latter, however, he withdrew the garrison of 5000 men to be joined with the troops coming from Umbala, leaving the infirm soldiers to defend the fort. When he heard that the Sikh troops had crossed the Sutlej, he issued a proclamation, declaring the possessions of the Maharajah, on the left bank of that river, confiscated and annexed to the British dominions.

On the 18th, the British troops were concentrated at Moodkee, only ten miles in advance of the entrenched camp of the Sikhs at Ferozeshuhur. While, wearied with their march, they were cooking their meals, intelligence arrived that the Sikhs were in full march to surprise their camp. Sir Hugh Gough immediately pushed on with the horse-artillery and cavalry, directing the infantry and field-train to follow. He found the enemy about two miles off posted in the plain to the number of from 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, and as much cavalry, with 40 guns; their infantry and artillery being in part skreened by jungle and sandy hillocks. As the British troops were forming, the Sikhs opened a heavy cannonade on them, which was speedily returned; and some of the British cavalry, after driving off their cavalry, got into their rear, and silenced their guns for a time. The infantry now advanced, the resistance of the Sikhs was resolute, but they were driven from position to position with great slaughter by the British bayonet, and they retired with the loss of 17 guns. Among those who fell on the British side were Sir R. Sale and Sir John McCaskill.

After a halt of two days to refresh the men, the army, having been joined by two European regiments, moved in quest of the enemy, leaving the baggage and wounded at Moodkee under the protection of two native regiments (21st). When they came near to Ferozeshuhur, they found the enemy posted in an entrenched camp, which formed a parallelogram a mile long and half a mile wide, including that village within its area. It was defended by more than 50,000 men, with 108 large guns fixed in batteries. The British, who had been joined by Gen. Sir John Littler with about 5000 men from Ferozepore, numbered only 16,700 men with 69 guns, chiefly horse-artillery.

The attack was made on one of the long sides of the parallelogram, the right wing being commanded by Sir Hugh Gough, the left by the Governor-general. Amid a storm of shot and shell, the British infantry advanced and carried the entrenchments, where they seized the guns; but the Sikh infantry, which was stationed behind their batteries, poured such a fire of musketry on them, that they had only carried a part of the works when darkness came on. They bivouacked for the night in the part they had gained, wearied and exhausted, and suffering severely from thirst, and exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery. In the morning (22nd), the infantry formed in line with the horse artillery on the flanks, and the heavy guns in the centre. But a masked battery being found to play with great effect on this point, the two commanders placed themselves at the head of their respective wings; and the line advanced, driving the Sikhs before it out of their camp; then changing its front, it swept the camp in a transverse direction till the whole of the Sikhs had been driven out of it, and 73 guns and the standards had been captured. But the battle was not yet over. In about two hours Tej Sing brought up the battalions which had been before Ferozepore, and 30,000 irregulars, with which he made three desperate but unsuccessful attempts to retake the position, and he was finally forced to

[6] It appears to have been increased of late; see p. 192.

retire with great loss. There were several charged mines in the camp, which as they blew up killed many of the British officers and men. Among those slain in this severe action was Major Broadfoot, the political agent.

Shortly after Tej Sing came to the camp and had an interview with the Governor-general, who refused to negotiate till the British troops should be under the walls of Lahore. On the 31st a proclamation was issued, calling on all Hindustanees in the Lahore service to put themselves under the orders of the British government, on pain of being dealt with as traitors.

As there was a depôt of grain protected by a small Sikh garrison at Dhermcôt, half-way between Ferozepore and Loodiana and near the Upper Sutlej, Gen. Sir H. Smith was sent, with only a single brigade, to take it (Jan. 18, 1846). This he easily effected; but meantime the Sikh sirdar, Runjoor Sing, had crossed at Fellôr opposite Loodiana, and threatened that place. Gen. Smith was then directed to move in that direction with his brigade, and a second brigade under Brig. Wheeler to follow and support him. Gen. Smith did not reach Loodiana without sustaining some loss; but he was joined there by the troops of the garrison and other reinforcements. Runjoor Sing being now cut off from the ford at Fellôr, moved for one lower down the river; and having been reinforced from the other side by 4000 of the troops disciplined by Gen. Avitabili, with cavalry and artillery, he quitted the river, and prepared to advance inland toward Jugroon, to intercept the communication between Loodiana and Moodkee. Gen. Smith marched at daylight on the 28th in quest of the enemy, whom, when he had gone about six miles, he saw in motion on a ridge on which stood the village of Aliwâl. The British formed, and advancing under a heavy cannonade carried the village; the enemy's left was driven back, but Avitabili's corps on the right offered greater resistance. Charge after charge with the bayonet was made; and the Sikhs were gradually pressed to the passage of the river which was at hand. Here they flung themselves into boats or into the stream, and the opposite bank was soon covered with the wreck of their army. The whole of their guns, 57 in number, were taken, spiked, or sunk in the river. All the forts held by the Sikhs on the left bank of the river were now evacuated.

The main body of the Sikh army had retired over the bridge of boats at Sobraon, but they still held the *tête de pont*, and their strong entrenchments on the left bank, in which they had left 30,000 men and 70 pieces of cannon. This position was so strong, that Sir Hugh Gough did not think himself justified in attacking it till he should have been joined by Sir H. Smith, and have received a siege-train and ammunition from Delhi. When these had arrived, he prepared (Feb. 10) to assail the enemy's works. The infantry was drawn up in three divisions, two resting on the river to the left and right of the enemy's entrenchments, and the third in front; the artillery was placed in a large semicircle surrounding a great portion of them; the cavalry was partly in reserve, partly at a ford, where that of the enemy under Lal Sing was drawn up on the opposite bank.

Shortly after daybreak the British batteries opened; but they were unable to silence those of the enemy. At nine o'clock, therefore, two brigades of the division on the British left, supported by artillery, moved to the attack. Pressing on under a tremendous fire, they entered the entrenchments, driving the Sikhs in confusion before them. The right and centre now advanced to the attack, and a furious conflict raged along the entire line: The Sikhs fought with desperation; where the entrenchments had been carried by the bayonet, they sought to recover them sword in hand; and it was not till the cavalry, having entered by single files in openings in the works, made by the sappers, and forming again inside, galloped up and down, cutting down the men at the guns and works, and the whole of the infantry and artillery had poured in, that the fire of the Sikhs ceased, and they rushed in masses to the bridge and the river. As they were endeavouring to get across, they were massacred by the discharges of the horse-artillery; and hundreds and hundreds of them were drowned, and carried along by the waters of the Sutlej. Their total loss is computed at 8000 men; that of the British was also severe, including Major-general Dick, who commanded the left division. Sixty-seven more of the Sikh guns, and 200 camel-swivels, were captured on this occasion.

On the night of the day of this great victory, the advanced brigades of the British were thrown across the Sutlej; and on the 13th, the whole army was encamped at Kasoor, sixteen miles beyond that river, on the road to Lahore, where it was joined next day by the Governor-general. On that day (14th) a proclamation was issued, declaratory of the intentions of the British government, and calling on the Sikh chiefs to give their aid in establishing a proper government in the Punjâb. On the following day (15th), Gholab Sing and two other envoys arrived from Lahore, with full powers to agree to whatever terms the Governor-general might be pleased to dictate.

When tidings of the fatal day at Sobraon had reached Lahore, the Ranee and her durbar urged Gholab Sing, who happened to be there, to go to the British camp, and make the best terms for them that he could. He refused, unless the durbar and the chief officers, and the *punchayets* of the army, would sign a solemn declaration, that they would abide by such terms as he should succeed in obtaining from the Governor-general. This was done immediately, and he and his colleagues set out for the British camp. Sir H. Hardinge received them in solemn durbar, and having observed on the unwarrantable conduct of the chiefs and the army, and commended Gholab Sing for his wisdom in keeping himself clear of their proceedings, he referred them to Mr. Currie, his chief secretary, and Major Lawrence, his political agent, for the particulars of the treaty which he would propose. These parties remained in conference the greater part of the night, and before they separated the treaty was signed.

By this treaty the Maharajah was to cede to the British, in perpetuity, the Jullundur Doab, or country between the rivers Beyah and Sutlej; to pay a crore and half of rupees for the expenses of the war; to disband the present army, and reorganize it; to surrender all the guns that had been pointed against the British, and cede to them

the entire control of both banks of the Sutlej, with sundry other arrangements.

It was also arranged that the Maharajah should meet the Governor-general on the 18th, at Lulleana, half-way between the Sutlej and Lahore. The meeting took place accordingly; the young prince sued for pardon, and was admitted to favour. He accompanied the army on its progress to Lahore; and on the 20th it encamped on the plain of Mujan Meer, under the walls of that capital. The remains of the Sikh army, now less than 20,000 men, with thirty-five guns, was at Raeban, about eighteen miles east of Lahore, under Tej Sing and Lal Sing. In the afternoon the Maharajah was escorted to his palace by some regiments of British cavalry, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. On the 22nd, Sir Hugh Gough led a brigade into the city, and took possession of a part of the citadel.

On the 8th March, at a conference held for signing the treaty, a letter was presented from the Maharajah, praying that some British regiments, with artillery, might be let to remain for a few months at Lahore, while the Sikh army was being re-organized. To this the Governor-general consented, declaring, however, that in no case should they remain longer than to the end of the year. Next day (9th) the treaty was formally ratified in the Governor-general's state-tent, the Maharajah and the Sikh chiefs, the British commanders, and a native officer from every regiment, being present. Instead of the crore of rupees, the Maharajah agreed to cede his possessions in the hill-country, between the Beyah and the Indus, including Cashmere and Hazara; the Sikh army was to be reduced to 20,000 foot and 12,000 horse, and no European or American was to be employed without the sanction of the British; Gholab Sing was to be recognized as an independent prince, in such territories as the British government should be pleased to make over to him, &c. &c.

It having been the intention of the British government to confer an independent sovereignty on Gholab Sing, a treaty was signed with that chief (16th), by which, on his engaging to pay seventy-five lacs of rupees, the whole of the hill-country between the Indus and the Ravee, including Cashmere, was made over to him. He was each year to present the British government, in acknowledgment of its supremacy, with one horse, twelve shawl-goats, and three pair of Cashmere shawls; and he was to employ no European or American without its consent.

When the accounts of these great victories reached England, they naturally caused high satisfaction, as they proved that all India was reduced to peace, and that any stain which the Afghân calamities might have left on our arms was effaced. The Governor-general and the Commander-in-chief were, as they well deserved to be, raised to the peerage, and the services of the army were gratefully acknowledged. The British troops remained at Lahore till the following month of December, when, as they were about to be withdrawn, the Sikh sirdars, fearing the return of the former disorders, unanimously requested that the occupation of the country might be continued during the Maharajah's minority, the troops to be paid out of the revenues of the country, and the government to be carried on under the direction of the British resident. Their wishes were complied with, and for the next ten years the state of Lahore is to remain under this form of government.

From the time when hostilities commenced between the French and English in the Carnatic, which led to interference in the concerns of the native princes, till that of the overthrow of the army of the Sikhs, exactly a century has elapsed. During that period the English, from the condition of mere traders with a few factories on the coast of India, have become more completely the sovereigns of that extensive country, than any prince or any dynasty recorded in history. From the frontiers of Afghânistân to those of Ava, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and including the great isle of Ceylon, there is not a single native state which is not directly or indirectly under their government. While Bengal, Bahar, the Upper Provinces of Delhi and Rohilcund, Sinde, the coast of the Deckan, and a large district in its northern part, with many other places, form directly a portion of the British empire, the two great Mohammedan princes, the King of Oude and the Nizâm, and the Hindoo rajahs of Nagpûr and Rajpûtana, and others, are subsidiary allies, to whom the internal administration of their states is left, while the defence of them is committed to a force paid by the state, but raised and officered by the British; and Residents are stationed at their courts to watch over and direct them. In other states, such as Mysore and Tanjore, the prince is a mere cipher, living on a pension, while the government is conducted by British functionaries. The entire population of India is estimated at about 140 millions, of whom only about eight millions are Mohammedans, and two-thirds of the whole live under the immediate government of the British.

Never has so large an empire been formed, with so little public violation of the great principles of justice[7]. The wars which led to its formation were almost all wars of necessity; and had not the French, whose nature is so restless and encroaching, also had settlements in India, it may justly be doubted if the British would, even at the present day, appear there in any other character than that of merchants. Further, this empire thus acquired without crime, has been governed, in the main, with justice, directed by a sincere desire to promote the happiness of the people. Many errors, some no doubt of a serious nature, have been committed, but they arose in general from ignorance, and most of them have been corrected by time[8]. With respect to the religions or superstitions of the native population, the conduct of the Company's government has been prudent and judicious. Their sys-

[7] The real or apparent exceptions have been fully noticed and animadverted on in the preceding pages.

[8] For instance; in 1814, the Board of Control, acting on the representations of various persons in India, came to the conclusion, that the judicial system of 1793 had been an unwise departure from native institutions, and that a return to them would be the better course. This was done at Madras, in 1817; but what was the consequence? While the number of suits in these courts was only 362, those in the courts instituted by the English were 71,050; and each year the number of the former went on decreasing. The natives, in fact, saw where the purer justice was to be had; and their prejudices did not prevent them from seeking it there.

tem has been that of non-interference; but, at the same time, the efforts of Christian missionaries have not been impeded. These zealous men, however, seeing the almost insuperable barriers to conversion, presented by the actual condition of the native mind, have opened numerous schools in which, while no immediate attempts are made at conversion, their efforts are directed to the enlargement and purification of the minds of their pupils; and books containing a pure morality, and giving correct ideas in geography and other useful branches of knowledge, being used in the schools, the gradual eradication of numerous errors and prejudices, which stand in the way of pure religion, may reasonably be expected to follow.

In every point of view, the prospects of India are cheering. War seems now at length to have ceased, and of its renewal, either internally or externally, there is little probability. The troops will, therefore, in future, we may presume, be chiefly employed as police, and a great reduction may be made in their numbers. The savings effected in this and other ways may lead to the diminution of taxation, which presses heavily on the cultivators of the soil; more attention can now be devoted to the internal administration, and numerous improvements in every department may be effected. Canals and railways may be constructed, and districts now lying waste will be brought into cultivation. Already the tea-plant is beginning to be cultivated extensively in Assam and in the region under the Himalaya westwards of Nepâl, and tea seems likely to become the beverage of a large portion of the population of India. In effect, we cannot assign any limit to the progress of improvement.

What is likely to be the duration of this extraordinary empire is a question which naturally presents itself. Here, though we know that the works of man, like himself, must terminate, we confess that we cannot even by conjecture fix a limit; and as far as our ken extends, we see nothing to prevent its being co-extensive with that of the British empire in Europe. The invasion and conquest of it by Russia, the only power that could cause apprehension, is, in our opinion, as we have already stated, a thing of which the possibility can hardly be contemplated. As little likelihood does there appear of any extensive rising on the part of the native population against our authority. The natives are in general attached to the British government, and likely to become more so every day; and the Mohammedans, who alone feel any discontent, are too few and too widely dispersed to make the attempt with even the remotest prospect of success. The troops have on many trying occasions shown that they are not to be seduced from their allegiance to the government whose salt, as they express it, they have eaten. Should Russia attempt to open any communications with the native princes, they could not be concealed from the knowledge of the Residents, neither could these princes augment their forces by a single company without its being known and checked. But in effect the time seems not far distant, when, from the natural progress of things, and to the great benefit of their subjects, the Nizâm and the King of Oude will be like the rajahs of Mysore and Tanjore, merely titled pensioners. Whence then danger is to arise we cannot discern, unless it be from the folly and misconduct of the British government itself.

But it is not to India alone that the British power and influence in the East extends. The Anglo-Saxon race seems destined by Providence to be in modern, what the Romans were in ancient times, the great diffusers of laws and civilization but in a far more noble and more extensive manner. To it alone it seems to be given to plant colonies on true principles, and rule over other races with equity. Thus while the French stagnate in Canada, and ruin and destroy in Algeria and Tahiti, the Dutch prove in Java their unfitness for colonial dominion, and even our descendants of the United States, by insulting, plundering and breaking faith with the native tribes, and with their neighbours of Mexico, show that they have degenerated under their democratic institutions, the English govern India with justice, and are filling the continent and isles of the South Sea with energetic and enterprising colonists. The authority of England will probably in a few years be paramount in the isles of the Indian Archipelago, and what her relations with China and Japan may ultimately be, no one can divine. Meanwhile to the West of India she commands the Red Sea and now that her principal route to her eastern dominions lies through Egypt, she must, even at the risk of war, never let that country fall into the hands of France or any other European power but either become mistress of it herself, or have it ruled by those who will never impede her communication with the East.

THE END.

Gilbert & Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square, London.