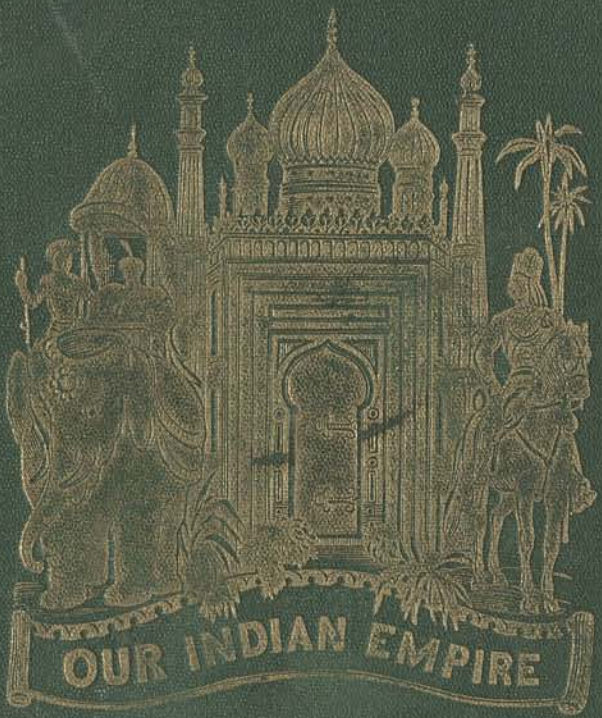
OUR INDIAN EMPIRE


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K.K.Venugopal

VIEW OF THE PALACE OF AGRA, FROM THE RIVER.

This palace was built by the Emperor Akbar in the middle of the sixteenth century.

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AGRA — VIEW OF PRINCIPAL STREET.

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Drawn by W. Purser.

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THE CITY OF BENARES.

This City contains a population of about 600,000 and is situate on the Ganges, midway between Calcutta and Delhi.

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VIEW OF LUCKNOW.

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CAPTURE OF THE KING OF DELHI BY CAPTAIN HODSON.

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FORTRESS OF BOWRIE, IN RAJPOOTANA.

The Rajpoots are the most warlike people in India, and a large number of them were enrolled as Sepoys in the Indian army. Neemuch and Nusseerabad, where mutinies broke out, are situate in Rajpootana.

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SCENE AT COLGONG ON THE GANGES.

VIEW OF BOMBAY SHOWING THE FORT.

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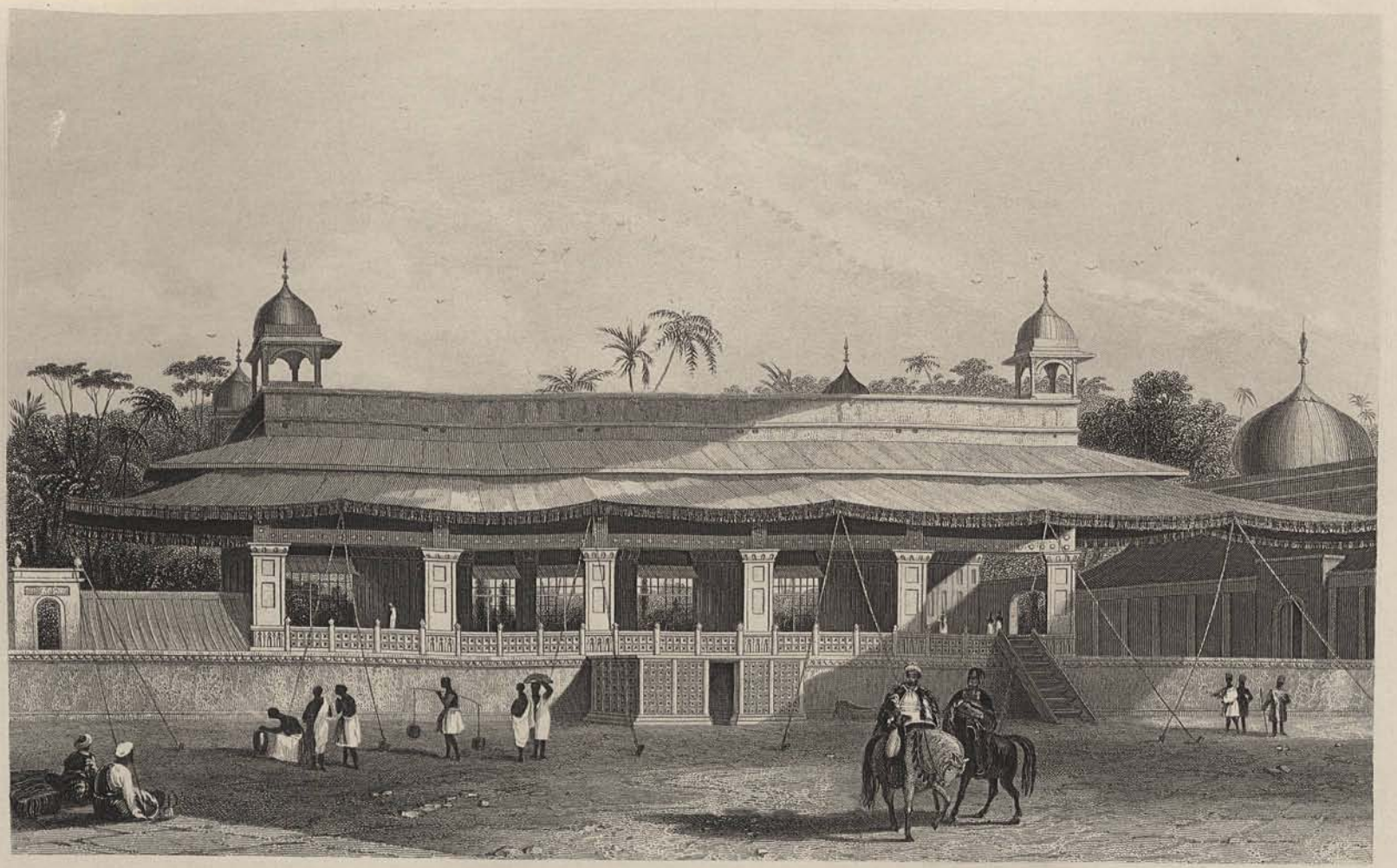

THE DEWAS KHAN, OR HALL OF AUDIENCE, PALACE OF DELHI.

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SNOWY RANGE, FROM TYNE OR MARMA.

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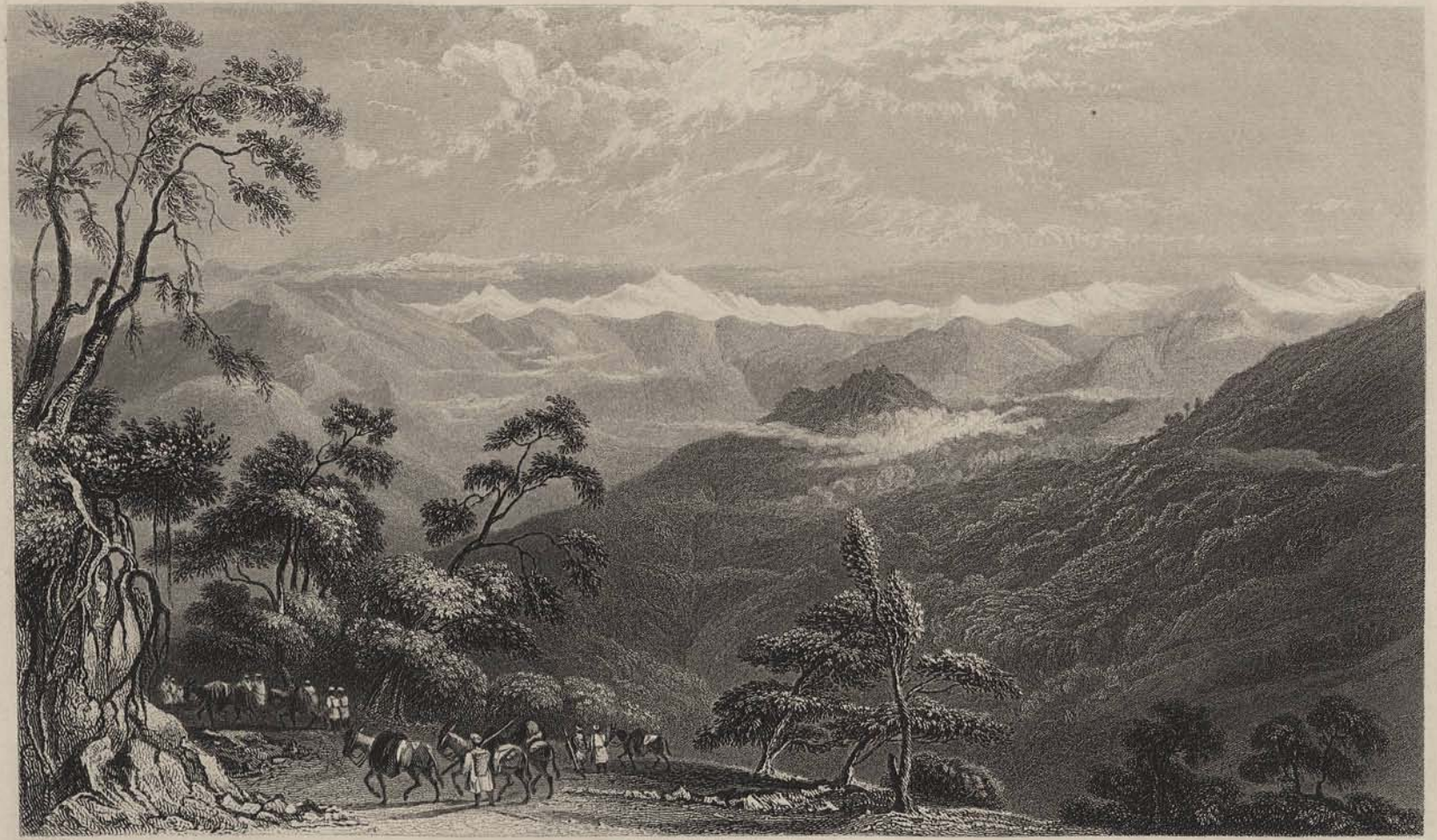

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THE NANA SAHIB WITH HIS ESCORT

LEAVING LUCKNOW TO MEET THE REBEL FORCE ADVANCING FROM MALWA.

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ATTACK ON THE MUTINEERS BEFORE CAWNPORE.

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SEPOYS CROSSING THE RIVER TONSE - A TRIBUTARY OF THE JUMNA - BY A JHOOLA.

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MUTINOUS SEPOYS DIVIDING SPOIL.

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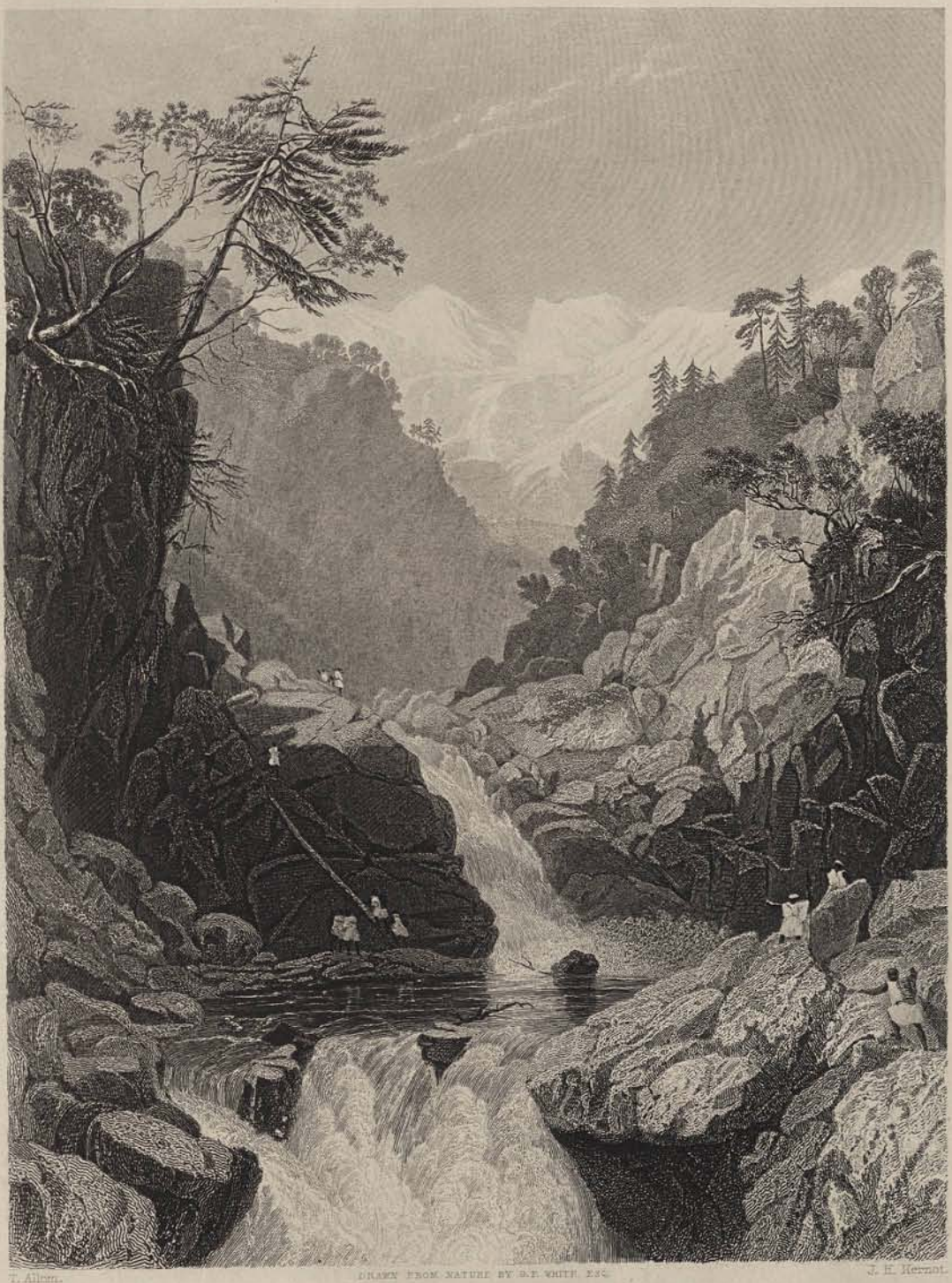

T. Allom. DRAWN FROM NATURE BY G.F. YOUTH, ESQ. J. H. Kernot.

VIEW ON THE RIVER JUMNA.

The length of the Jumna is 680 miles: on it are situated the cities of Delhi and Agra.

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and from the delinquency of their servants. Whether they examined and compared the commercial details of the two associations does not appear, nor whether they made due allowance for the heavy drain occasioned by the large subsidies, or, as the anti-monopolists called them, bribes, furnished to Charles II. and James II., not, however, for the private use of these monarchs, since the monies in question are said to have been paid into the exchequer for the public service.* Be this as it may, the remedy for existing evils constantly put forth by the company during the administration of Sir Josiah Child, was a close imitation of the policy of the successful and unscrupulous Dutch, whose aggressive conduct towards the natives had its counterpart in the sanguinary decree for the infliction of capital punishment on all interlopers and deserters. Sir Josiah Child certainly understood the mind of the English public at the close of the seventeenth century far too well to press the adoption of such a law, whatever his own wishes on the subject might have been. He contented himself with urging the suppression of private trade by more gentle means, at the same time advocating the attainment of independent power in India, by the enlargement and strenuous assertion of the authority of the company over British subjects within the limits of their charter; and, secondly, of retaliative, if not aggressive hostilities against the Indian princes. The administration of Shaista Khan, as "Nabob,"† or governor of Bengal, was alleged to have been vexatious and oppressive in the extreme; and amicable negotiations having failed in procuring redress, it was thought practicable to obtain better terms by force of arms. Accordingly, the largest military armament‡ till then assembled by the company, was dispatched to India, with orders to gain possession of the city and territory of Chittagong as a place of future security, and thence retaliate upon the Nabob, and even upon the Mogul himself, the injuries and losses which had already been sustained. Bombay was elevated to the rank of a regency, after the example of the Dutch at Batavia and Colombo; and orders were given to increase the fortifications, and render the island "as strong as art and money could make it."§ Madras was formed into a corporation, to consist of a mayor and ten aldermen (of whom three were to be the company's servants and seven natives), with 120 burgesses.‖ An offer was made by the garrison of Fort St. George (Madras), to aid the King of Golconda against the Dutch, with whom he was then at war; and in return, a firmaun was to be solicited to coin rupees, together with the grant of St. Thomas as an English possession. Thus the company were desirous of attaining political influence in all directions; and their views were seconded with much energy by Sir John Child, who, following the spirit of the instructions cited in a previous page, resolved to commence hostilities against Aurungzebe, as if on his own responsibility; so that in the event of an unfavourable issue to the expedition, an opportunity might be provided of negotiating for the restoration of former privileges and trade, upon the same basis as they had stood previously to his apparently unsanctioned proceedings.

By some casualty the whole force did not arrive in the Ganges at the same time; and an insignificant quarrel between three English soldiers and the "peons," or native police of the Nabob, brought on the contest in an unexpected manner, in October, 1686. Hooghly was cannonaded by the fleet under Captain Nicholson, and 500 houses were burnt, upon which the foujdar, or military governor, made overtures for peace; but the demands of the English were so exces-

* Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 105-'6.

† An English corruption of the Arabic word *Naib* or the Persian *Nawab* (meaning deputy), applied to the imperial soubahdars or governors.

‡ Ten armed vessels, from twelve to seventy guns, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the members of council, in Bengal. In addition to this force, application was made to the king for an entire company of regular infantry, with their officers.

§ Bruce, vol. ii., p. 586. It was stated in 1691-'2, that £400,000 had been spent in fortifying and improving Bombay, including the harbour, docks, &c.

‖ The aldermen were to be justices of the peace, and to wear thin scarlet gowns, and the burgesses black silk gowns: a town-clerk and recorder were to be appointed; a sword and mace to be carried before the mayor, and a silver oar before the judge-advocates—ceremonies which must have been very puzzling to the native aldermen. Some difficulty occurred in carrying this project into execution; for although the inhabitants soon recognised the beneficial effect of the new measure, the mixed description of persons considered proper for the court of aldermen could not be obtained. No Armenian could be induced to act; the Jews left the place; the Portuguese feared their countrymen and the Inquisition too much to accept office; and the local authorities considered it unsafe to "confide in the Moors or Mussulmen."—(Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, ii., 593; 659: iii., 111; 156.) With regard to the Hindoos, no objection appears to have been raised either by or against them.

sive, amounting to above sixty-six lacs of rupees, or nearly £700,000, that they could scarcely have expected compliance. On the side of Surat considerable advantage was at first gained by the capture of a number of Moorish vessels, richly freighted;* and also in Bengal, through the determined conduct of Job Charnock, the company's agent, by whom the Nabob's forces were repulsed in repeated assaults, the fort of Tanna stormed, the island of Injellee seized and fortified, and the town of Balasore partially burned, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet: the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered by the enemy, and the agents placed in irons. At this period, Muchtar Khan was appointed governor of Surat, and with him a sort of provisional convention was entered into, which was to be the basis of a treaty with the Mogul. The court in London, overjoyed at the prospect of such favourable terms, voted Sir John Child a present of 1,000 guineas,—a very large sum in proportion to the moderate salaries then apportioned to Anglo-Indian functionaries.†

The negotiation fell to the ground. According to the account given in the official records, Muchtar Khan never intended to carry it out, and only affected to entertain the proposition as a means of gaining time until the results of the contest of Aurungzebe with Beejapoor and Golconda, and also with Sumbajee, should be fully manifest. This seems contradicted by the fact, that after these two kingdoms fell into the power of the Mogul, the English authorities of Madras solicited and received from the conqueror a confirmation of the privileges accorded to them by the deposed monarch. In fact, they followed the example of a neighbouring Hindoo governor, who quietly remarked, that "as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums and fired his guns, for the victory of the mighty Aurungzebe over his old master."‡ Sir John Child severely reprimanded the Madras agency for their conduct, as implying a doubt of the ultimate issue of the struggle of their countrymen with the Mogul; but since he had himself evinced pretty clearly a similar feeling, by affecting to act on his private authority, without the knowledge of his employers, it is hard to censure the Madras agents for taking measures against their otherwise certain destruction or captivity. The annals of this period are very confused: even Bruce, more than once, alludes to their defectiveness; but it appears, that in October, 1688, Sir John Child, suspecting duplicity on the part of the Mogul governor, embarked at Bombay, and appeared off Surat with a fleet of seven ships, his intention being to deter Muchtar Khan from any breach of the provisional agreement. In this same month, Captain Heath reached Bengal, in command of a large armed ship, the *Defence*, attended by a frigate, and bearing instructions from the Court of Committees for the active prosecution of hostilities. His proceedings are thus related by Bruce:—"Captain Heath, on the 29th of November (contrary to the opinion of the agent and council, and notwithstanding a perwannah [*order*] for peace with the English had been received by the governor from the Nabob), attacked and took a battery of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Balasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the governor; and the company's agents, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing." Under these circumstances, it would seem unjust to accuse the Moguls of breaking the armistice, since it was not till the 26th of December that Muchtar Khan seized and imprisoned Mr. Harris and Mr. Gladman, ordered the company's goods in Surat to be sold, demanded a contribution of five lacs of rupees, and offered a large reward for the person of Sir John Child—alive or dead. The island of Bombay was attacked by the Siddee, the greater part of it occupied by the enemy, and the governor besieged in the town and castle. Aurungzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as also that at Vizagapatam, where the agent and four factors were slain.

The unequal contest could not, it was evident, be prolonged without occasioning the destruction of those by whose ambition and imprudence it had been provoked. Solicitations for peace were presented, in December, 1688, and received with a show of indifference—rather affected than real; for the imperial treasury, drained by constant warfare, could ill bear the sub-

* According to the writers of that day in the interloping interest, the advantage in question was purchased at the expense of a flagrant breach of faith; but this allegation the company denied.

† Harris, the successor of Child as president of Surat and governor of Bombay, had only £300 a-year. The regency scheme was abandoned.

‡ Orme's *Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire.*

traction of any source of income. The application of the English for the restoration of commercial privileges, was doubtless the more welcome, for being presented under circumstances which enabled Aurungzebe to carry out the policy evidenced in his dealings with the Portuguese, of reducing the pretensions of European maritime powers trading to the Indies to a complete dependence on his authority; thus keeping down attempts at political influence while desirous of promoting mercantile intercourse. In February, 1689, a new firmaun was issued, which declared that "the English having made a most humble and submissive petition that the crimes they have done may be pardoned;" and having promised "to restore the merchants' goods they had taken away to the owners thereof, and walk by the ancient customs of the port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner; therefore his majesty, according to his daily favour to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, and mercifully forgiven them." Out of his princely condescension, the Great Mogul further agreed to permit a present of 150,000 rupees to be placed in the treasury of Surat. The firmaun concludes with an express stipulation "that Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled." The translation of this document is apparently faulty; but it suffices to convey an idea of its tone and tenor, and fully bears out the declaration of Bruce, that the result of all the projects of the company to become an independent power in India, was to reduce their agents to a more abject position than any in which they had been placed since the first establishment of an English factory in India.*

Sir John Child, who had provided in his own person a scape-goat for the wrath of the emperor, died at Bombay during the progress of the negotiation, and the office of president devolved on Mr. Harris, then a prisoner at Surat. On payment of the fine and restoration of goods decreed in the firmaun, Mr. Harris and other English prisoners were immediately released from their long confinement in irons; but it was not until the 22nd of June, 1690, that the Siddee, by order of Aurungzebe, vacated his different posts at Bombay (Mazagon, Mahim, and Sion), after about a twelvemonth's occupation. On the same day, the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England was proclaimed in this island, as it had been at Madras eight months before. Ignorant of the disasters attending their ambitious projects, the court, in the instructions addressed to their servants in 1689, declare —"The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united only by his Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is, that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of our revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."† Being chiefly concerned in monopolising the spice-islands, the Dutch appear to have followed their policy of territorial aggrandisement far less strenuously on the continent of India than at Ceylon, Java, and throughout the Eastern Archipelago, at Formosa (China), at the Cape of Good Hope, at New York, Guyana, and other widely-spread localities.

The disastrous issue of the recent expedition, compelled the English to adopt a more deferential manner towards the native powers, but made no change in their ultimate intentions. Shortly after the conclusion of peace, the town and harbour of Tegnapatam,‡ on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase from Rajah Ram,

* Bruce, ii., 639-'40; 646—653. The firmaun contains no reference to the privilege of coining money, which had long been a point in dispute.

† "Dispatch from the Court of Committees in Ann. Comp., 1689-'90: written, there seems good reason for believing, by Child."—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 101.)

‡ In the instructions for the establishment of this new settlement, special encouragement is directed to be given to Armenians, as also in Vizagapatam and Madras. In the latter place, one quarter of the town was to be allotted to them, with permission "to build a church at their own cost," a duty sadly neglected by the company. These Armenians were a Christian sect formed during the power of the successors of Constantine. When the countries they inhabited were over-run by the Mohammedan arms, they were forcibly transplanted by Shah Abbas, and other belligerent monarchs, into Persia, and dispersed among the surrounding countries, where they earned a livelihood as merchants and brokers. Some of them made their way into India, and obtained a character for successful trading, which rendered the company desirous to employ them in vending English woollens, and procuring fine muslins and other goods. The project seems to have failed, the Armenians being pre-engaged in the service of the Levant company.

the Mahratta sovereign, and the sanction of the Mogul authorities of the Carnatic obtained for its occupation. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David.*

About the same time a more important acquisition was made in Bengal. During the late hostilities, the agent and council at Hooghly, fearing to continue in so exposed a position, removed to Chuttanuttee, a village about twenty-four miles lower down the river, where they hoped to remain in security under the protection of their ships. The Nabob ordered them to return to Hooghly, and forbade their building, with either stone or brick, at Chuttanuttee; but, on the pacification with the court of Delhi, permission was obtained for the establishment of a factory there. Repeated attempts were made to obtain leave to fortify the new position, and for a grant of jurisdiction over its inhabitants, as also over those of the adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpoor. Similar applications were made by the Dutch at Chinsura (about a mile southward of Hooghly), and by the French at Chandernagore (two miles lower down the river), but without success; for Aurungzebe never permitted any foreigner to erect a single bastion on Mogul territory, though he tolerated the continuance (at Madras for instance) of such European fortresses as his conquests over Mohammedan or Hindoo princes drew within the borders of the empire. At length, one of those intestine divisions which have so often placed India at the feet of strangers, procured for the agencies before-named the privilege long vainly solicited. Soobah Sing, a petty Hindoo chief, being dissatisfied with Rajah Kishen Rama, of Burdwan (who must have been either tributary to, or in the service of, Aurungzebe), united with Rehim Khan, an Afghan, then considered the head of that clan remaining in Orissa, in an attempt to overturn the government, in 1695-'6. The three European settlements hired a number of native soldiery to guard their property: the Dutch and French professed themselves staunch allies of the Mogul: the English endeavoured to preserve a semblance of neutrality, but united in requesting permission to fortify their factories against the attacks of the insurrectionists. The Nabob directed them, in general terms, to defend themselves, and they, taking for granted what was not absolutely forbidden, laboured day and night in raising walls with bastions round their stations. A pitched battle between the insurgents and Kishen Rama, terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, and the capture of his family. His beautiful daughter was among the prisoners: Soobah Sing strove to dishonour her; but the attempt cost him his life; for the hapless girl, aware of his intention, had concealed a sharp knife in the folds of her dress; and when he strove to seize her, she inflicted upon him a mortal wound, and then, with mistaken heroism, stabbed herself to the heart. By this catastrophe, the rebel army fell under the sole control of the Afghan chief, who became master of Hooghly, Moorshedabad, and Rajmahal: the Dutch and English factories, at the latter place, were pillaged of considerable property. Chuttanuttee and the fort of Tanna† were unsuccessfully attacked. But the general progress of the rebels was almost unchecked; and in December, 1696, their force comprised 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry: the revenue of the country in their possession was estimated at sixty lacs of rupees per annum; and Rehim Shah assumed the style and dignity of a prince. The remissness of the Nabob being deemed the chief cause of the rapid spread of the insurrection, Prince Azim (second son of Prince Mauzim)‡ was sent at the head of the Mogul army for its suppression, and was at the same time appointed to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The death of Rehim Shah in battle, in 1698, and the submission of the Afghans, was followed by a general amnesty. The Europeans were suffered to continue their fortifications; and in 1698, the English, by the payment of a considerable sum of money, obtained per-

* The precise period of the introduction of the Dutch into Bengal is not recorded; but the French established themselves about 1676, and the Danes in the same year at Serampore.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 346.)

† Tanna, ten miles west of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river, was defended by an English frigate, sent at the request of the foujdar of Hooghly to support the fort against the rebels. Calcutta, according to Stewart (properly called Calicotta), takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly, the Hindoo goddess of Time. The territory purchased from the zemindars in 1698, extended about three miles along the *Hooghly* (or *Bhagaruttee*), and one mile inland.

‡ It was a part of the policy of the wily Aurungzebe, to bring forward his grandsons and place them in positions of honour and emolument; so that they might be disposed, in any emergency, to side with him rather than with their own fathers.

mission to purchase Chuttanuttee and the adjoining villages, with authority to exercise justiciary power over the inhabitants. The designation of Calcutta came to be applied to the whole, and the name of Fort William was given to the defences in honour of the English monarch.

Notwithstanding these cheering indications of progress in Bengal, the general condition of the E. I. Cy. at this period was one of extreme political and financial depression; their difficulties from private trade and piracy being aggravated by the national hostility of the French, and the domestic rivalry of a new association. The death of Sir John Child made no change in the policy pursued by his brother in England: at his instigation, the Court of Committees continued to wield, to the fullest extent, the somewhat questionable authority conveyed by their charters, which, although intended to confer the privilege of exclusive trade, left loopholes sufficient to encourage unauthorised ventures on the part of speculators inclined to balance ultimate risk, against the present safety and prospect of gain afforded by the want of any power on the part of the company to seize vessels at the outset or on the voyage, however evident the intention of the equipment. The consequence was, that although the court might occasionally bring offenders before the King's Bench, and did, at one time (1685–'6), threaten to prosecute as many as forty-seven of the principal interlopers, yet the brunt of the battle fell to the share of their servants in India; and they, if the evidence of Captain Hamilton* may be trusted, shrank from the responsibility of carrying out the stringent orders forwarded on this head, declaring that the laws of England were contrary to the measures proposed. Apart from the testimony of any unfavourable witness, there are indications, in the selected Annals of the E. I. Cy., of a tendency to confound private and unlicensed trade with piracy,† which probably conduced to the increase of the latter disgraceful crime, while it aggravated the hostility of the interlopers, who must have possessed considerable influence if they were, as described in an official despatch, "malcontents, quondam committee-men, and adventurers, who have sold their stocks at high rates, and want to buy in again at low."‡ The change in the government of England paved the way for discussions regarding the validity of rights proceeding from a grant of the Crown simply, or rights proceeding from a grant founded on an act of the legislature. The strong desire of the nation for extended commerce with India was manifested in the eagerness with which one large class of persons recommended an open trade; while another united for the formation of a new joint-stock association. Petitions and remonstrances were on all sides presented both to parliament and the king; and while parliament passed repeated resolutions in favour of the new company, the king as often granted charters to the old. The letters-patent of 1693 confirmed the monopoly of the latter, but only for a period of twenty-one years; terminated the "permission trade," by prohibiting the grant of licences to private ships; decreed the annual exportation of British manu-

* According to this writer, Mr. Vaux, the governor of Bombay, who had obtained that position by favour of Sir Josiah Child, in answering a communication on the subject of interlopers, took occasion, while thanking his patron for past benefits, to assert his resolution to abide by the laws of his country. Sir Josiah, in reply, "wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his orders to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were a heap of nonsense compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce. I am the more particular," adds Hamilton, "on this account, because I saw and copied both those letters in anno, 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain Evory's [Avery] robbing the Mogul's great ship, the *Gunsway*" [Guj Suwaee]—*East Indies*, i., 233.) Considering the preponderance of country gentlemen in parliament at this period, the satire is not without point; and Hamilton's assertion regarding the letter is so clear and positive, that it can hardly be set aside without unwarrantable disparagement to the character of an intelligent though prejudiced writer. Such vague statements as the following may be reasonably viewed with more suspicion:—"The power of executing pirates is so strangely stretched, that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a governor, and can find no redress, if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate."—p. 362.

† An illustration of this tendency may be found in the records of 1691-'2. "The court continued to act towards their opponents (the interlopers) in the same manner as they had done in the latter years of the two preceding reigns, and granted commissions to all their captains proceeding this season to India, to seize the interlopers of every description, and bring them to trial before the admiralty court of Bombay, explaining that as they attributed all the differences between the company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or King of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as pirates, and sentence of death passed, but execution stayed till the king's pleasure should be known."—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, vol. iii., p. 103.)

‡ *Idem*, p. 112.

factures, to the value of £100,000; and directed the dividends to be paid, for the future, exclusively in money. In defiance of this charter, a vote of the House of Commons declared it to be "the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament."* This state of strife and confusion reached its climax in 1695, when it became known that a system of direct bribery had been pursued towards men in power. The Lower House, though some of its leading members were deeply implicated, came forward actively in the matter, and ordered the books of the company to be examined, from whence it appeared, that previous to the Revolution the annual expenditure in "secret services" had scarcely ever exceeded £1,200; but that since that epoch it had gradually increased, and in the year 1693, whilst Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, had amounted to upwards of £80,000. Many persons of eminence were involved in these nefarious transactions with the most unprincipled schemers: the Duke of Leeds, then lord president of the council, vehemently defended the company, and was himself impeached by the Commons, on the charge of having received a bribe of £5,000; but the principal witness against him was sent out of the way; and it was not till nine days' after it had been demanded by the Lords, that a proclamation was issued to stop the fugitive. The inquiry, at first urged on with all the violence of party-spirit, soon languished; the rank and influence of a large number of the persons directly or indirectly concerned, opposed an insurmountable barrier to its prosecution, and by the prorogation of parliament, though nominally only suspended, it was actually abandoned. Sir Thomas Cooke had been committed to the Tower for refusing to disclose the names of the individuals who had received bribes: his temporary confinement was compensated by a present of £12,000, bestowed upon him by the Court of Committees "some years after the bustle was over."†

The result of these proceedings was greatly to degrade the company; nor could it be otherwise, while any sense of honesty existed in the public mind. Yet the weight of blame rests unquestionably less heavily on those who offered the bribes than on the sworn guardians of the national interests, who, by accepting them, showed themselves tainted by that unholy covetousness which, under a despotism, is the chief source of the perversion of justice; and, among a free people, must tend to destroy the very basis of all sound principle and impartial legislation.

In a pecuniary sense, these disbursements were unwarrantable, being made at a time when the funds of the association barely sufficed to meet the necessary and legitimate expenditure called for by the occupation of new settlements, and the heavy losses entailed by the hostility of the French, after the declaration of war against that people by England and Holland, in 1689. For the next eight years sharp conflicts occurred between the fleets of the rival nations, which were happily terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, 1697. In a commercial point of view, the French inflicted more injury upon themselves by their lavish and ill-directed expenditure, than upon their old-established opponents;‡ but the improvement in the condition of their marine, through the exertions of the ministers of Louis XIV., rendered their enmity peculiarly disastrous to the mercantile shipping of their foes. During the war, no less than 4,200 British merchant-vessels were captured, including many East-Indiamen, which were intercepted

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., p. 142.

† Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., 608. Tyssen, the deputy-governor, and other persons shared the imprisonment of the governor, and probably also received proportionate gratuities. Among them was the notorious Sir Basil Firebrass, or Firebrace, who had been recently bought off from the interloping interest, and who played a leading part in 1701 in the arrangements for the union of the two E. I. Companies, and demanded in return a per centage equal in value to £30,000, on a portion of the joint stock.

‡ The French East India trade appears to have been from the first a losing concern. Notwithstanding the pecuniary and political support of the government, Colbert's company (according to the Abbé Raynal), had often to subscribe for the payment of losses, while their European rivals were dividing thirty per cent. on mercantile ventures; and in 1684, their accounts being examined by commissioners appointed by the king, it appeared that their sales, in twenty years, amounted to no more than 9,100,000 livres, and that three-quarters of their capital-stock were totally lost. Assistance from the state again propped up the association, and a slight gleam of prosperity followed; for in the years 1687 and 1691, two dividends, each of fifteen per cent., were for the first time paid from profits. The war with England and Holland was not beneficial in its general results; for although the French Cy. made extensive captures, their very success helped to encourage the swarms of privateers, which covered the seas and carried into the ports of France a great number of English and Dutch prizes with rich cargoes, to be sold at any price they would fetch. This proceeding caused a glut in the market, and obliged the company to sell their goods at unremunerative prices, if possible.

both on the Indian seas and on the middle passage; and, off the coast of Galway, in 1695, all the four homeward-bound vessels of the company were taken by a French fleet.*

In India, the wrath of the emperor had been excited by the frequent piracies committed on the shipping of Mogul merchants,† and especially by the plunder of his own vessel the *Guj-Suwaee*, while engaged in conveying pilgrims to Mecca, in 1695. Aurungzebe himself could not detest these sacrilegious sea-robbers more heartily than did the whole body of European traders; but they being at war with one another, could make no united effort for the suppression of the common foe. The tide of popular feeling among the Mohammedans rose against the English agencies at Surat and Swally with so much violence, that the Mogul governor placed the factors and others, to the number of sixty-three persons, in irons—not from any voluntary harshness on his part, but as a necessary measure to preserve their lives amid the tumult. Large rewards were held out, both by the government of England and by the E. I. Cy., for the apprehension of the leading offenders. A sum of £1,000 was offered for the person of Captain Avery; but he escaped, having proceeded to the Bahamas, where his ship was sold and the crew dispersed; several of them were, however, seized and executed. The English found means of extricating themselves from their difficulties, and prevailed upon Aurungzebe to confide to them the task of convoying pilgrim vessels to Mocha,‡ at a charge of 40,000 rupees for a large, and 30,000 for a small vessel. The good understanding thus restored was soon destroyed by the daring piracies committed by a Captain Kidd and others off Surat.§ The emperor could no longer be appeased with assurances that such and such culprits had been executed in different British colonies, or hung in chains at Tilbury; and he declared, that since all other means had failed to check these disgraceful proceedings, he would put an end to European commerce with his subjects, unless the English, French, and Dutch would consent to sign a bond, engaging to make good any future depredations committed by pirates on the Indian Seas—an arrangement to which the European agents were most reluctantly compelled to assent.

The list of difficulties which environed the E. I. Cy., at this period, is still incomplete. While weighed down by pecuniary involvements, and unable, for years together, to pay a dividend, the project for a new Scottish company was again brought forward, and a very advantageous charter

* Although the merchantmen of the E. I. Cy., at this period, proved unable to cope with French ships-of-the-line, and were even captured by the desperate hardihood of privateering adventure, they were, nevertheless, by no means ill-provided with the appliances of war. To encourage the building of ships of above 550 tons burden, and capable of defence against the pirates of Algiers, then termed the "Turkish Rovers," it was enacted by parliament, soon after the restoration of Charles II., that for a certain number of years, whoever should build ships with three decks, or with two decks and a-half, and a forecastle, with a space of five feet between each deck, and mounted with at least thirty cannon, should for the first two voyages receive one-tenth part of all the customs that were payable on their export and import lading. —(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., Introduction, xxxv.) A *Vindication of the E. I. Cy.*, generally attributed to Sir Josiah Child, and published in 1677, states that they employed from thirty to thirty-five ships of from 300 to 600 tons burden, carrying from forty to seventy guns, which must of course have been very light.—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, 133.) In an official statement of their affairs, published in 1689, the company assert, that in seven years they had built sixteen ships of from 900 to 1,300 tons, and had in India or on the homeward voyage eleven of their own, and four "permision ships" (*i. e.*, licensed by them) with cargoes worth above £360,000, besides a fleet comprising fourteen of their own and six permission ships bound for India, China, &c., with cargoes worth £670,000.

† One of the negotiations between Aurungzebe and the English factors, regarding piratical seizures, is recorded by Khafi Khan, an author frequently quoted in the previous section on the Mohammedan portion of Indian history. He makes no mention of the war which had previously taken place; but says, that in the year 1693, a ship bound to Mecca, carrying eighty guns and furnished with 400 muskets, was attacked by an English vessel of small size. A gun having burst in the Mogul ship, the enemy boarded, and "although the Christians have no courage at the sword, yet by bad management the vessel was taken." Khafi Khan was sent by the viceroy of Guzerat to demand redress at Bombay. He describes his reception as being conducted with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power. He negotiated with elderly gentlemen in rich clothes; and although they sometimes laughed more heartily than became so grave an occasion, yet he seems to have been favourably impressed with their sense and intelligence. The English alleged that the king's ships had been captured by pirates, for whom they were not answerable, and explained their coining money in the name of their own sovereign (which was another complaint against them), by stating that they had to purchase investments at places where the money of the emperor would not pass. No definite result appears to have attended this interview.—(Elphinstone, ii., 556.)

‡ Mocha and Judda are the seaports of Mecca.

§ Captain Kidd and several of his associates, being eventually captured, were executed at Tilbury Fort.

granted to these adventurers, in 1698, with authority to trade to the East as well as West Indies, Africa, and America. This enterprise—which issued in the formation of the ill-fated Darien settlement—was soon succeeded by another more directly hostile to the E. I. Cy., and which was, in fact, a complete triumph on the part of the interloping interest. On the termination of the French war, the government of England looked around eagerly for means to liquidate the heavy expenses thereby incurred. The E. I. Cy. offered a loan of £700,000, at four per cent. interest, provided their charter should be confirmed, and the monopoly of the Indian trade secured to them by act of parliament. Their opponents tried a similar expedient, with more success, by proposing to raise a sum of £2,000,000 sterling, at eight per cent., on condition of being invested with exclusive privileges, and unfettered by any obligation to trade on a joint-stock, except as they themselves might afterwards desire. After much discussion, a bill was passed by the legislature, by which it was enacted that a loan of £2,000,000 should be raised, by subscription, for the service of government. Natives and foreigners, bodies politic and corporate, were alike at liberty to contribute their quota towards the total sum, which was to bear an interest of eight per cent. per annum. In return for this accommodation, letters-patent were issued, incorporating an association, called the *General Society trading to the East Indies*.* The members were authorised to adventure severally, to the amount of their subscriptions: or, if they so desired, might be formed into a joint-stock company. This new monopoly was to last until 1711; after that time, it was to terminate whenever the government chose, upon three years' notice, the original capital of two million having been first refunded to the subscribers. The old company were treated very summarily; the proviso of three years' notice† was, in their case, just so far regarded as to ensure them leave to trade with India till 1701. With regard to both associations, it was decreed that the private fortunes of the adventurers should be responsible for the liquidation of liabilities incurred in their public capacity; and if further dividends were made by the old company before the payment of their debts, the members who accepted them were to be held responsible for the sums thus unduly received.

This measure, like all others based on injustice, produced much evil and little good to any party. The conduct of the government, in expecting a trading body to traffic largely and profitably, after the abstraction of its entire capital, under the name of a loan, was in itself as glaring an absurdity as to have opened the veins of a man in full health, and then, after leaving him just blood enough to prolong a feeble existence, to expect from his emaciated frame vigorous and healthy action. As for the old company, they determined to persevere under all circumstances. The trade was too long-established, and too valuable, to be relinquished easily; and they wrote out to their servants in India, that they had resolved to bear up against ill-fortune with "a true Roman courage." Taking advantage of the clause which permitted corporations to hold stock in the new company, they resolved to trade separately and in their own name, after their three years of chartered privileges should have expired, and devoted the sum of £315,000 to this purpose; at the same time avowing their belief "that a civil battle was to be fought" between them and their adversaries; for that "two E. I. Companies in England could no more subsist without destroying each other, than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom;" adding, that "being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of the victory: that if the world laughed at the pains the two companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground, and had a charter."

The world—at least the Indian portion of it

* Mill, i., 141. Bruce says, the old association were obliged to assume the name of the *London company*, in contradistinction to the new corporation, which bore the more popular because national name of the *English company* (iii. 250); but these terms, used only for a few years, would but confuse the reader if interwoven in the text.

† Bruce, iii. 257. The old company declared their rivals "invaders of their rights, and authorised interlopers only." The new association were yet more violent in their invectives; and "the charge of piracy," says Mill, "became a general calumny with which all the different parties in India endeavoured to blacken their competitors" (i. 136.) Sir Nicholas Waite openly denounced the London company to the Mogul as "thieves and confederates with pirates" (Bruce, iii. 337); and even applied to the governor of Surat to have their servants put in irons for an insult which, he asserted, had been offered to the ambassador of the King of England. Unfortunately, a great deal of personal ill-feeling existed between the representatives of the two societies, to which much of the impolitic harshness of their measures must be attributed.

did not laugh, but was simply amazed by the hostilities of two powerful trading bodies, each professing to act under the direct patronage of their mutual sovereign. Aurungzebe listened incredulously to the representations of Sir William Norris, who was dispatched to the Mogul court at the cost of the new company, but in the character of royal ambassador. Norris is accused of having conducted himself with unjustifiable violence towards the rival officials; and the same complaint is urged still more strongly against Sir Nicholas Waite, who had formerly acted as agent to the old company, but had been dismissed their employ. The new corporation in this, as in several other cases, were glad to avail themselves of the local knowledge possessed by the discarded servants of their opponents; and Waite was appointed their representative at Surat, with the title of president; to which that of consul was superadded by the king, as also to the chief of the three projected presidencies at Hooghly in Bengal, Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, and in the island of Borneo. Each party maligned the other to the Mogul government, and lavished large sums of money for the purpose of gaining exclusive privileges. Prince Azim, the governor of Bengal, received presents from both sides—16,000 rupees from the old company, and 14,000 from the new;* but without understanding their ground of difference. The emperor, equally puzzled by these proceedings, wrote privately to Seyed Sedula, "an holy priest at Surat,"† desiring him to search out which of the two parties was really authorised by the English nation. The reply of the Seyed is not recorded; probably it was indefinite and unimportant: but had the same question been addressed to a European versed in the politics of the day, the answer might have involved a revelation of quite a new order of things to the mind of the despotic but philosophical monarch.‡ What a text full of strange doctrines would have been contained in the fact plainly stated, that both companies represented the will of different sections of a free though monarchical nation;—that, indeed, "the whole of this contest was only one division of the great battle that agitated the state between the tories and the whigs, of whom the former favoured the old company, and the latter the new."§

The fierce contention and excessive competition of the rival associations, proved almost equally injurious to both. The new company, upon the first depression of their stock in the market, had manifested an inclination to unite with the old body; but the latter held off, hoping to drive the enemy out of the field; and they succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament continuing them as a distinct corporation. The struggle, however, cost them dearly; and their stock, in these times of fluctuation and anxiety, varied in value between 300 and 37 per cent.‖ The market was overladen, there being at one time as many as sixty ships abroad in India and returning. Great quantities of Indian-wrought silks, stuffs, and calicoes were imported, and from their low price, worn by all classes. The silk-weavers of London became extremely tumultuous; and in 1697, attempted to seize the treasure at the East India-house.¶ Order was restored

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*, 342.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, iii., 466.

‡ Bernier, while serving Danechmund Khan in the capacity of physician, heard from the lips of this nobleman the particulars of a singular interview which he had just returned from witnessing between Aurungzebe and his former tutor. The latter had enjoyed for many years a jaghire, bestowed upon him by Shah Jehan. Upon the triumph of the schemes of his ambitious pupil, the old man presented himself as a candidate for office. Aurungzebe, wearied by his importunity, dismissed him, declaring that he owed him no gratitude for his ill-directed labours and erroneous instruction. "You taught me," he exclaimed, "that the whole of Frangistan (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then the King of Holland, and afterwards the King of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Frangistan (such as the King of France, and the King of Andalusia), you told me they resembled our petty rajahs; and that the potentates of Hindoostan eclipsed the glory of all other kings." A profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind; familiarity with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected;—these were subjects which Aurungzebe pronounced to be of more importance to a prince than the possession "of great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of the law," or even proficiency in the difficult Arabic language, which no one could hope to attain without "ten or twelve years of close application." This mighty prince is certainly not the first who has lamented the waste of the precious hours of youth "in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words:" yet, considering the importance attached by Mussulmans to the power of reading the Koran in the original tongue, it seems strange that so zealous a believer should have expressed himself thus forcibly on that point.—(Brock's *Bernier*, ii., 165-'6-'7.)

§ Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, 119.

‖ Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., p. 43.

¶ *Idem*, 633.

for the time; but the discontents were renewed by the augmented imports of the years 1688–'9; and the loud complaints from Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c., of the detrimental effect on the nation, occasioned by the numerous manufacturers thrown out of employ, and likewise of the largely increased exportation of silver,* succeeded in procuring the enactment of a law prohibiting the use in England or sale, except for re-exportation, of silks wrought, or calicoes printed in Persia, China, or the East Indies, either for apparel or furniture, under a penalty of £200, after Michaelmas, 1701; and a duty of fifteen per cent. was soon afterwards imposed upon muslins. These regulations materially reduced the value of the Eastern trade; and probably helped to accelerate the union of the two associations,—a measure strenuously urged by King William, but not carried out till after the accession of Anne. An indenture tripartite was entered into by the queen and the rival companies in 1702, by which it was agreed that a full and complete union should take place at the termination of the ensuing seven years, the intermediate time to be occupied in winding up the separate concerns of each party. The coalition took place before the lapse of the stated interval, being hastened by the alarm occasioned by the demand of government for the subscription of a new loan of £1,200,000, without interest. The companies, knowing from the experience of the past, the danger of the present crisis, dreaded the formation of a fresh body of adventurers, or renewed discussions on the subject of open trade with India. They forthwith laid aside all separate views, and agreed to furnish jointly the amount required. Their differences were submitted to the arbitration of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, then lord high treasurer of England; and an act was passed, in 1708, constituting them one corporate body, under the name of *the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*, with continuance only until the year 1726, and then "to cease and determine, on three years' notice and repayment by government of their capital stock of £3,200,000."†

While this matter was in progress of arrangement, the long-expected death of the aged emperor took place, and was immediately followed by the fierce war of succession, with equal anxiety anticipated by the native and European inhabitants of Hindoostan. When the news reached Surat, the English president (Sir John Gayer), anxious to transmit the intelligence to the company, yet fearful of plainly stating circumstances which, in a political crisis, might either by their truth or falsehood expose the promulgator to danger, took a middle course, by stating in an allegory easy to be understood, "that the sun of this hemisphere had set, and that the star of the second magnitude being under his meridian, had taken his place; but that it was feared the star of the first magnitude, though under a remoter meridian, would struggle to exalt itself."‡

The victory of Prince Mauzim (the star of the first magnitude) over his brothers, Azim and Kaumbuksh, and his elevation to the throne, have been already related (*see* p. 154); as also the rapid decay of the once

* From 1698 to 1703 inclusive, the silver exported from England to the East Indies amounted to £3,171,405; the gold to £128,229: total, £3,299,634, or, on an average, £549,939 per ann. The East India goods re-exported from England from 1698 to 1702 inclusive, were estimated at the value of £2.538,934, or, on an average, £507,787 per ann.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, i., Introduction, p. xii.)

† To equalise the shares of the two companies, it was agreed that the old, or London company, should purchase at par as much of the capital of the new or English company lent to government, as, added to the £315,000 which they had already subscribed, should equalise their respective portions. The dead stock of the London company was estimated at £330,000; that of the English company at £70,000: therefore, the latter paid the former £130,000 to place the shares of this part of the common estate on the same basis. The assets or effects of the London company, in India, fell short of their debts; and Lord Godolphin decreed that they should pay by instalments to the United company the sum of £96,615: the English company, having their balance on the right side of the account, were to receive from the same fund the sum of £66,005. The debts of both companies in Britain were ordained to be discharged before March, 1709; and as those of the London body amounted to nearly £400,000, the directors were empowered to call upon their proprietors, by three several instalments, for the means of liquidation. The £1,200,000 now advanced to government, without interest, being added to the previous sum of £2,000,000, constituted a loan of £3,200,000, yielding interest at the rate of five per cent. on the whole.—(Bruce, iii., 635—639; 667—679.) To assist them in raising the required loan, the company were empowered to borrow, on bonds, to the extent of £1,500,000 on their common seal, over and above what they were legally authorised to do before, and also to make calls of money from their proprietors.—(*Charters of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 243—367; Anderson, iii., 29.)—The company continued to bear the title now assumed until the year 1833.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 616.

mighty fabric of Mogul power, which had made perceptible progress even before the death of Aurungzebe.

Before proceeding to describe the growth of English ascendancy, it may be needful, for the sake of readers not conversant with the sources from which the narrative of European intercourse with India has been derived, to notice the grievous dearth of native history, which has largely contributed to render many ponderous tomes published on Anglo-Indian affairs, almost as unreadable as a Blue-Book, or the ledger of a commercial firm. The valuable work of Bruce is professedly compiled from the records of the E. I. Cy.; but as he has very judiciously thought fit to give an able, though brief sketch of the general state of European politics in successive reigns, it would have been no less pertinent to the subject to have selected from the voluminous despatches of the Indian presidencies, various interesting illustrations of the condition and character both of the Hindoo and Mohammedan population. Such knowledge is useful even in a purely commercial point of view; and there is the greater cause for surprise that it should have been neglected by this writer, because in almost the only instance in which he deviates from his general rule by relating an affray with the Hindoos, occasioned by an act of wanton aggression on the part of the crews of two of the company's vessels, he introduces it as "one of those untoward events which strongly mark the necessity of attention to the rights, as well as to the prejudices of the natives."* Nearly at the close of his third and last quarto volume, he quotes the humiliating observation of President Pitt (the grandfather of Lord Chatham), that "when the Europeans first settled in India, they were mightily admired by the natives, believing they were as innocent as themselves; but since, by their example, they are grown very crafty and cautious; and no people better understand their own interest: so that it was easier to effect that in one year which you sha'nt do now in a century; and the more obliging your management, the more jealous they are of you."†

This evidence of the effect of communication between nominally Christian nations and a people still unenlightened by the teaching of the Gospel, is unhappily confirmed by the common testimony borne by impartial witnesses regarding the state of various native populations after their intercourse with Europeans. The bigotry of Romish communities, and the indifference (masked under the name of toleration) of Protestants, had rendered the profession of Christianity in the mouth of the former a pretext for cruel persecution, and in that of the latter little better than an unmeaning sound; the shameless immorality of Europeans in general, giving cause for the Indians to doubt whether they had really any religion at all.‡

* These vessels had gone from Surat to Carwar to bring off the pepper, &c. The crew of one of them stole a cow and killed it, thus offending both the rights and prejudices of the Hindoos; being resisted, they fired at and killed two native children of rank. The factory was in danger of destruction, and the agents of imprisonment; but proceedings were suspended by reason of the impending battle between the Mahratta rajah Sumbajee, and Aurungzebe. Bruce adds, that the Malabar trade received a severe check; which would be the natural result of such an aggression, as the produce was chiefly procured through native merchants.—(ii., 545.)

† *Annals*, iii., 658-'9. Hamilton asserts, that a terrible catastrophe occurred at Batecala about the year 1670, in consequence of a bull-dog belonging to the English factory having killed a cow consecrated to a pagoda or temple. The enraged priests, believing the injury to have been intentional, raised a mob and killed the whole of the English (eighteen in number) while engaged in a hunting party.—(i. 280.) The same writer describes the neighbouring kingdom of Canara as being generally governed by a female sovereign; and he adds, "the subjects of this country observe the laws so well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them; and a stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he has."—(*New Account of East Indies*, i. 279.)

‡ The Dutch, from the first commencement of their intercourse with the East Indies, made strenuous efforts for the conversion of the natives of Java, Formosa, Ceylon, and the Spice Islands generally, by the establishment of missions and schools, and the translation of the Scriptures; but on the continent of India their stations were small and temporary, and their spiritual labours partook of the same character. The good and zealous minister, Baldæus, visited the Dutch possessions of Tuticorin and Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, in 1660, and extended his visitation along the southern coast of the continent as far as Coulan (Quilon.) He describes the state of the Parawar, or cast of fishermen converted by Francis Xavier and other Romish missionaries, as little else than a peculiar phase of idolatry, their religion consisting in the mere outward acts of worshipping images, counting beads, and crossing themselves. The Danes, afterwards so justly celebrated for their earnest and well-directed labours in the missionary field, made no efforts of this description until they had been eighty years in India—that is, until 1706-'7. Before that time the impression they had endeavoured to make upon the natives by the scrupulous integrity of their commercial dealings, was greatly impaired by their irreligion and immorality.—(Hough, iii., 181.) With regard to the English, the description given by Ferishta, at the commencement of the 17th century, was pro-

traffic with the notorious pirate Kidd. The Dutch governor, writing in 1698, remarks "that it is to be regretted the company carried so much sail here in the beginning, that they are now desirous of striking them, in order to avoid being overset."* The Dutch committed the common error of putting forth pretensions unjust in themselves, and maintainable only by force. The attempt failed, and the means employed produced disastrous consequences. The reduction of the land establishments, and the breaking up of the fleet heretofore stationed on the coast, accompanied by the avowed determination of no longer obstructing the navigation, were tokens of weakness which the native princes were not likely to view in the light of voluntary concessions. In 1701, war broke out with the zamorin, or Tamuri rajah, the existing representative of a dynasty which had for two centuries formed a bulwark to India against the inroads of European powers in this direction; and hostilities were carried on at the epoch at which we are now arrived.†

The efforts of THE DANES, based on a very slender commercial capital, had not prospered. In 1689, Tranquebar, their only settlement of importance, was nearly wrested from them by their territorial sovereign, the rajah of Tanjore, in consequence of the intrigues of the Dutch; and was preserved to its rightful owners solely by the armed interference of an English detachment sent to their relief from Madras, after the siege had lasted six months.

THE FRENCH, as traders, were equally unfortunate with the Danes. The home manufacturers had become discontented on perceiving the increasing use of gold and silver brocades, and painted cottons. Like their fellow-traders in England, they succeeded in procuring an edict (in 1687) for the immediate prohibition of this branch of commerce; and it was with considerable difficulty that the company obtained permission to dispose of their imports on hand, or expected by the next ships. The sale of piece-goods even to foreigners was forbidden, on the supposition that those of France would be purchased instead; and a high duty was laid on raw silk, then imported in considerable quantities. Under these discouraging circumstances the trade languished; and in 1693, received a fresh blow from the capture of Pondicherry (the chief French settlement) by the Dutch. New walls were raised, and the fortifications strengthened by the victors; but their labours proved ill-directed; for, upon the conclusion of the peace in 1697, the place was decreed to be restored to its former owners, with all its additional defences, on payment of £5,000 to the Dutch government, for the expenditure thus incurred. The French company received orders from the king to take measures to prevent the recapture of Pondicherry, and frequent reinforcements were sent there. The national treasury must have furnished the funds; for the finances of the association were exhausted, and in 1708 they became absolutely bankrupt; but Louis XIV., fearing that the trade to India might otherwise entirely cease, staid all prosecutions at law against them for debt, and granted them permission to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to any private person who should be able to adventure the necessary capital. Arrangements were actually formed on this basis with a M. Croizat, and afterwards with some merchants of St. Malo.‡

The possessions of THE ENGLISH are clearly set forth in the enumeration of "dead stock," made by the two companies at the time of their union.§ The central points

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 238.

† The Dutch had governments or factories in Ceylon, in Java (where stood the fine city of Batavia, called by its owners the *Queen of the East*), in Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Bantam, Siam, Macassar, Tonquin, Japan, Gombroon (in the Persian Gulf), with chiefships at Ispahan and Bussora. At Arracan, they purchased rice and slaves; and they had also many temporary stations in different parts of Asia, which it would be needless to enumerate.

‡ Milburn's *Commerce*, i., 384.

§ The PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY held command over the factories of Surat, Swally, and Baroach, of Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow (from which three last places the factors had been temporarily withdrawn): on the *Malabar coast*, they had the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry (established by permission of the Hindoo rajah, about 1695), Anjengo (with the sanction of the ranee or queen of Attinga, accorded at the same time, probably in both cases with a view of procuring the aid of the English against the aggressions of the Dutch), and the factory of Calicut. On the *Coromandel coast*, the company had establishments at Jinjee and Orissa; the factories depending on the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, the city, and Fort St. George, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam. The factories dependent on the PRESIDENCY OF CALCUTTA, or FORT WILLIAM, were—Balasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hooghly, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna. The above forts and factories, with their stores and ammunition, together with the rents and customs arising therefrom, and the firmauns by right of which they were enjoyed, constituted the "dead stock" of the old or London company on the Indian continent. Some

were then, as now, formed by the three presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, the last of which was created in 1707. They had at this time no dependence upon one another; each was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only to the company in England. The presidents were respectively commanders-in-chief of the military force maintained within the limits of their jurisdiction. The numbers comprised in the several garrisons is not stated: but they were composed partly of recruits sent out from England; partly of deserters from other European settlements in India; and also (at least at Bombay and Surat) of Topasses—a name applied to the offspring of Portuguese and Indian parents, and also given, though with little reason, to Hindoo converts to the Romish church. Natives of purely Indian descent — Rajpoots for instance—were already, as has been noticed, employed by the company in military service, under the name of *Sepoys*, a corruption of *Sipahi* (soldier.) As yet little desire had been shown to discipline them after the European custom. They used the musket, but in other respects remained armed and clothed according to the country usage, with sword and target, turban, *cabay* or vest, and long drawers. Officers of their own people held command over them, but were eventually superseded by Englishmen.

Fort St. George (Madras), is described by a contemporary writer as "a port of the greatest consequence to the E. I. Cy., for its strength, wealth, and great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslins."* The citadel or inner fort had four large bastions with curtains, on which were mounted fifty-six guns and a mortar; the western, or main guard, was kept by about thirty soldiers; the east by a corporal's guard of six. The English town, or outer fort, was furnished with "batteries, half-moons, and flankers, at proper distances, whereon are about 150 guns and three mortars, mounted for defence, besides thirty-two guns more on the outworks, with eight field-pieces." The garrison comprised 250 Europeans, each paid at the rate of ninety-one fanams, or £1 2*s.* 9*d.* per month; and 200 topasses, at fifty or fifty-two fanams a-month; with some twenty experienced European gunners, at 100 fanams a-month. The captains received fourteen, ensigns ten, serjeants five pagodas† monthly; and corporals received the same salary as the artillerymen. The chief gunner of the inner fort had fourteen, and of the outer works twelve pagodas. About 200 peons, or native police, were constantly retained; and the Portuguese portion of the population were obliged to furnish a company or two of trained bands at their own charge, on any disturbance. The *Black City* —that is, the native town, situated outside the fort to the northward—was encompassed with a thick, high brick wall, and fortified after the modern fashion. Maqua Town, where the Mussulah‡ boatmen live, lay to the southward. The sway of the company extended beyond these limits; for they owned several villages two or three miles further in the country, such as Egmore, New Town, and Old Garden, which they rented out to merchants or farmers for 1,100 pagodas per annum. The "singular decorum observed by the free merchants, factors, servants, and other inhabitants," is especially noticed by Lockyer, who adds, that the excellent arrangements of Madras, together with "good fortifications, plenty of guns, and much ammunition, render it a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it."§

By this account, it is evident that a blessing had attended the Christian labours of Streynsham Masters. His church, as yet the only building in India consecrated by Englishmen to divine worship, is described as a large and stately pile, adorned with

of these posts had probably proved sources of expenditure rather than gain; Masulipatam, Pettipolee, and Madapollam, for instance, are stated by Bruce, in 1695-'6, to have involved a dead loss of above £100,000.—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 184.) The London company's further possessions were—the island of St. Helena: in Persia, a factory at Gombroon, with the yearly rent of about £3,333, then paid by the Persian monarch (*see* p. 208); and trading posts at Shiraz and Ispahan. On the island of Sumatra they had the settlements at York Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapore, Priaman, Sillebar, Bencoolen with dependent stations; and also a factory at Tonquin. The dead stock of the new, or English company, for which they were to be allowed £70,000 in the united funds, consisted of factories at Surat, in the Bay of Bengal, at Masulipatam, Madapollam, on the island of Borneo, and on the island of Pulo Condore, (coast of Cochin China), with the stores and ammunition belonging to each.—*Vide* the "*Quinque Partite Indenture*," in charters of *E. I. Cy.*, pp. 316—344.

* *Account of the Trade of India*, by Charles Lockyer, pp. 3-'4; London, 1711.

† A gold coin varying in value at different times from about nine to ten shillings.

‡ The planks of the large and flat-bottomed Massulah boats are sewn together with twine, which prevents their starting even under the most violent shocks. Their hire was then eighteen-pence a trip.

§ *Account of Trade*, p. 15.

curious carved work, with very large windows, and furnished with a fine altar, organ, and other appurtenances usual to the most complete edifices of its kind, with the exception of bells, which had perhaps been purposely omitted, on account of their intimate connexion with the superstitions of the Brahminical creed. Two ministers were attached to the church, in which services were performed twice a-day. On Sunday, the customary rites were "most strictly observed," and "country Protestants were examined in the catechism." A school, "held in a large room under the library," was open to all children free of charge. According to Lockyer, the ecclesiastical establishment was altogether well conducted, and deserved the high character it bore among the people. Pious persons gave or bequeathed considerable sums to "the church," for charitable purposes; and dying parents chose its representatives as trustees for their children,* a course of proceeding calculated, it is true, to place dangerous weapons of oppression in the hands of a dominant priesthood; but which, in the isolated and unpatronised condition of the religious establishments at Madras, can hardly be viewed in any other light than as evidence of the respect inspired by devout and upright conduct. The project for the formation of a municipal body had been carried out, and a mayor and six aldermen held a court twice a-week.

The total amount of revenue derived from Madras does not appear:† the scale of salaries was extremely moderate,‡ and probably affords a fair specimen of that laid down for the presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta, to which Lockyer's interesting sketches unfortunately do not extend.§ Disappointment and reverses had by this time greatly modified the ambitious views entertained by the managers of the East India trade. The belligerent and costly policy introduced by Sir Josiah Child and his brother, was succeeded by a directly opposite system—to conciliate rather than to defy and overawe the native princes, was the order of the day; and to this end the Indian officials were directed to carry on their business "without the affectation of pomp and grandeur, as merchants ought to do."‖ The large sums spent by the rival companies in outvying and thwarting each other, constituted a departure from the general rule—at least in the case of the older body; but upon their union, this unsatisfactory expenditure ceased, and the leading members of the new concern, who now, under the name of the Court of Directors, took the place of the Court of Committees,¶ enjoined upon their agents the most rigid frugality, which they continued to enforce

* The church stock of unemployed money was lent out at seven per cent. per ann.—(Lockyer, p. 18.)

† Lockyer mentions a seagate custom of £5 per cent., yielding 30,000 pagodas per ann.; and a choultry, or land custom of two-and-a-half per cent. on cloth, provisions, and other goods brought in from the country, yielding 4,000 pagodas. Anchorage and permit dues, licences for fishing, arrack and wine, tobacco and beetle-nut farms, mintage, &c., furnished various sums; but the total must have fallen far short of the expectations expressed by the company in 1691-'2 of drawing as much from Madras as the Dutch did from Batavia; namely, a yearly income of £260,000.—(Bruce, iii., 110.)

‡ The governor had £200 a-year, with a gratuity of £100: of the six councillors, the chief had £100 per ann.; the others in proportion,—£70, £50, and £40 per ann.: six senior merchants had annual salaries of £40; two junior merchants, £30: five factors, £15: ten writers, £5: two chaplains, £100: one surgeon, £36: two "essay masters," £120: one judge, £100: and the attorney-general, fifty pagodas. Married men received from five to ten pagodas per month, as diet money, according to their quality; inferior servants, dining at the general table had no other allowance beyond their salaries than a very trifling sum for washing, and oil for lamps.—(Lockyer's *Trade of India*, p. 14.) The highest appointment at Bombay did not exceed £300 per ann.

§ The condition of several of the minor English settlements at this period is well sketched by Lockyer:—*Tegnapatam*, or *Fort St. David*, he describes as "a port of great profit, as well for the rents and income arising immediately thereon, as for the great quantities of calicoes and muslins that are brought thence for Europe. *Metchlepatam* [*Masulipatam*], *Vizigapatam*, and *Madapollam*, are factories continued for the sake of red-wood and the cotton-manufactures, which are here in the greatest perfection."—(p. 13.) The factory at Carwar, on the Malabar coast, was provided with eight or nine guns and twenty-six topasses, "to defend it against the insults of the country people."—(p. 269.) The native chief, or rajah, received custom dues of one and-a-half per cent. on all goods imported by the English. At *Tellicherry*, a small fort with a slight guard was maintained to protect the trade in pepper and cardamums, coir, cowries, and chanks from the Maldives. At *Anjengo*, the company possessed a small fort with guns, and a garrison of forty "mongrel Portuguese," to protect the traffic (chiefly pepper), and the "go-downs," or warehouses. Business was carried on by a chief agent, assisted by three or four counsellors, and a surgeon was included in the establishment. At *Calicut*, where there was considerable trade, the English factory was a large old house without fortifications or guns, which the zamorin, like the Mogul, would probably not have suffered any foreigners to maintain within his dominions.

‖ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 452.

¶ *Committees*:—in the sense of persons to whom something is committed.

so strictly, that in 1724, the outlay of about £100 in the purchase of a chaise and pair of horses for the president at Calcutta, was reprehended as an unwarrantable proceeding. The directors ordered the amount to be refunded, remarking, that if their servants desired "such superfluities" they must pay for them.* It is certain that the regular salaries given even to the highest functionaries could have barely covered the necessary expenses of Europeans living in a tropical climate. But they had other sources of emolument more or less legitimate. Each *employé* was suffered to prosecute an independent traffic, which he had the best opportunity of doing, as the coasting-trade and likewise the intercourse with all eastern ports north of the equator, except Tonquin and Formosa, had recently† been relinquished by the company to their servants, or to Englishmen licensed to reside in India as free merchants, by which latter arrangement an independent community was gradually formed.

The plan of allowing officials to prosecute business in two distinct capacities, was fraught with evils for which the attendant saving in the item of salaries could make but poor amends. Convenience of situation for the affairs of each individual was the first object to be desired, and as all power of appointment (saving where the rule of seniority applied) was lodged in the president and council jointly, they naturally distributed among their own body the most advantageous offices. The employment and consequent absence of a member of council as chief of an important factory, did not disqualify him for retaining his position in the government; but it could scarcely fail to detract from his efficiency, since few men have sufficient energy, and fewer still sufficient integrity, to perform at one time the arduous duties of a judge, legislator, and politician, and of the head of an extensive commercial establishment in conjunction with the business of a private merchant. No doubt, in most cases, the last-named interest would absorb the others, and neglect of the affairs of government would necessarily follow: to this single cause many of the defects observable in the management of affairs in India, may probably be attributed.

Upon the union of the two companies, a manifest preference was evinced to the agents of the elder body, and especially to Mr. Thomas Pitt,‡ the president of Madras before mentioned, whose ability and discre-

* Thornton's *British Empire in India*, i., 75.

† The commerce had formerly been circuitous: the E. I. Cy's ships went first to Surat and other northern ports, and disposed of part of their English cargoes in exchange for piece-goods and other commodities, with which they sailed for the southern ports, where these articles were in demand; and procured instead pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and various articles for the European market. This tedious and expensive mode of traffic was abandoned towards the close of the 17th century; direct intercourse was established between London and the Indian ports, and the "country," or coasting-trade, disposed of as above related. The mode of conducting the inland traffic had likewise undergone considerable change. "The sale of the commodities imported from Europe," says Mill, "was transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways; namely, by auction—the mode in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this traffic, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the inferior towns and markets, transporting them in the hackeries [cars] of the country; and established factories and warehouses where the goods were exposed to sale."—(iii., p. 12.) During the confusion, however, which prevailed while the empire of the Moguls was in progress of dissolution, an order was issued forbidding persons in the E. I. Cy.'s service, or under their jurisdiction, to proceed far into the country without special permission; and the care of distributing the goods inland, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to native and other independent dealers. The collection and custody of the goods which constituted a European "investment," was a more complicated business, especially the purchase of the produce of the loom. The extreme indigence of the weaving class, and the consequent necessity of at all times furnishing them with the materials of their work, or the means of purchasing them, involved considerable advances of capital and a large amount of superintendence, compelling the employment of several distinct sets of agents (banyans, gomashtahs dallâls, and pycârs), who made their profit at the expense both of the company and the weaver; the latter, as the weaker party, being naturally the most open to oppression. When the piece of calico or muslin was finished, the *gomashtah*, or broker, holds a "kattah,"—examined the work, fixed its price, and paid the workman, who, it is said, was often obliged to accept fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent. less than the result of his labour would have fetched in the market.—(Mill, iii., 15.)

‡ Another individual of the same family figures in the history of East Indian affairs: first, as "Pitt the interloper", then as "president and consul Pitt" in the service of the new or English association; and lastly, as one of the highest officials in the employ of the united company, in which position he died in 1703, leaving behind him heavy personal debts and a very questionable reputation as regarded his public dealings. The only doubtful point which I have met with regarding the character of his cousin, Mr. Thomas Pitt, relates to the manner in which the famous diamond, bearing his name, came into his possession. Captain Hamilton avers, that the gem was procured through the intervention of a person named Glover, who, seeing it at Arcot, prevailed upon the proprietor to offer it for sale to the English at Fort St. George, and he placed in his hands

tion had been evinced in the late season of disaster and embarrassment. When the coalition of their employers in England rendered it of the first consequence that their representatives in India should lay aside their contentions, and, if possible, subdue the ill-feeling raised by systematic hostility, Mr. Pitt set a good example, by addressing a communication to the English company, in which he applied to himself "the great saying of King William of blessed memory, to the French king's plenipotentiary at Ryswick, on concluding the peace,—*'twas my fate, and not my choice, that made me your enemy*; and since you and my masters are united, it shall be my utmost endeavour to purchase your good opinion, and deserve your friendship."*

The treaty of Utrecht happily terminated the long war with France, and England enjoyed a season of commercial prosperity, of which the rapid growth of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham afford remarkable evidence.† The company likewise prospered, and their imports rose in value from £493,257 in 1708, to £1,059,759 in 1730. The export branch of their trade was far from exhibiting so favourable a result;‡ but the rate of profit steadily increased up to 1723; the dividends augmenting from five per cent. per annum to the proprietors, upon £3,163,200 of capital, until they reached ten per cent.; they then declined to eight per cent., at which annual rate they continued until 1732, when they were reduced to seven per cent., and remained there until 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent. The interval between 1708 and 1745 is marked by but few important events. In England the company were employed at various times in procuring decrees against interlopers,§ and obtaining extensions of their exclusive privileges. The opposition of the free trade party was very violent in 1730; and the East India association obtained a renewal of their charter only on condition of the payment of a premium of £200,000, and the reduction of the interest of their capital lent to government from five to four per cent. The term now fixed was to terminate upon three years' notice from March, 1766.

In India the servants of the company watched with alarm the successive contests for the throne, which took place between the death of Aurungzebe and the accession of his great-grandson, Feroksheer, in 1713. Moorshed Kooli Khan (sometimes called Jaffier Khan), who had previously filled the office of dewan, or comptroller of the revenues in Bengal, was appointed subahdar, or viceroy of that province, and subsequently obtained a grant of Bahar and Orissa. The English found his rule arbitrary and extortionate; and, in the hope of obtaining from the emperor a decree for especial protection and concessions, persuaded the directors at home to allow them to send an embassy to the Mogul court. Two factors, selected for their intelligence, were dispatched from Calcutta to Delhi, with an Armenian merchant for their interpreter; and the report of the costly presents of which they were the bearers having preceded them, the governors of the provinces through which their road lay were ordered to show them every respect.‖ They

3,000 pagodas of his own as a guarantee that no compulsion should be used to oblige him to sell unless he were so inclined. The pledge was broken by Mr. Pitt, and the money forfeited by Glover.—(*New Account of East Indies*, i., 366.) The tale is not very clearly told; the seller, if a native, was probably not the legitimate possessor of the diamond, because all stones, above a certain weight, found in the mines, were claimed by the emperor. This, however, is no excuse for the conduct of Mr. Pitt, if Hamilton's accusation be correct. The traffic in jewels was, it should be stated, considered of much importance, and had been alternately monopolised by the company, and conceded to their servants as an especial privilege.

* *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, year 1702–'3.

† Liverpool, which was not formed into a separate parish till 1699, increased so rapidly, that in 1715, a new parish with a church was erected; and its extent was doubled between 1690 and 1726. Manchester grew with equal rapidity, and was computed, in 1727, to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants; and at the same period, the metal manufactories of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little more than a village, are represented as giving maintenance to upwards of 30,000 individuals.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, iii., 143–'4.) To London several new parishes had been added in a short period. And from the year 1708 to 1730, the imports of Great Britain, according to the valuation of the custom-house, had risen from £4,698,663 to £7,780,019; and the exports from £6,969,089, to £11,974,135.—(Sir Charles Whitworth's *Tables*, part i., p. 78.—Mill, iii., 25.)

‡ The exportation of 1708 was exceedingly small compared with years immediately following: that of 1709, was £168,357; that of 1730, only £135,484.

§ In 1718, the company were authorised, by act of parliament, to seize all British subjects found trading within their limits, under the commission of a foreign government, and to send them to England, subject to a penalty of £500 for each offence.

‖ They seem to have especially dreaded passing through the country of the Jats, near Agra: in communicating their progress to the authorities at Calcutta, the deputation relate having accomplished this part of their journey,—"not meeting with much trouble, except that once in the night, rogues came

reached the capital after journeying three months: but the influence of Moorshed Kooli Khan, through his party, in the divided counsels of the state, prevailed; and, notwithstanding their offerings of gold coin, a table-clock set with precious stones, a *unicorn's horn*, a gold escrutoire, a map of the world, japan, lacquered, earthen and cutlery ware, with looking-glasses and red and yellow broad cloth in abundance, the negotiation languished;* and Feroksheer, engaged in preparing for his nuptials with the daughter of the Marwar rajah, Ajeet Sing, would probably have paid no attention to their solicitations, had not the medical skill of one of the party (a surgeon in the company's service) been offered at an opportune moment for the cure of a malady from which he had been long suffering.

Under the treatment of Mr. Hamilton the emperor recovered; and the marriage, which had been delayed on account of his illness, was forthwith consummated. Feroksheer, of whom it has been said that "his only quality was an ill-placed liberality,"† presented his physician with a magnificent *khillut* (*see* p. 168), 5,000 rupees in coin, and models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold; at the same time assuring him that any favour he might solicit should be granted. Again, the disinterestedness of a medical officer of the company proved equal to his skill,‡ and Hamilton requested the emperor to concede to the embassy the important privileges they had come to ask; namely:—1st. "That a 'dustuck,' or passport, signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being stopped or examined by the Mogul government, under any pretence: 2ndly. That the officers of the mint at Moorshedabad should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the East India Company's money: 3rdly. That all persons, *whether Europeans or natives*,§ who might be indebted or accountable to the company, should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta on the first demand: 4thly. That the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns, with the same immunities as Prince Azim Ooshan had permitted them to buy with Calcutta, Chuttanuttee, and Govindpoor."

The petition was granted, notwithstanding the representations of the friends of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the viceroy of Bengal,‖ who

on our camp, but being repulsed three times, they left us."—(Auber's *Rise and Progress of British Power in India*, i., 16.)

* The value of the presents was about £30,000, but Khojeh Serhaud, the Armenian employed, had given out their value at more than three times that amount—a deception which could not fail to produce disappointment.

† Scott's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 135.

‡ The case of Broughton has been related. According to Orme, the medical skill engaged in the service of the company was likewise instrumental in gaining favour with Aurungzebe, about the time of the first occupation of Calcutta—an English physician being serviceable in administering relief to the emperor, when "sorely tormented with carbuncles," which his own medical attendants could not cure.—(*Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire*, p. 284.)

§ The company lost no opportunity of strengthening and enforcing their authority over their countrymen in India. Independent traders, licensed or unlicensed, were alike on sufferance; and in addressing their presidencies, the directors expressly desire that care should be taken to let even the uncovenanted merchants know "that by the laws, no subject of his majesty can stay in India without our leave; and therefore, as they are there only during good behaviour, so you will let them continue no longer than they deserve it."—*Letter to Bengal*, 1722.

‖ According to European and Hindoo writers, the sway of Moorshed Kooli Khan was marked by a degree of barbarous and fiend-like cruelty, which certainly formed no part of the character of Aurungzebe, who, though he never scrupled to make away with the life of a human being if it suited his policy, was nevertheless, as a ruler, decidedly opposed to capital punishment or the infliction of tortures. The viceroy of Bengal, on the contrary, seems to have used by preference such means of enforcing his authority as were best calculated to strike terror into the minds of all beneath his sway. He never placed confidence in any man, but examined the state of his exchequer daily. Any zemindar found remiss in payment, was put under arrest, guards were placed to prevent his eating and drinking till the deficiency was supplied, and spies watched over the guards to inform if they were bribed, or negligent in their duty. When a district was in arrear, the delinquent zemindar was tormented by every species of cruelty, such as hanging up by the feet, bastinadoing, exposure to the sun in summer, and in winter frequent sprinklings of the bare flesh with cold water. The deputy dewan of the province, Seyed Rezah Khan, who had married the grand-daughter of the Nabob, "in order to enforce payment of the revenues, ordered a pond to be dug, which was filled with everything disgusting, and the stench of which was so offensive, as nearly to suffocate whoever approached it"—to this place the dewan, in derision of the Hindoos, gave the designation of *Bickoont* (a term which signifies their Paradise)—"and after the zemindars had undergone the usual punishments, if their rent was not forthcoming, he caused them to be drawn by a rope tied under the arms through this infernal pond. By such cruel and horrid methods, he extorted from the unhappy zemindars everything they possessed, and made them weary of their lives." Wherever a robbery was committed, the foujedar was compelled to find out the thief, or to recover the property; and the robber, when caught, was impaled alive, or the body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high road. The Mussulman writers speak of

seems to have been constantly on the watch to repress every indication of increasing power on the part of either Europeans or Hindoos. This lesson he had doubtless learned from his early patron, Aurungzebe; and in practising it, together with other maxims derived from the same school, he earned the cordial detestation of the classes whose views he steadily opposed, and the unbounded admiration of Moguls and Mussulmans as the champion of their political supremacy and religious creed. The firmaun (comprising thirty-four patents),* issued at the intercession of Hamilton,† was imperative, but the viceroy contrived to impede the operation of its most important clauses. The thirty-eight villages which the company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hooghly, where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. This arrangement Moorshed Kooli Khan circumvented by using his influence to deter the holders of the land from consenting to its sale. The privilege of granting dustucks or passports, was at first exercised by the president of Calcutta unchallenged, but the extension of immunity from duties from the goods of the company to those of their servants, soon had the effect of exempting not only articles of foreign commerce, but also the produce of the province itself, in its passage by land from one district to another. This the viceroy declared it his determination to prevent, as a practice equally destructive to his revenue and ruinous to the native traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed; and he commanded that the English dustucks should be respected solely in the case of goods imported by sea, or purchased for exportation. The company remonstrated, but in vain; and their servants, checked in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade, directed their ardour to the maritime branch; and their superior skill soon induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians, and Hindoos, to freight most of their exports in English vessels. Within ten years from the period of the embassy, the shipping of the port of Calcutta increased to 10,000 tons.

The non-acquirement of the thirty-eight villages apparently occasioned no great disappointment to the company, who had already adopted the wary and reluctant tone they ever afterwards maintained regarding the increase of their territory. When aware of the sanction obtained by their representatives, they bade them purchase only so much of the lands in question as were immediately contiguous to Calcutta, remarking, that "when Jaffier Khan [Moorshed Kooli Khan] or any other governor, finds you desire only half of what you might insist on, he or they may be the easier to give their consent, and not pick future quarrels; for as our business is trade, it is not political for us to be encumbered with much territory." In a subsequent paragraph, the directors speak of the benefit derivable from the possession of a good dock; and add, "if ever we should be forced to the necessity of it, our settlement there would enable us to command the river; but this is not to be so much as publicly hinted at, lest it alarm the government." Again, in the same month (Feb., 1721), they write to Bengal, "remember we are not fond of much territory, especially

Moorshed Kooli Khan as severe in the extreme, but equally impartial, showing favour to no one, and always rewarding merit wherever he found it. His jurisdiction certainly afforded room for praise as well as censure, were it only for his earnest efforts to ward off the terrible calamity of famine, and prevent the monopoly of grain. In private life, he was learned, temperate, and self-denying; refrained wholly from spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs; despised all the refinements of luxury, whether in dress or food; always kept constant to one lawful wife, and would not suffer any strange women or eunuchs to enter the apartments of his seraglio. Every year he sent Korans of his own writing to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places; and during the period of twelve days, which include the anniversaries of the birth and death of Mohammed, he feasted people of all conditions, and caused a road three miles in length to be illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. He also kept, with great state, another favourite Moslem festival, in which the chief feature is the setting afloat of boats made of bamboo and paper, ornamented with flags, lamps, &c., as a religious offering.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 378—411; and *Sketches of Bengal*—anonymous.) As a climax to his oppressions in the eyes of the Hindoos, and laudable zeal in those of his fellow-believers, the viceroy, in his old age, caused all the Brahminical temples in Moorshedabad to be pulled down to furnish materials for his tomb.

* Other privileges of less importance than those cited in the previous page, were comprised in these patents, which long constituted the great charter of the English in India. Among them was a decree that the annual payment of a fixed sum to the government of Surat should free the English trade at that port from all duties and exactions; that three villages contiguous to Madras, formerly granted and afterwards resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored to the company; and the island of Diu, or Divi, near Masulipatam, conceded to them on payment of a fixed rent.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 128.)

† Mr. Hamilton died in Calcutta, in 1717. His tombstone was discovered about sixty years after, in digging for the foundations of a new church.

if it lies at a distance from you, or is not near the water-side; nor, indeed, of any, unless you have a moral assurance it will contribute directly or in consequence to our benefit."*

In Indian affairs, as in the ordinary course of all collective or individual enterprise, successes and reverses† came at the same period from different but equally unexpected quarters. About the date of the successful embassy, a new and powerful rival appeared on the stage. In the year 1716, the governor of the French settlement at Pondicherry, announced to the British at Fort St. David, that there were off the Malabar coast two 40-gun vessels under the imperial colours. These ships belonged to the Ostend East India Company, who were just commencing their operations, but did not gain a regular charter from their sovereign, the Emperor of Austria, till four years afterwards. Dutch, French, and English, immediately made common cause against the intruders, who had now to combat the opposition every nation had encountered from its predecessors in the field of Indian commerce since the Portuguese first interrupted the navigation of the Arabs and Moors. In the present case it was argued, that the concession of a charter by the emperor to the Ostend company, was a breach of faith towards the English and Dutch, inasmuch as it was by their united prowess that the ten provinces of the Netherlands, which remained in allegiance to Spain during the war of independence, were transferred from that kingdom to the crown of Austria. The Dutch insisted upon the continuance of the restriction forcibly imposed by them on the trade of these provinces while they constituted a portion of the Spanish dominions; and asserted that this prohibition was implied in the very terms of the barrier-treaty from which the emperor derived his authority. They seconded their arguments by active hostile measures: seized the vessels of the Ostend company, with their cargoes; and forbade the subjects of the states from all concern in the undertaking on the severest penalties,—even, it is said, on pain of death. France and England adopted the same selfish policy, though they did not carry it out with equal asperity. Louis XV. published a declaration denouncing various forfeitures, and in some cases, imprisonment and exile on any of his people who should enter into the service of the Ostend association, or hold shares in their stock. Similar punishments were held forth by George I. and his parliament, to deter British subjects from taking part in the new adventure; and one instance, at least, occurred of an Ostend ship, homeward-bound and richly freighted, being captured by a British privateer. All this persecution did not deter the Netherlanders from their object: it was to them as a breathing time from oppression; and they struggled with determination, and in a commercial point of view, with success, against their foes. Their charter was granted in 1723; in less than twenty-four hours their subscription-books were filled up; and within a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. At a meeting of proprietors in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent., was paid up from the gains of the trade. Thus far, the emperor had persevered in upholding the company, and in granting them commissions of reprisal, in which course he had been confirmed by an article in the treaty of Vienna in 1725, by which Spain guaranteed the continuance of the association. But this alliance was of brief duration, and only served to rouse the jealousy of, other European powers. It was followed by a combination which resulted in the treaty of Hanover, between France, England, Holland, and Denmark, by which among other provisions, the contracting parties mutually guaranteed their respective commercial claims to the exclusion of the Ostend company.‡ The emperor, deserted by his only ally the King of Spain, could not oppose this formidable confederacy with-

* Auber's *Rise and Progress*, vol. i., 25.

† During the first half of the 18th century the English East India trade experienced some severe checks in China and the eastern islands. It seemed as if, *nolens-volens*, they were to be driven to expend all their energies on the Indian peninsula. Their factors were compelled, with great loss of goods and stores, to quit Chusan, where they had commenced a settlement, and a worse result attended their endeavours to establish themselves on Pulo Condore, an island subject to the Cochin Chinese, and at Banjar Massin, in Borneo. The British at Pulo Condore were barbarously massacred by the soldiery, in 1705, and nearly two years afterwards the same fate overtook those at Banjar Massin, only a few escaping with life. In Sumatra (at Bencoolen), a severe and prolonged struggle took place: the natives compelled the British to evacuate Fort Marlborough, in 1718; but fearing to fall into the hands of the Dutch, suffered the English to return and resettle their factories, in 1721.—(Grant's *Sketch.*)

‡ The Ostend company, though not expressly named, are plainly alluded to in this treaty, to which Prussia and Sweden were likewise parties.

out endangering the object he had most at heart—namely, to secure the transmission of his crown to his daughter and only child, Maria Theresa; and he was reluctantly compelled to sign a treaty, in 1727, by which the Ostend company was suspended for seven years; and before the expiration of that term, he, by the treaty of Seville, pledged himself to its complete dissolution.

The whole of these transactions, while affording strong evidence of the value attached to the Asiatic trade, certainly exhibit the exclusive companies of the most powerful European states of the period in a very unpleasing light, as concurring, in the open face of day, to crush the attempt of a persecuted people to regain their lost prosperity, and draw from the deep fountain of foreign commerce their portion of the invigorating streams by which other countries had been long fertilised.*

At this time the commerce of Sweden had recovered from the depression caused by the wars of Charles XII. Brilliant victories cannot neutralise the disastrous and exhausting effect of war on the energies of a people; and many Swedish citizens forsook their native land for countries in which they could hope to sow the seed and reap the harvest of their labours unmolested. The restoration of tranquillity gave the signal for the return of those wanderers, who brought with them in some cases comparative wealth, and for the most part a spirit of enterprise yet more beneficial to the state.

An opulent merchant of Stockholm, named Koning, observed the temper of his countrymen, and connecting with it the number of men possessed of capital and of commercial and nautical knowledge turned adrift by the destruction of the Ostend company, considered that a favourable opportunity had arrived for the establishment of an East India trade in Sweden. A company was formed, and a royal charter granted in 1731, empowering them to trade to all countries between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, provided they refrained from entering havens occupied by any European power without permission. Gottenberg was to be the sole port of outfit and arrival, and for the disposal of the imports, which might be done only by public sale. In all points regarding duties the regulations were extremely liberal. The direction was to be entrusted to native or naturalised subjects of Sweden, and to Protestants only. The Dutch opposed the new association at the onset; and the chief of their two first vessels,† the *Frederick*, was seized in the Straits of Sunda, and carried into Batavia; but the representations of the Swedish minister procured its liberation, and both the States-General and the company disavowed having given any order for its interception. The poverty and low commercial reputation of Sweden, probably yet more than the total absence of any pretext for questioning her right of intercourse with other independent kingdoms, prevented any systematic opposition being set up by the leading European powers to this new candidate for eastern trade. The Swedes, from

* The ten provinces, it will be remembered, which remained under the possession of Spain, were bestowed by Philip on his daughter and her husband, the Archduke of Austria, with a stipulation in the deed of conveyance prohibiting their subjects from sailing to America or the East Indies. Vainly the Netherlanders presented petition after petition to the court of Madrid: they could obtain no redress. The wealth and industry of the country took refuge in Protestant lands,—in the congenial atmosphere of civil and religious freedom. Cities, once the hives of industry, were deserted; and even Antwerp, lately the commercial capital and emporium of Europe, was reduced almost to a solitude;—its harbour abandoned by shipping—its exchange by merchants. Upon the death of Isabella, in 1698, the sovereignty reverted to Spain; and the king was persuaded to grant to the Netherlands the liberty of trading to those parts of the Indies settled by Portugal, then under his sway. The revolt of the Portuguese in 1640 was attended with the resumption of such of their Indian possessions as had not fallen into the power of the Dutch; and the hopes of the Netherlanders were again disappointed. In 1698, Carlos II., the last of the Austrian kings of Spain, granted them permission to trade with such parts of India and the coast of Guinea as were not preoccupied by Europeans; but before they could take advantage of this charter, the death of their royal patron occurred, A.D. 1700, and was followed by the long and sanguinary war of succession which convulsed Europe for thirteen years. At the conclusion of peace they fell under the dominion of the house of Austria; and the emperor, desirous of encouraging the commerce of his new subjects, but fearful of provoking the enmity of the maritime powers (as England and Holland were then termed), he at first, as has been shown, could only be prevailed on to sanction separate voyages, the success of which incited the formation of a temporary association, which was soon followed by that of the chartered company, whose efforts were brought to an untimely termination in 1727. Among the accusations made against the Ostend company was that of being most determined smugglers, especially of tea, which they imported largely into Great Britain. However, as one wrong, though it cannot justify, is usually held to palliate another (at least in the sight of human tribunals), the Ostenders might well plead that excuse for their adoption of the sole means of retaliation in their power.

† The *Frederick* and *Ulrica*; named after the king and queen of Sweden.

the beginning, traded almost entirely with China,* and tea formed at least four-fifths of their exports, of which a very small part was consumed in Sweden, the remainder being sold for ready-money to foreigners, chiefly for the purpose of being smuggled into Great Britain—a practice which the heavy duties levied upon this article greatly encouraged.

To return to the business of the three presidencies. The death of the aged viceroy of Bengal, in 1725, seems to have occasioned fear and regret, and the English, after so long complaining of his cruelty and extortion, now openly lamented his loss. The truth was, that Moorshed Kooli Khan, in common with the Nizam Asuf Jah, and other statesmen of Aurungzebe's stamp, had imbibed from their imperial master habits of unflagging and methodical application to the whole duties of their position, whether civil or military, which raised them in a remarkable manner above the sensual and sluggish condition into which the Moguls had sunk under the enfeebling influence of an eastern climate and unchecked luxury.† Moreover, the English had other reasons for viewing any change of this kind with anxiety; for the weakness of the present representative of the house of Timur, rendered it doubtful whether the succession to the viceroyalty might not prove a question to be decided by force of arms. This fear was removed by the uncontested appointment of Shuja Khan, the son-in-law of the deceased; but upon his death, in 1739, a struggle ensued between his son, Serferaz Khan, and his ungrateful but able dependent, the famous Ali Verdi Khan, who, after slaying the heir of his patron in battle, usurped the government, in which he contrived to establish himself. The piracies of the sons of Kanhojee Angria,‡ a Malabar chieftain, about this period, sensibly affected the advancement of the English trade, and injured yet more deeply the failing strength of the Portuguese. The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739, was a shock which was felt through the length and breadth of the Indian continent: it announced in language not to be misunderstood the downfall of a once mighty empire, and was as the tocsin of war in the ears of the governors of the various provinces, who, though still maintaining a semblance of respect to their nominal master, were really anxious only about one another's intrigues, and the increasing power of the Mahrattas. The incursions of this nation into Bengal, and their demand of *chout*, or a fourth of the total revenues, was resolutely opposed by Ali Verdi Khan; and, while strengthening his own defences, he granted permission to the English at Calcutta to form a trench round the city to the extent of seven miles (the company's bounds), then known as the *Mahratta ditch*.

Meanwhile events were occurring in Europe destined to produce very important consequences in India. On the death of the emperor, Charles VI., in the year 1740, a violent war, kindled by competition for the imperial dignity, and for a share in the spoils of Austria, commenced in Germany. In this contest France and England (the latter through her Hanoverian connexions) had both engaged, and, in the end, had become nearly, or rather altogether, principals. In 1744, the two governments exchanged declarations of war, and before long their most distant settlements experienced the devastating consequences of international strife.

No material changes had taken place in the position of the European settlements since the commencement of the century. A single deviation from the exclusive policy pursued by the sovereigns of PORTUGAL occurred in 1731, when the king granted permission for a single ship to make a single voyage to Surat and the coast of Coromandel, and back to Portugal. A company was formed for the purpose, but the experiment being attended with little success, was not repeated.

The DUTCH continued to exercise a profitable, though (as far as India was concerned) a diminishing trade. The war with the zamorin commenced in 1701,—was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1710; but again renewed in 1715, when the zamorin surprised the fort of Chittua, which had been constructed in order to keep him in check. This event was followed by the invasion of

* The supercargo of the *Frederick*, a Mr. Colin Campbell, was invested with the character of ambassador to the emperor of China, and some other eastern princes.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 308.)

† The directors of the E. I. Cy. continued extremely desirous to prevent their servants from acquiring habits of indulgence which might impair their usefulness; and in 1731 they addressed a serious remonstrance to their Bengal agents, in the style of one already quoted, on their extravagant way of living, desiring them especially to eschew the "foppery of having a set of music at table, and a coach-and-six, with guards and running footmen, as we are informed is now practised, not only by the president, but by some of inferior rank."

‡ *See* page 168.

his country by an army of fully 4,000 men (Europeans and natives); and, in 1717, a new treaty was concluded on terms, according to Stavorinus, by no means advantageous to the Dutch, "in comparison with what might and ought to have been insisted on."* The same authority states, that during the continuance of hostilities "the English, or rather their commandant at Tellicherry, had assisted the zamorin with money, ammunition, and gunners." The evidence on which this assertion is made does not appear. Without any such auxiliary, the neighbouring rajahs were probably quite strong enough to compete with the Dutch, whose military proceedings increased in cost as they decreased in efficiency. The "supreme government," as it was termed, at Batavia, addressing the local authorities at Malabar, in 1721, express astonishment at the renewed spirit of hostility towards the native powers manifested by them, and also at their extravagant expenditure. They added, that "in case the zamorin thought fit to attack the rajah of Cochin, who had so long enjoyed the protection of the company, they should not take an active part in the quarrel." This direction was nothing less than the ungrateful abandonment of a dynasty which, from the time of the hostilities provoked by the aggressions of the Portuguese under Alvarez Cabral, in 1501, had sided with the Europeans. The Cochin rajahs had, it would seem, been little more than tools in the hands of the Dutch, who now so ungenerously abandoned them to their incensed countrymen. The impolicy of this proceeding, in a worldly sense, equalled its injustice as a question of principle. The zamorin and the rajah of Travancore extended their dominions by the diminution of those of the chiefs dependent on the Dutch; until the Travancore prince, in 1739, by his repeated successes acquired a reputation which rendered him respected and feared throughout the Malabar coast. His attachment to the English was another argument against him with the Dutch officials; and one of them, Van Imhoff, who came over from Ceylon, in 1739, to examine into the state of affairs, represented that a total reformation was absolutely necessary, and could be effected only in two ways. The first was, to follow the market price for pepper; the second, to enforce the contracts into which the natives were said to have entered, of traffic with the Dutch only, by forcibly exacting penalties in case of their non-performance, "or by surprising and carrying off to Batavia one or other of those princes, who showed themselves the most refractory, which would create so much terror among them, that it would not be necessary to resort to the same expedient a second time." This latter method M. Van Imhoff concluded would be the best; nor does it appear that any exception was taken at the cruelty and injustice of the plan thus suggested.† Happily for the Malabar rajahs, and possibly still more happily for the Dutch, no opportunity occurred for carrying it into execution, and the Malabar officials were compelled to adopt a more open mode of warfare, which they did without even asking orders from Batavia on the subject, though they were soon obliged to send there for assistance, against the consequences of an unprovoked attack made by them on the

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 239.

† Other officials in the service of the Dutch E. I. Cy. appear to have possessed and acted upon principles of the same character displayed by M. Van Imhoff. A terrible catastrophe occurred in Batavia, in 1740. The identical accusation brought forward against the English at Amboyna, was here urged against the Chinese inhabitants, who, it was alleged, had conspired to extirpate the Dutch, and were able to muster 90,000 men. On this pretext a pitiless massacre of the Chinese commenced, and the quarter of the town occupied by them was burnt to ashes, being set on fire, as was said, by themselves in despair. The number of the Chinese slaughtered on this occasion is estimated at from 12,000 to 30,000; and the amount of plunder taken from them was enormous. No clear account of the origin of the business ever appeared, to refute the statement of the suffering party,—that the conspiracy had been on the side of the Dutch, who were heavily indebted to the persons they accused. The governor himself shipped property for Holland to an amount stated at half a million sterling. No public trial took place; but the reason is evident from the fact, that two members of the council, and the fiscal, were deprived of their offices and put in prison, together with the governor, who remained there till the day of his death. Although most anxious to hush up the matter, it was deemed necessary to send an embassy to the Emperor of China, and explain away, as far as possible, or at least palliate the fearful crimes committed, by representing it as an act of justice, much fear being excited that, on the persons of the Dutch at Canton, the emperor might find vent for the wrathful feelings likely to be roused by the slaughter of his people. The answer proved the needlessness of such anxiety; the ambassador being informed that this paternal sovereign "took no concern in the fate of unworthy subjects, who had abandoned their native country, and the tombs of their ancestors, to live under the dominion of foreigners for the greed of gain;" a very impolitic as well as unfeeling sentiment to proceed from the mouth of the ruler of so densely populous an empire.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*.)

rajah of Travancore. The Dutch company could ill bear this addition to the burthen already imposed by the war in Macassar,—a locality which, as it had been the arena of some of their most cruel aggressions, in devastating the land, and carrying off the inhabitants in large numbers as slaves, so it became the scene of many of their greatest calamities and embarrassments.*

The DANISH East India Company had endeavoured to take advantage of the suppression of the Ostend society; and their king, Frederick IV., lent a willing ear to arguments similar to those which had been successfully urged by Koning upon the Swedish monarch, regarding the advantage of enlisting in the service of Denmark the capital and ability of the Netherland merchants, prohibited from trading under their own flag. A charter was granted, in 1728, authorising the opening of an additional subscription-list for new members, and an India House was established at Altona, a Danish town adjacent to Hamburgh. The English and Dutch companies remonstrated warmly against this measure, as little less than the reproduction of the Ostend association under a fresh name. Their jealous opposition succeeded in procuring the abandonment of the Hamburgh establishment; but it raised, in the minds of the Danes, a strong feeling of the importance of the commerce so sharply watched by rival societies, and induced a large number of persons to take part in it. A new and very favourable charter, granted to the company in 1732, for a term of forty years, contains among its clauses two which are interesting, even after the lapse of more than a century. One was a proviso, "that the strictest attention should be paid to the morals of the people sent out to India in the company's service"—a point which had been heretofore sadly disregarded; the other threw a shield round the individual interests of the proprietors, by enacting that "no money should be lent or borrowed without the consent of a general meeting of the proprietors."† The trade carried on after this period, though never very extensive, became decidedly prosperous, and continued so during the remainder of the eighteenth century.

FRANCE had advanced far more perceptibly towards the close of the epoch now under consideration. In 1714, the E. I. Cy. again applied for and obtained a renewal of their charter. Exhausted funds, and a debt amounting to 10,000,000 livres, seemed to afford little prospect of remunerative trade during the ten years for which their exclusive privileges were continued; but before the expiration of that period, their separate existence was merged in the extraordinary association formed by the famous schemer, John Law.‡ In the year 1720, England and France exhibited to the world at large the disgraceful spectacle of the governments of two great nations struggling to shake off

* Their general trade continued, notwithstanding these drawbacks, steadily lucrative. During the first twenty-one years of their existence—that is, from 1602 to 1622—the company divided thirty million florins; being more than quadruple the original stock. From the year 1605 to 1728 the dividends amounted to about twenty-two per cent. per annum, sometimes paid in bank money, sometimes in cloves. Thus, on the original capital of £650,000, eighteen million sterling were paid as dividends, besides the necessary accumulation of property in territory, forts, and ships. The price of the stock, between 1723 and 1760, bore a premium varying from 320 to 650 per cent. The annual fleet dispatched from Holland was very large. From the year 1720 to 1729, inclusive, the number amounted to 372 vessels (giving an annual average of thirty-seven), with crews comprising nearly 70,000 men. The dividends, during the same period, averaged twenty-three per cent. Various renewals of their charter had been obtained, at different times, from the States-General, notwithstanding considerable opposition on the part of the public, which was silenced, in the ears of government, by the payment of large sums of money on various occasions. In 1740, unusual difficulties appear to have been met with, and the company could only obtain a prolongation of their privileges for a single year; nor was it until 1748 that they succeeded in procuring the desired grant, which was then conceded for a term of twenty-seven years.—(Milburn, Macpherson, and Stavorinus.)

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 239.

‡ This remarkable man (the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith), persuaded the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, in 1716, to adopt his plans of finance and commerce as a means of honourably relieving the government and nation from a debt of about £90,000,000 sterling, (mainly caused by the lavish expenditure of Louis XIV.,) in preference to the disgraceful alternative actually propounded of disavowing the large quantity of depreciated paper-money, which had been issued from the Parisian treasury. The first step taken by Law was the formation of a public Bank, with a capital of six million livres, divided into 1,200 shares; its business to be confined to receiving money on deposit, and lending it at a moderate rate of interest on personal or proprietory security. The project became immediately popular; hoarded coin found its way to the coffers of the Bank, the notes of which became current throughout Europe: the West India Company furnished £3,937,500; and the increased circulating medium gave new energy to agriculture, commerce, and the arts. During the excitement which ensued, Law wielded unlimited power, and his personal health became a matter of intense anxiety and eager speculation. In 1617, he founded the *Mississippi company*, with which was subse-

the involvements caused by war and lavish expenditure, and to lessen their public debts by sanctioning schemes which, being manifestly unjust in principle, could not fail to prove injurious to the multitudes who, unaccustomed, under any circumstances, to examine into the truth of plausible statements, would accept them without hesitation when made current by the approbation of the legislature, and thus cruelly misled, rush headlong into ruin. The conduct of the ministry and parliament of England, though deeply blamable in regard to the South Sea bubble, was far surpassed in dishonesty and infatuation by the proceedings of the rulers of the French nation, in carrying out the complication of incongruous projects called "Law's system." The "Royal Bank" constituted the leading and absorbing feature of the whole; and of the numerous societies whom their own credulity or the manœuvring of stock-jobbers had impelled within the vortex, the East India body alone appear to have survived the general wreck.

This company arose strong in the "perpetual and irrevocable"* privileges inherited from its defunct associates, and secured in its pecuniary welfare by the arbitrary measures enacted in 1721 for the diminution of its shares, which benefited the corporation by a method peculiar to despotic governments—of annihilating the property of their own subjects by a few strokes of the pen, without so much as a pretence of compensation. At the same time, the nomination of directors was claimed for the Crown, and likewise the right of appointing one, two, or even three commissioners, with considerable controlling powers over the directors, with whom they were constantly at variance. Notwithstanding this great drawback, the company pursued their eastern trade with much energy. Their Indian debts—the accumulation of a long series of years—were paid off; and, on the appointment of the able and upright Orry as minister of finance, measures were adopted for the improvement and defence of the Indo-French settlements. Pondicherry, after its surrender by the Dutch, in 1697, had been restored to the superintendence of M. Martin. By his prudence and integrity the basis of its prosperity was laid in the confidence of the natives, who gladly settled under his protection; and in course of time the village grew into a large and regular city, containing 70,000 inhabitants, of whom the European proportion continued, of course, extremely small. The French had also factories or *comptoirs* at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast; and at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, in Bengal. Dumas, the governor-general appointed by Orry, increased the revenues of the company by obtaining permission from the Mogul, in 1734, to coin money in the fort of Pondicherry; and the rupees struck there yielded a profit of nearly £20,000 per annum for several years. In

quently incorporated the *Canada*, *China*, *Senegal*, *St. Domingo*, *Guinea*, *and East India* associations. The united body became generally known as the *Company of the West*—or sometimes *of the Indies*—and had a capital stock of one hundred million livres, it being the scheme of Mr. Law to pay the holders of government paper with the stock (or shares) of this company. All the nations of Europe became infected with the mania of suddenly growing rich by the issue of paper-money, and capitalists flocked by thousands to Paris from every metropolis: the shares bore a premium of 1,200 per cent., and the government granted to the company various privileges,—such as the sole vending of tobacco, the mint, and general farming of all the revenues, in consideration of a loan to the king of fifty million sterling towards the liquidation of the public debt. Capital was nominally added by several expedients: gold was forbidden in trade; and the coin successively diminished in value, until the people of France gladly brought their specie to the Bank, and converted their stock in the public funds into shares of the company, by which proceeding the national debt would, it was supposed, be paid off. The mania lasted about a twelvemonth, and then the bubble burst, in spite of every endeavour to continue its inflation. A terrible panic ensued, and was followed by a long season of individual misery and general depression. Multitudes of all classes awoke from their dream of wealth to the realities of want, and the government reeled under the shock which attended the downfall of its splendid projects for re-establishing the public credit. The "Sieur Law," comptroller-general of the finances and inspector-general of the Royal Bank, and all its associate societies, disappeared from France, and died in obscurity, without having acquired any thing very considerable for himself, although he had it once in his power (so far as human judgment can decide) to have become the richest subject in Christendom.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, years 1716 to 1720. Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, pp. 264 to 276. Justamond's translation of the Abbé Raynal's *European Settlements in the East and West Indies*, vol. ii., pp. 61 to 68.)

* Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 269. It is a trite remark, but singularly apposite to the present case, that governments are never so ready to concede unlimited privileges as when their own authority stands on a tottering and precarious footing. In examining into all questions regarding the grant of exclusive privileges, and their bearing in a national point of view, it is always important to understand clearly the condition of the acting prince or government at the time of making such concessions.

1739 the French took forcible possession of Karical, on the Coromandel coast, which was confirmed to them by a grant from the rajah of Tanjore. Meanwhile, war was being carried on between Dost Ali, the governor or nabob of Arcot, and the Mahrattas under Ragojee Bhonslay, which terminated in the defeat of the former. His family, and several of his subjects, took refuge in Pondicherry, whither Ragojee pursued them, and threatened to besiege the place, unless they were surrendered. This Dumas positively refused; and at length, after plundering far and near, the Mahrattas accepted a small subsidy, and retired from the field in April, 1741. Sufder Ali, the son of the deceased nabob, is alleged to have made a princely return for the protection bestowed upon his relatives, by ceding to Dumas personally three districts, in value amounting to nearly £100,000 sterling per annum. The emperor Mohammed is stated, by the same authority, to have confirmed this grant, and further to have sent Dumas a dress of honour, bestowed on him the title of nabob (a dignity never before conferred on a European), and made him a *Munsubdar* of 4,500—that is, a commander entitled to the rank and salary associated with the control of that (often almost nominal) number of cavalry. These distinctions were, it is added, transferred to his successor, the afterwards famous Dupleix.*

Another justly celebrated man was then at the head of the presidency established by the French in the Indian seas, which comprised the two islands of Mauritius and Mascarenhas, otherwise called Isles of France or Cerné, and of Bourbon. M. de la Bourdonnais was a native of St. Malo, and had been at sea since the age of ten years. In the course of his voyages he had the opportunity of observing the advantages of the coasting trade of India, in which he was the first of his nation to embark. In a few years he realised a considerable fortune, and by sheer force of character, acquired much influence over those with whom he associated. A violent quarrel between the crews of some Arabian and Portuguese ships, in the harbour of Mocha, was amicably adjusted through his intervention; and the viceroy of Goa, greatly relieved by this termination of an affair which threatened fatal consequences, invited the successful mediator to enter the service of Portugal, gave him the title of agent for that power on the coast of Coromandel, together with the command of a royal ship, the rank of Fidalgo, and enrolled him as a member of the order of knighthood profanely termed "of Christ." In this honourable position he remained for two years, and then, in 1733, returned to France, where his reputation for ability and uprightness procured him the appointment of governor-general of the Mauritius and Mascarenhas, where he arrived in 1735. His conduct here was truly admirable. He found the people poor, indolent, and ignorant; but by dint of unwearied application, and a capacity for taking the initiative in everything connected with the material welfare of the settlements over which he had been chosen to preside, he effected improvements which seemed, says Raynal, "owing to enchantment."† The functions of governor, judge, surveyor, engineer, architect, agriculturist, were alternately performed by this one man, who could build a ship from the keel, construct vehicles, and make roads; break in bulls to the yoke, or teach the method of cultivating wheat, rice, cassava, indigo, and the sugar-cane. He established an hospital for the sick, and notwithstanding his multifarious occupations, visited it regularly every morning for a whole twelvemonth. Neither his unwearied labours, nor the extraordinary success with which they were attended, sufficed to shield him from the shafts of calumny. Some ship-captains and other visitants of the island, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, laid unfounded charges against him before the directors, and the high-spirited governor was consequently exposed to treatment which induced him to return to France, in 1740, with the intention of resigning his harassing and thankless office.‡ This Orry would not permit, but induced him to return to the Isles, and encouraged his plans for the extension of French power in the East, and of hostility

* See Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., 389. This usually correct writer possibly attributes to Dumas honours conferred on or assumed by Dupleix a few years later. Dost Ali was himself an interloper, unconfirmed by the emperor or the viceroy of the Deccan; and it is strange that the extravagant grant made by his son should have received the imperial sanction, even though bestowed in reward of opposition to the common foe of Mohammedans, the Mahrattas.

† *European Settlements in E. & W. Indies*, ii., 75.

‡ Raynal states, that La Bourdonnais, being asked how he had conducted his private affairs with more ability than those of his employers, replied: "I managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the company according to their directions."

against the English. La Bourdonnais could not, however, procure adequate means for the execution of his extensive projects; but the force entrusted to him was usefully employed in raising the siege of Mahé, invested by the Mahrattas in 1741, after which he again occupied himself with the same energy as before in the details of his own government.

Dupleix, the French governor-general in India, was perhaps equal to his colleague in a certain description of ability, and probably superior to him in education and social position (his father having been a farmer-general of the revenues, and a director of the East India Company); but in manliness and integrity he was incomparably the inferior. In 1720, Dupleix was appointed first member of the council at Pondicherry; and here he continued for ten years, carefully studying the politics of the epoch, and accumulating property by engaging in the commerce of the country, from which the poverty of the servants of the French company for the most part debarred them. In 1730 he was sent to superintend the settlement at Chandernagore, which he found in a very neglected condition. Under his rule a great change took place, and the increase of wealth and population was marked by the erection of no less than 2,000 brick houses. A new trading establishment was formed at Patna through his exertions, and the French commerce in Bengal became an object of envy to all other Europeans. These indubitable proofs of legislative ability, aided probably by the influence of family connexion at home, procured for Dupleix the position of governor-general. It would seem as if the peculiar vices of his character had lain dormant while he remained in a subordinate position, but were called into action by the possession of supreme authority over his countrymen in India, checked only by responsibility to a distant and ill-informed body of directors. Ambitious in the extreme, inordinately vain, and no less restless and intriguing, Dupleix, from this period, constantly manifested a degree of littleness which made his really remarkable talents a matter of doubt in the sight of many who deemed such opposite qualities incompatible.

It may be imagined that a man of this character would neglect no opportunity of distinguishing himself and extending the power of his nation at the expense of the English; but his appointment at Pondicherry had been accompanied by such stringent commands for a general diminution of outlay, that he dared not commence hostilities, but was compelled to content himself by taking measures (in contravention to his instructions) for placing Pondicherry in a strongly defensible condition.

The state of the ENGLISH COMPANY at this period has been sufficiently shown in preceding pages. They do not appear to have numbered among their servants any leader fitted by experience and ability to oppose with success the generalship of La Bourdonnais, or the wiles of Dupleix. Happily for England, want of union in the councils of the enemy, tended to diminish the danger of their hostile attempts.

Before proceeding to narrate the struggle between the two nations, it is necessary to pause and briefly notice the leading territorial divisions of India at the epoch when the Mogul yoke changed from an iron chain to a rope of sand, and imperial viceroys or subahdars, nabobs or deputy governors, rajahs and ranas, naiks, wadeyars, polygars, zemindars, and innumerable chiefs of lesser note and differing titles, strove each one for the aggrandisement and independence of himself or his own family. A similar summary has been given previous to the invasion of India by the followers of Mohammed (pp. 39 to 43); as also at the epoch formed by the accession of Akber in 1556 (pp. 93 to 107): it is now important to note the origin and condition of several newly-created principalities, and also the changes which had taken place in the older states, in the course of the intervening period of nearly two centuries, for the sake of affording a means of reference, the value of which will be apparent when the narrative of European progress brings into prominent notice nabobs and rajahs taking their titles from places as yet unheard of.

INDIAN STATES—1740 TO 1745.—The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739 (as has been shown in previous pages), left the Great Mogul in the dismantled palace of his ancestors, with an exhausted treasury and an empire diminished by the severance of CABOOL, SINDE, and MOULTAN. A few years later, and another jewel was snatched from the imperial crown. The lovely valley of CASHMERE, ever since its acquisition by Akber, had been the favourite retreat of successive monarchs from the intense summer-heats of Delhi or Agra. Here Jehangeer had held many a Bacchanalian revel, and spent long hours in dalliance with the gifted but unprincipled Nour Mahal, watch-

ing her distilling the far-famed essence of the rose, or listening to her magnificent projects for the erection of public edifices, mingled, too often, with unworthy schemes of ambition or revenge. Here Shah Jehan passed many bright summers before death took away Taj Mahal, the wife whom he truly loved, and before the quarrels and rebellion of the children she had borne, brought to him, in retribution for the unsparing cruelty which had attended his accession to the throne, an old age of sorrowful captivity. Here Aurungzebe, proof alike against the enervating influences of climate, the charms of the seraglio, the seductions of wine, or the intoxicating drugs which had been the bane of his race, pondered in austere seclusion over the complicated web he spent a life in weaving, with the bitter result of finding himself at last entangled in his own toils. Here, lastly, Mohammed Shah came, in the first flush of regal grandeur, to forget, amid a crowd of giddy courtiers, the heavy responsibilities of the inheritance of despotic power which his indolent, easy nature rendered peculiarly burdensome; and here, too, he came in age, and beholding the vessel of the state, committed by Providence to his guidance, reduced almost to a wreck, by calamities brought on by internal corruption, rather than by external strife, he probably learnt the causes of evils it was too late to remedy, but which he encountered with a quiet dignity and forbearance that served to keep together some of the shattered remains of imperial power. Cashmere was, however, seized by Ahmed Shah Abdulli, and incorporated in the new kingdom of Candahar; and the conqueror proceeded to invade the PUNJAUB, and had even crossed the Sutlej, when he was met by the Mogul army (under his namesake the heir-apparent), completely defeated, and driven back. This victory was followed almost immediately by the death of Mohammed Shah, and the accession of Prince Ahmed. The period, however, of which we are treating commences with the departure of the Persian invaders (1739.) The intrigues of viceroys and governors were speedily resumed when the first stunning effect of the late calamity had passed away. In OUDE, Sadut Khan had been succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sufder Jung. In the PUNJAUB, the rebellion of the Mogul viceroy soon produced renewed incursions from the Afghan border, and the province of GUZERAT fell completely into the hands of the Mahrattas. The three chief Rajpoot states of JEYPOOR (Amber), JOUDPOOR (Marwar), and OODIPOOR (Mewar), were still, to some extent, tributary to the emperor. The two last-named had been subjected to partial devastation from the Mahrattas; but the intimate connexion subsisting between Rajah Jey Sing and Bajee Rao, prevented such aggressions in the districts of Jeypoor, at the cost to the empire of the province of MALWA. The JATS, established in the territory between Agra and Jeypoor, were rapidly gaining ground; and after the Mahrattas crossed the Chumbul, they, for the most part, maintained a friendly intercourse with their fellow-marauders.* The principality afterwards known by the name of ROHILLA, was in progress of establishment in THE DOAB, little more than a hundred miles to the southward of Delhi.† BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA were under the sway of Ali Verdi Khan, but subject to the exactions of the Mahrattas, to whom the whole of India was rapidly becoming more or less tributary. When one pretext failed, another could easily be found by those who had the power of enforcing their most unreasonable demands. A district once overrun, was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst chout and surdeshmooki were extorted from the others by virtue of letters patent.‡ Thus, on various pretences the Mahrattas, says Duff, "went plundering and burning on the east and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass, and from Madras to Delhi;" while the Europeans, in their profound ignorance of native history, watched with amazement the progress of a people whom they still called

* The rise of the Mahrattas materially aided the Jats, by withdrawing Aurungzebe from the neighbourhood of Agra; but the statement of Grant Duff, that the plunder of the imperial army enabled them to fortify Bhurtpoor, is contradicted by Elphinstone. —(*India*, ii., 511. *See* also Thornton's *Indian Gazetteer*, in four vols., London, 1854—article, Bhurtpore.)

† *See* p. 171.—The founder of the Rohillas is described by Duff as the son of a Hindoo *Aheer*, a class of shepherds nearly similar to the *Dhungurs* of Maharashtra. An Afghan adopted him when a boy, and gave him the name of Ali Mohammed Rohilla. His followers assumed the same designation; and from being the commander of a small party of Afghan cavalry, in the service of the deputy-governors of Moradabad, he gradually obtained possession of lands, and encroached by degrees, until the force sent for his expulsion by the imperial viceroy, proved insufficient for the purpose.

‡ It does not appear that any deed for collecting general *chout* over the empire was ever granted by Mohammed Shah: sums of money and convenient assignments were the modes of payment.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, i., 457.)

"the Sevajees," after their great leader, instead of by their own distinctive appellation.

The centre of the diffusive power of the Mahrattas was MAHARASHTRA, the region where their peculiar language was spoken. The whole of this territory had, in 1573, during the reign of Akber, been subject to the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, with the exception of a part of Candeish (which was held as an independent principality by the sultan of Boorhanpoor), of the northern Concan belonging to Guzerat, and the possessions of the Portuguese.* At that period Golconda was the third important Mohammedan state in the Deccan, Beder (the seat of the Bahmani dynasty) and Berar having been annexed to the dominions of their more powerful neighbouring states, which, as we have seen, were themselves in turn extinguished by the encroachments of Sevajee on the one side, and the levelling policy of Aurungzebe on the other. The six Mogul subahs or provinces of THE DECCAN† were, in 1741, in so far as the Delhi emperor was concerned, an independent government, under the irresponsible rule of the old nizam, Asuf Jah, who divided the revenues with the Mahrattas; the advantage being, as has been shown, increasingly on their side. The fixed possessions of the Mohammedans, for many centuries after their first invasion of the peninsula, did not extend south of the Kistna; and, indeed, the term of "the Deccan," by writers of this religion, and even by Wilks and other English authorities, is commonly used to denote the countries lying between the Nerbudda and Kistna; the territory below the latter river being distinguished as THE SOUTH OF INDIA. It is with this portion of the continent that we are more particularly concerned, from its having been the scene of the first struggle for supremacy between European powers. Previous to the battle of Talicot, in 1565, the whole of this territory was, more or less, under the sway of the government of Beejanuggur, or Vijeyanuggur; but many districts were held by families who ruled as tributaries or feudatories, with hereditary power. The defeat and slaughter of the brave old Rama Rajah, and the destruction of his capital by the conjoined exertions of the four Mohammedan sovereigns of the Deccan, were not followed by any systematic attempts for the annexation of Beejanuggur by the conquerors to their own dominions, private jealousies and international disputes preventing any permanent arrangement between them regarding the division of the spoil. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, established himself at Penconda, about 140 miles south-east of the former capital, and from thence the seat of government was shortly afterwards transferred to Chandragiri. About the year 1597, a descendant of the ancient *Rayeels* (as the rajahs of this dynasty were called) ruled with some degree of magnificence at Chandragiri and Vellore, where he still held at least nominal sway over the governors or naiks of Jinjee, Tanjore, Madura, Chennapatam, Seringapatam (Mysoor), and Penconda; and in 1640, the last representative of this ancient house, Sree Ranga Raya, sanctioned the establishment of the English at Chennapatam, or Madras. About six years afterwards, he was driven by the forces of Golconda from his occasional places of residence and nominal capitals at Chandragiri and Chingleput, and compelled to take refuge with the chief

* *See* pp. 43 and 140. Hindoo writers differ materially as to the extent of Maharashtra, which they designate one of the five principal divisions of the Deccan. According to the *Tutwa* (one of the books of the *Jotush Shastra* or *Hindoo Astronomy*), Maharashtra extends no farther than the Chandore range of hills, where Kolwun, Buglana, and Candeish are represented as its northern boundaries; and all beyond those countries is indiscriminately termed *Vendhiadree*. Duff adds, "that the tract between Chandore and Eroor Manjera, on the Kistna, is certainly the most decidedly Mahratta, and in it there is the least variation in the language; but following the rule adverted to in its more extended sense, Maharashtra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora [? Vindhya] mountains, and extends from Naundode, on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpoor."—(i., 3.) A waving line from Mahoor to Goa, with the ocean on the westward, form the chief remaining limits. Wilks states, that the Mahratta language spreads from Beder to the north-west of Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlatabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Taptee, and follows the course of that river to the western sea, on which the district of Sedashegur, in North Canara, forms its southern limit. In the geographical tables of the Hindoos, the name of Maharashtra—and by contraction, Mahratta dasum (or *country*)—seems to have been more particularly appropriated to the eastern portion of this great region, including Baglana, part of Berar, and Candeish: the western was known by its present name of Concan.—(*Historical Sketches of the South of India*, or *History of Mysoor*, i., 5-6.)

† 1st. Candeish, capital Burhanpoor. 2nd. Aurungabad, which comprised the territory formerly called the state of Ahmednuggur, governed by the Nizam Shahi dynasty. 3rd. Beejapoor or Viziapoor, the capital of the Adil Shahi dynasty. 4th. Beder. 5th. Berar. 6th. Hyderabad, capital of the Golconda or Kootb Shahi dynasty.

of Bednore or Nuggur (now included in Mysore.) Sera, Bangalore, and Colar, with the important fortresses of Vellore and Jinjee, were seized by Beejapoor, the ambitious and short-sighted rulers of that kingdom continuing, to their last gasp of power, to endeavour to increase a superstructure already too extensive for its slender and tottering base. Aurungzebe's great political error, in destroying states it was his interest to uphold in dependence upon him, brought both them and him a fitting reward for the ungovernable lust of conquest. It levelled the only barrier to the rapid spread of Hindoo power; and in a short period of years, the supremacy of the Mahratta state was acknowledged, more or less decidedly, over all the south of India; and this, notwithstanding the incongruities of its internal constitution with its capitals of Sattara, where the rajahs lived (kings in name, captives or pageants in reality); and of Poona, where the peishwas (ministers in name, sovereigns in reality) held their now sumptuous courts and exercised sway, checked however materially by the private designs and unsleeping watchfulness of the Dhabaray family, Rugojee Bhonslay, and other noted leaders. With these turbulent chieftains, the peishwas were glad to compromise matters, by suffering them to invade Guzerat, Bengal, and other Mogul provinces on their own account; the authority of the rajah being a convenient pretence, occasionally resorted to in confirmation of such arrangements, and which, strange to say, still carried considerable weight in the minds of the people, it being quite inconsistent with the character of the Brahminical cast to govern, except after the fashion of an English "lord-protector" or a French cardinal.

The death of Bajee Rao, the famous antagonist of the nizam, in 1740, has been narrated (p. 169), as also the events which attended the accession to the peishwaship of his son Ballajee Bajee Rao. It is not necessary to enter further into the Mahratta history of this period, save in so far as it is connected with that of the various distinct principalities then fast rising into importance beneath the sway of native rulers or usurping governors. Under the latter head may be classed TOOLAVA, the region (formerly part of Dravida) distinguished in European maps as the CARNATIC—a tract, says Colonel Wilks, which "by a fatality unexampled in the history of nations, neither is nor ever was known by that name to the people of the province, or of any part of India."* The misnomer originated in the conquest of Toolava by the government of Canara Proper,† not long before the partition of the dominions of that state between the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor. These sovereigns, in dividing a country of whose condition and history they were wholly ignorant, were satisfied with the sweeping designations of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut (above and below the Ghauts)‡—appellations which were transferred with the dominion over the region thus arbitrarily renamed—when all other Mohammedan governments were swallowed up in Mogul supremacy. In 1706, a chief named Sadut Oollah Khan (through the influence of Daud Khan Panni,§ then viceroy of the Deccan), was appointed by the emperor nabob of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut,‖ and he continued to fill that position after the death of his patron and the accession of the nizam. Sadut Oollah is supposed to have fixed the seat of his government at ARCOT about the year 1716, no inscription or authority (says Colonel Wilks) having been discovered to prove the previous existence of a capital on that site. He died in 1732, leaving no issue male; but through the precautions taken in behalf of his nephews and adopted sons, Dost Ali and Bâkir Ali, the latter continued to be governor of Vellore, while the former succeeded in establishing himself as nabob of the Carnatic, despite the opposition of the nizam, whose jealous interference prevented his procuring an authentic commission from Delhi. At the period of his accession, the new nabob had two sons; the elder, Sufder Ali, had reached manhood: he had also several daughters, one of whom was married to a distant relative, the afterwards famous Chunda Sahib, who first acquired notoriety by his treacherous acquisition of TRICHINOPOLY. This little

* *History of Mysoor*, i. 8.

† Situated on the western coast of the Indian peninsula, between the Concan and Malabar (formerly named Kerala.)

‡ The great geographical feature of the south of India is a central eminence of 3,000 to 5,000 feet in height, above the level of the sea, separated by abrupt declivities from the low flat countries to the east and west, which form a belt of small and unequal breadth between the hills and the ocean. This central eminence is usually named the Bala Ghaut; and the lower belt, the Payeen Ghaut—*Ghaut* signifying a mountain pass or break.

§ *See* page 156.

‖ Called also the Carnatic Beejapoor Bala Ghaut, and the Carnatic Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut.

state, like the neighbouring principality of Tanjore, although at times subject to the exactions of the Mohammedan rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, had maintained its independence from a remote date. The death of the rajah, in 1736, gave rise to disputes concerning the succession. Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, upheld the cause of her adopted son against a rival claimant, and was actively supported by Chunda Sahib. Grateful for his assistance, and unsuspicious of any sinister motive, the queen was induced to give her ally free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by taking possession of the government in his own right, and imprisoning the ill-fated lady, who soon died of grief. This unworthy conduct excited strong dissatisfaction throughout the neighbouring states. The nabob viewed with alarm the ambitious and unscrupulous temper of his son-in-law, and the nizam was exceedingly annoyed by the growing power of a family, whose members, though disunited among themselves, would, he well knew, at any time coalesce against him as their common foe. The Hindoo princes participated in the jealous feelings of the nizam, and were likewise, it may be supposed, moved with honest indignation at the cruel treatment sustained by their fellow-sovereign. The result was, the invasion of the Carnatic by a Mahratta army under Rugojee Bhonslay, in 1740, and the defeat and death of Dost Ali; followed, in 1741, by the siege of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, who was carried prisoner to Sattara. Sufder Ali, the new nabob, was assassinated at the instigation of his cousin, Murtezza Ali, the governor of Vellore;* and the murderer, after vainly endeavouring to take advantage of his crime, by establishing himself as ruler of the province, shut himself up in his own citadel.

The nizam having determined on quitting Delhi, arrived at Arcot in 1743. He found that the infant son of Sufder Ali had been proclaimed nabob; and the popular feeling on the subject was so decided, that not caring openly to dispute the hereditary succession tacitly established in the family of Sadut Oollah, the wily politician affected to intend confirming the boy in office so soon as he should arrive at years of discretion. In the interim, he placed two of his own followers in the government. The first of these, Khojeh Abdulla, died in a very short space of time—it was supposed from the effects of poison administered by his successor, Anwar-oo-deen: shortly afterwards, the youthful expectant of the nabobship, who had been very improperly committed by the nizam to the care of this same person, so notoriously unfit for such a charge, was mortally stabbed at a public festival, by a guard of Patan soldiers, under pretence of revenging the non-payment of arrears due to them by the father of their victim. Anwar-oo-deen and Murtezza Ali were suspected of having conspired for the commission of this new crime—an opinion which gained strength by the efforts each of them made to cast the odium wholly on the other. The nizam would not listen to the accusations brought against Anwar-oo-deen by the friends of the unfortunate family of Sadut Oollah, but caused him to be formally installed as nabob of the Carnatic, notwithstanding the opposition of the people of the province, who found in the arbitrary and parsimonious administration of the new governor additional cause to remember the lenient and liberal conduct of their former rulers. It has been necessary to enter thus far into the domestic history of the Carnatic, in elucidation of its condition at the period when this very Anwar-oo-deen became an important personage in Indo-European history. For the same reason, a few words must be said regarding the native state of TANJORE—a relic of the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Madura—which, owing to domestic dissensions, had fallen into the hands of a Mahratta ruler. The sovereignty became an object of contest to the grandsons of Venkajee, the half-brother of Sevajee. One of these, named Pertab Sing, the son of a concubine, succeeded in gaining possession of it, in 1741, to the exclusion of Syajee, the legitimate heir of the late rajah. Syajee, some years after, sought help from the English.

The MYSORE state, long a dependency of the kingdom of Beejanuggur, was founded under romantic circumstances,† by a youth

* Murtezza Ali is described by Orme as the model of a cruel and suspicious tyrant: he "never moved, not even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste anything that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal." He is stated to have procured the assassination of his unsuspicious relative, by the hand of a Patan officer whom Sufder Ali had deeply injured by the seduction of his wife, and who availed himself of the opportunity of wreaking a deadly revenge by entering the tent of the nabob at midnight, and stabbing him while attempting to escape.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 46—48.)

† Two brothers left the court of Beejanuggur to

of the famous tribe of Yedava, which boasts among its eminent characters, Crishna (the celebrated Indian Apollo), one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The first chieftain or rajah of this family whose date is established, succeeded to power in 1507, and was surnamed Arbiral, or the six-fingered, from the personal trait thus described. A fort was constructed or repaired in 1524, at Mahesh Asoor,* contracted to Mysore; but it was not till after the battle of Talicot (forty years later), that its petty chieftains began to assume any importance among the princes of the south. In 1610 they acquired possession of Seringapatam, which thenceforth became the seat of government; and from this period their territories increased rapidly, and continued to do so, even after becoming avowedly tributary both to the Mogul emperor and to the Mahratta rajah Shao.

South Canara, Malabar, and Travancore remain to be noticed, having as yet escaped Mohammedan invasion. In the first of these was situated the country of Bednore, under the sway of a family, who from a small establishment at Caladee, in 1499, had gradually extended their limits to the sea-coast of Onore, and southward to the limits of Malabar, over the dominions of the former ranee of Garsopa, the "pepper queen" of Portuguese authors; while, on the north, they successfully opposed the further advance of the forces of Beejapoor along the sea-coast. Sree Ranga Raya, when expelled from his last fortress, Chandragiri, took refuge here; and the Bednore rajah, formerly a servant of his family, availed himself of the pretence of re-establishing the royal house of his liege lord, as a cloak for his own ambitious designs. The district belonging to Sumbajee, the Mahratta chief of Kolapoor, formed the limits of Bednore on one side; and to the southwards, lay the mountainous principality of Coorg, between the coast of Malabar and Mysore. Malabar itself brings us to the familiar territory of Calicut, governed by the zamorin or Tamuri rajah, bounded to the southward by Cochin, on the opposite side of which, at the extreme end of the Peninsula, was the state of Tanjore, once an integral part of Malabar, known in the records of the E. I. Cy. as the country of the queen of Attinga,† by whose permission an English factory was formed at Anjengo, in 1694. Since then Tanjore had become famous in the annals of the Dutch, through the determined opposition of its rajah to their encroachments and oppression.

Besides the states enumerated in the above sketch, there were many others of less note; such for instance as those formed by the rajah of Soonda and the dessaye of Carwar, (who had taken part with the Portuguese in their late conflict with the Mahrattas); also by the Patan chiefs of Kurnoul, Kurpa, and Savanoor, descendants of governors under the dynasties of Beejapoor and Golconda. The three last-named were closely connected with some of the leading Mahratta chieftains, and had been for some time nearly independent.

Struggle for supremacy between England and France.—Allusion has been made to the commercial crisis which convulsed these nations in 1720, brought on by imprudence and the absence of sound principle on the part of their respective governments. A quarter of a century later we find them exchanging declarations of war; and after being, in the first instance, drawn into the vortex as auxiliaries in the disputed Austrian

seek their fortunes, and having in the course of their wanderings alighted near the border of a tank, beside the little fort of Hadana, a few miles from the site of the present town of Mysoor, they overheard some women, who had come to fetch water, bewailing the fate of the only daughter of their *wadeyar* (*i.e.*, lord of thirty-three villages), who was about to be given in marriage to a neighbouring chief of inferior cast, as the only means of preserving her family from immediate hostilities, which, owing to the mental derangement of the wadeyar, they were quite unprepared to resist. The young knights-errant offered their services to rescue the afflicted damsel from the impending disgrace; and after slaying the bridegroom and his companions at the marriage feast, marched, at the head of the men of Hadana, upon his territory of Caragully, which having captured, the conquerors returned in triumph to Hadana; and one of them, Vijeya, married the lady, nothing loth, and by the general voice of her people was elected wadeyar, first changing his creed from that of a disciple of Vishnu to a *jungum* or *lingwunt*—Hindoo terms, which will be hereafter explained.

* Mahesh Asoor, "the buffalo-headed monster," whose overthrow is the most noted exploit of Cali, the consort of Siva. This goddess is still worshipped under the name of Chamoondee (the discomfiter of enemies) on the hill of Mysore, in a temple famed at one period for human sacrifices. (Wilks' *Mysoor*, i. 34.)

† Hamilton states, that from remote antiquity the male offspring of the *tamburetties*, or princesses of Attinga, had inherited the sovereignty of Travancore, and continued to do so until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the reigning "tamburetty" was prevailed upon to transfer the authority to the male line. The conquests made by the Tanjore ruler, between 1740 and 1755, are attributed to the efficiency of a body of troops disciplined after the European manner by Eustachius de Lanoy, a Flemish officer.—(*East India Gazetteer*, ii., 674.)

succession, becoming themselves fired with the fierce excitement, they continued the contest as principals, on one pretext or another; the actual end desired by either party being the attainment of complete mastery in all points, whether as regarded political ascendancy in Europe, transatlantic dominion, trading monopolies, or maritime power. In this unhallowed rivalry both kingdoms lavished unsparingly life and treasure, deeply injuring each other's resources, and grievously retarding their mutual growth in Christian civilisation and commercial prosperity. Spain, then a great colonial and naval power, sided with France, while England had to withstand their united force, and, at the same time, to bear up against the disturbances connected with the Hanoverian succession, and the long struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States. Sea and land witnessed the strife. In *North America*—at Quebec, Louisberg, and on the Mississippi; in the *West Indies*—at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the Caribbee Islands; in *Africa*—at Goree and Senegal; in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic*—at Minorca and Belleisle; and on the *European continent*, prolonged hostilities were waged: while in India a contest commenced which lasted sixty years, the prize there fought for being nothing less than the establishment of a powerful European dominion in the very heart of Asia. It is not to be supposed that the trading societies who first gained a footing amid the confusion of falling dynasties and usurping chiefs, foresaw from the commencement of the conflict the marvellous results with which their operations were to be attended. With the exception, perhaps, of the brothers Child, none of the officers of the old-established English company had any desire for the acquisition of sovereignty, nor had they the inducement which might have been afforded by an insight into the actual condition of India. The general indifference manifested by the servants of the various European companies towards the attainment of Asiatic languages, long tended to prevent their acquiring this knowledge, even when the course of events plainly demonstrated its importance. Moreover, the English and French associations were both poor, and extremely unwilling to enter upon a costly warfare, respecting the issue of which no reasonable conjecture could be formed. The representatives of the latter body became first inspired with an irrestrainable desire to take part in the strife and intrigue by which they were surrounded; and the connection which subsisted between the government and the French company, enabled La Bourdonnais and Dupleix to obtain, through the influence of Orry the minister, a sanction for their daring adventures, which the partners of a purely mercantile association would, if they could, have withheld. Even had the two states in Europe continued at peace, it was next to impossible that their subjects in India should bear a share in the disputes of neighbouring princes without soon coming to open hostility with each other; and the national declarations of war brought matters to an immediate crisis.

The English were the first to receive reinforcements from home. A squadron of four vessels appeared off the coast of Coromandel, in July, 1745, having previously captured three richly-laden French vessels on their voyage from China. The garrison of Pondicherry contained only 436 Europeans, and the fortifications were incomplete. Dupleix, fearing that the place would be taken before La Bourdonnais could answer his appeal for succour, made earnest representations to the nabob, Anwar-oo-deen, and succeeded in inducing him to interfere for the protection of Pondicherry, by threatening to revenge upon Madras any injury which should be inflicted upon French possessions within the limits of his government. At the same time, the nabob declared his intention of compelling the French, in the event of their acquiring additional strength, to abstain equally from offensive proceedings. Mogul power had not yet lost its prestige: that of England was still to be won; consequently the determined language of the nabob intimidated the Madras presidency, and induced them to prevent the fleet from attacking Pondicherry, and to confine their operations to the sea. In the June of the following year a French squadron arrived in the Indian ocean, under the command of La Bourdonnais, who had equipped the ships with great difficulty at the Mauritius; and when afterwards dismantled by a hurricane, had refitted them at Madagascar. An indecisive action took place between the rival fleets, after which the French commander proceeded to Pondicherry, and there requested a supply of cannon, wherewith to attack Madras. The hearty co-operation of Dupleix and his council was, at this moment, of the highest importance; but jealousy of the renown which would attend the success of the enterprise, induced them to receive the solicitations of their

colleague with haughty and insulting indifference. La Bourdonnais, already severely tried by the miserable unfitness of the greater portion of his crews, consisting of sailors for the first time at sea, and soldiers who needed instruction how to fire a musket—their inefficiency increased by sickness, by which he was himself almost prostrated—had now to struggle against the aggravating tone adopted towards him by those to whom he looked for aid and sympathy. Under these circumstances, he behaved with singular discretion and forbearance, and having at length obtained a scanty reinforcement of guns, set sail for Madras, against which place he commenced operations on the 3rd of September, 1746.*

The fortifications of the city had been neglected, owing to the financial embarrassment of the E. I. Cy. There was little ammunition in store, and the soldiers were few, and of a very indifferent description. The total number of Europeans in the settlement did not exceed 300, and of these about two-thirds were included in the garrison. As might be expected, no very determined resistance was offered. The town was bombarded for several days, and four or five of the inhabitants were killed by the explosion of shells, after which a capitulation was agreed upon, by virtue of which the assailants entered Madras as victors, without the loss of a single man, but on the express condition that the settlement should be restored on easy and honourable terms. This arrangement was in strict accordance with the instructions laid down by the French directors, who expressly forbade the extension of territory until their existing settlements should be more firmly established, and ordered their servants, in the event of capturing the possessions of any foreign foe, to abide by the alternative of destruction or a ransom. The very day of the surrender of Madras, a messenger, dispatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry with a letter from Anwar-oo-deen, expressing his great surprise at the conduct of the French in attacking Madras, and threatening to send an army there if the siege were not immediately raised. Dupleix returned a deceitful answer, promising that the town, if taken, should be surrendered to the nabob, with liberty to make favourable terms with the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. Meanwhile, La Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, proceeded to arrange the treaty of surrender without regard to the remonstrances or threats of Dupleix, who, notwithstanding the recent assurance given by him to the nabob, now insisted that Madras should be either retained as a French settlement, or razed to the ground. Three men-of-war arrived at this period at Pondicherry; and, thus increased, says Orme, the French force "was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the British settlements in Hindoostan."† La Bourdonnais had resolved on making the attempt, but his plans were contravened by Dupleix; and after much time having been wasted in disputes regarding the evacuation of Madras, a storm came on which materially injured the fleet, and compelled its brave commander to return in haste, before the change of the monsoon, to his own government at the Mauritius,‡ without staying to complete the shipment of the seized goods, which was to be followed by the restoration of the town. The machinations of Dupleix had thus succeeded in thwarting the views he ought to have promoted, and at the same time in acquiring an important addition of 1,200 trained men, left behind in consequence of the damage done to the squadron by the late tempest: accessions of strength were also received from other quarters, which raised the number of European troops at Pondicherry, in all, to about 3,000 men.

* The forces destined for the siege comprised about 1,100 Europeans, 400 sepoys, and 400 Madagascar blacks; 1,700 or 1,800 European mariners remained to guard the ships.—(Orme, i., 67.)

† *Military Transactions*, i., 73.

‡ Fron thence La Bourdonnais returned to France to vindicate himself from the complaints preferred by the family of Dupleix, some of whom being intimately connected with the E. I. Cy., had warmly espoused the quarrel of their relative against his more worthy adversary. He took his passage in a ship belonging to Holland, which, in consequence of the declaration of war, was forced into an English harbour. The distinguished passenger was recognised; but his conduct at Madras procured him an honourable reception; and the proposition of an East India director to become surety for him in person and property, was declined by government, on the ground that the word of La Bourdonnais was alone sufficient. This circumstance may have served to soothe the bitter trials which awaited his arrival in France. He was thrown into the Bastile, and remained in that terrible state prison for three years; at the expiration of which time his published vindication, supported by authentic documents, manifested not only the injustice of the charges brought against him, but also the ardour and ability of his services. Though liberated, he appears to have obtained no redress, and did not long survive his acquittal, which took place when he was about fifty-three years of age.

These additions were needed to combat the force dispatched by Anwar-oo-deen for the recapture of Madras, so soon as he perceived the hollowness of the professions by which he had been induced to violate his pledge to the English, of compelling the French to abstain from hostile proceedings throughout the Carnatic.

An army, commanded by the son of the nabob, invested Madras, and made some clumsy attempts to imitate the proceedings which had proved successful in the previous instance. The French encountered them with a greatly inferior numerical force; but the skilful and rapid management of their artillery, abundantly compensated for this disproportion, and enabled them to acquire a decisive victory. The event is memorable, as marking the commencement of a new phase of Indian history. The triumphs of the Portuguese were, for the most part, two centuries old: of late years Europeans had bowed submissively before the footstool of Mogul arrogance; and the single attempt of the English (in 1686) to obtain independent power, had only reduced them to a yet more humiliating position. The utter inability of unwieldy and ill-disciplined masses to contend with compact bodies of well-trained troops, was a fact which the French had again brought to light, together with another of equal importance—namely, the facility with which natives might be enrolled among the regular troops, and the reliance to be placed upon them. Already there were four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry; but the English had not yet adopted a similar procedure. Dupleix followed up the defeat of the nabob's force, by declaring the treaty with the English annulled, and giving orders for the seizure of every article of property belonging to the unfortunate inhabitants, excepting their personal clothes, the movables of their houses, and the jewels of the women—commands which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and leading persons were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and there exhibited before the native public in a species of triumph.

Fort St. David, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, next became an object of ambition, and a body of 1,700 men, mostly Europeans, was dispatched for the attack of its garrison, which, including refugees from Madras, comprehended no more than 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The unexpected advance of a large force, sent by Anwar-oo-deen to the relief of the fort, took the French by surprise while resting from a fatiguing march, and exulting in the prospect of an easy prey. They retreated at once, with the loss of twelve Europeans killed and 120 wounded. An attempt was next made upon the native town of Cuddalore, which was situated about a mile from Fort St. David, and inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, and by many natives in the employment of the company. Five hundred men were embarked in boats, with orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of the town at daybreak. But on this, as in the case of the fleet of La Bourdonnais, the turbulence of the elements preserved the English from the assault of their foes: the wind rose, and the raging surf forbade the prosecution of the hostile enterprise.

Dupleix, finding that he could not expect to cope successfully with the united strength of the nabob and the English, directed all his powers of intrigue and cajolery to break off their alliance; and at length succeeded, by exaggerated representations of the accessions of force received and expected by the French, in inducing the vacillating nabob to forsake the garrison of Fort St. David, who were described as a contemptible handful of men, abandoned even by their own countrymen to destruction. The falsity of this last assertion was proved at a critical moment; for just as a French force had succeeded in overcoming the resistance offered to their crossing the river, and were marching on the apparently devoted town, an English fleet was seen approaching the roadstead, upon which the assailants hastily recrossed the river and returned to Pondicherry.

In January, 1748, Major Lawrence arrived in India with authority over the whole of the company's forces. In the following year, the addition of a squadron dispatched under the command of Admiral Boscawen,* rendered their fleet more formidable than any previously assembled by a single European power in India. Dupleix trembled; the nabob would, he feared, again change sides, so soon as the superior strength of the enemy should be manifest, and the French settlements be cut off from supplies both by sea and land. The English, on their part, hurried on the operations of

* Consisting of ten ships of the royal navy, and eleven belonging to the company, carrying stores, and troops to the amount of 1,400 men.

Boscawen, nothing doubting by the capture of Pondicherry, to retaliate the heavy sacrifice attendant on the loss of Madras.* Their expectations were disappointed. Major Lawrence was taken prisoner during the assault of the little fort of Ariancopang, two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry; and when, after much valuable time spent in acquiring and occupying this position, the admiral advanced upon the city, ignorance of the locality, disease in the camp, and probably also the unfitness of the brave and active sea-captain to direct the complicated proceedings of a land attack, resulted in the raising of the siege by the fiat of a council of war, assembled thirty-one days after the opening of the trenches. The rejoicings of Dupleix at this unlooked-for triumph, were, as might be expected, boastful in the extreme. He sent letters to the different neighbouring rulers, and even to the Great Mogul himself, informing them of the formidable assault which he had repulsed, and received in return high compliments on his prowess and on the military genius of his nation, which was now generally regarded as far superior to that of the English. His schemes were, however, contravened by a clause in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the French government agreed to restore Madras; and this stipulation was enforced, notwithstanding the expense incurred by him in strengthening a possession obtained by a glaring breach of faith. On reoccupying their ancient settlement, the English likewise established themselves at St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, a town mostly inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Christians, whom the imperious Portuguese archbishop and viceroy Menezes had, with the aid of "the Holy Inquisition," brought into compulsory submission to the Romish pontiff. Since then it had sunk into obscurity, and would hardly have excited the notice of any European power, had not its position with regard to Madras, from which it was but four miles distant, enabled the ever-intriguing Dupleix to gain from the Romish priests much important information regarding the state of that settlement. St. Thomas was therefore occupied by the English, and the obnoxious portion of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw.

While these events were taking place in the Madras presidency, that of Bombay, and the inferior but independent one of Calcutta, enjoyed tranquillity. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, had consistently maintained the determination at first expressed by Anwar-oo-deen, in the Carnatic, of compelling the hostile nations to keep the peace in his dominions. At the same time he exacted from both parties contributions, in return for the protection which he bestowed. The sums demanded from the English are stated† as not exceeding £100,000, which, considering the heavy expenses incurred in repelling Mahratta inroads, cannot be deemed immoderate.

The restoration of peace between their respective governments left the servants of the rival companies in India no pretence for continuing hostilities on any national ground. But extensive military preparations had been made: nothing but a *casus belli* was wanting; and it was not to be supposed that the commanders of considerable bodies of troops, who, having been levied, must be paid and fed, would willingly keep them in idleness for so slight a reason. The quarrels of neighbouring states afforded a ready pretext for armed interference, and offered to both French and English the immediate advantage of remunerative employment for spare force, together with the prospect of establishing a degree of independent, if not paramount authority, which might enable the factories to withhold the large sums it had been heretofore found necessary to pay to local officials, in order to secure the enjoyment of the privileges conceded by imperial firmauns.‡ Neither party showed much anxiety about the character or claims of the candidates under whose banners they took post, the scarcely disguised motive being—how best to serve themselves and weaken their rivals. Indeed, at this period, power in the Deccan had so greatly fallen into the hands of usurpers, that had the Europeans really desired to support no pretensions save such as were strictly legitimate, they must have commenced by setting aside almost the whole of the claimants who now pressed upon their notice. But this admission cannot exculpate the English from the heavy charge of indiscretion and venality—in first unsheathing the sword against a sovereign with whom they had long carried on a friendly correspondence, and then suffer-

* That event entailed a loss of £180,000 on the company.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 48.)

† Mill's *British India*, iii., 83, (edited by Wilson.)

‡ At Surat, for instance, in addition to the fixed custom dues of 3½ per cent., no less a sum than 1,365,450 rupees are stated, in the records of the E. I. Company, as having been paid from 1661 to 1683, simply to facilitate business.

ing themselves to be bought off from the cause they had unsuccessfully advocated. The case was simply this: Syajee, the ex-rajah of Tanjore (*see* p. 252), craved their assistance to regain the throne from which he had been driven by his half-brother, Pertab Sing. He declared that the people were well-affected towards him, and promised, in the event of success, to bestow upon the English the territory of Devicotta—a position rendered valuable by its proximity to the mouth of the river Coleroon, which was considered to offer advantages, as a harbour, beyond any other situation between Masulipatam and Cape Comorin. His solicitations produced two attempts for the invasion of Tanjore. The first by Captain Cope, undertaken with a view to the re-establishment of Syajee, proved a complete failure. The second, led by Major Lawrence, succeeded in the object for which it was expressly designed—the capture of Devicotta—owing, under Providence, to the ingenuity and dauntless bravery of a common ship's carpenter* and—Lieutenant Robert Clive. This name, destined to stand first in a long line of Anglo-Indian conquerors, was then borne by a young man whose previous career afforded small promise of usefulness, though fraught with evidences of misdirected energy.

Some twelve years before the siege of Devicotta, the inhabitants of Market-Drayton, Shropshire, had viewed with terror the exploits of the audacious son of a neighbouring squire.† On one occasion they beheld the daring boy climb the lofty church steeple, and quietly take his seat on a projecting stone spout near the summit, fashioned in the form of a dragon's head, from whence he desired to obtain a smooth stone, for the pleasure of flinging it to the ground. At home the youth was noted for an immoderate love of fighting, and for a fierce and imperious temper; out of doors he displayed the same propensities by forming the idle lads of the town into a predatory army, and extorting a tribute of pence and trifling articles from the shopkeepers, guaranteeing them, in return, from broken windows and the effects of other mischievous tricks. The character of an exceedingly naughty boy accompanied Bob Clive from school to school, including the celebrated London seminary of the Merchant Taylor's Company. One of his early masters, it is said, had the sagacity to prophesy that the self-willed, iron-nerved child would, if he lived to be a man, and had opportunity to exert his talents, make a great figure in the world; but this was an exception to the general opinion formed of his slender parts and headstrong temper; and his family, seeing no good prospect for him at home, procured for the lad, when in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the E. I. Company, and "shipped him off, to make a fortune or to die of a fever."‡

For some time after the arrival of Clive at Madras, the former alternative appeared highly improbable. The ship in which he sailed was detained for nine months at the Brazils, and the young writer expended all his ready-money, but picked up, in return, a knowledge of the Portuguese language, which proved useful to him in after-life. The salaries of the junior servants were then barely sufficient for their maintenance. Clive, who it may be readily imagined was no economist, soon became involved in debt; and this circumstance, combined with his isolated position and uncongenial employment (in superintending the taking of stock, making advances to weavers, shipping cargoes, and guarding the monopoly of his employers against the encroachments of private traders), aggravated by the depressing influence of a tropical climate, so affected a mind unsupported by religious principle, that the rash youth, in one of the wayward, moody fits to which he was all his life subject, made an ineffectual attempt at self-destruction. A fellow-clerk entered his room (in Writers'-buildings) immediately after, and was requested to take up a pistol which lay at hand, and fire it out of the window. He did so; and Clive sprang up, exclaiming—"Well, I am reserved for something; that pistol I have

* The fort of Devicotta was situated on a marshy shore covered with wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. The English batteries were erected on the opposite side of the river, and after three days' firing a breach was effected; but before advantage could be taken of it, a broad and rapid stream had to be crossed in the face of the enemy. This was done by means of a raft, sufficient to contain 400 men, constructed by the carpenter, John Moore. The last difficulty—how to get the raft across—he removed by swimming the stream by night and fastening a rope to a tree, unperceived by the foe, whose attention was diverted from the spot by the well-directed manœuvres of the artillery. The troops were disembarked on the opposite bank.

† A landed proprietor, who practised the law, and resided on a small estate which had been enjoyed by his family since the twelfth century.

‡ T. B. Macaulay's brilliant critique on Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive.*—(*Critical and Historical Essays.*)

twice snapped at my own head." * He was reserved for many things which the world calls great and glorious, and even (by a strange perversion of the term) heroic; but his earthly career was not the less destined to terminate by the very act which he had once been specially held back from accomplishing. That act even worldlings brand with the name of moral cowardice; while believers in revealed religion view it as the last and deepest offence man can commit against his Maker. In the case of Clive, such a termination of life was rendered peculiarly remarkable by his previous frequent and extraordinary escapes from perishing by violence.

On the capture of Madras, in 1746, he, with others, gave his parole on becoming a prisoner of war, not to attempt escape; but the breach of faith committed by Dupleix was considered by many of the captives to justify their infraction of the pledge given to M. de la Bourdonnais; and Clive fled by night to Fort St. David, disguised in dress and complexion as a Mussulman. Continued hostilities afforded him an opportunity of quitting the store-room for the camp; and Major Lawrence, perceiving the military ability of the young aspirant, gave him an ensign's commission, which, after the unsuccessful attack of Pondicherry, in 1748, was exchanged for that of a lieutenant. At Devicotta he was, at his own solicitation, suffered to lead a storming party, consisting of a platoon of thirty-four Europeans and a body of sepoys. Of the Europeans only four survived; but the determination of their leader, and the orderly advance of the sepoys, checked the opposition of the Tanjore horse, and gave the signal for the advance of Major Lawrence with his whole strength, which was speedily followed by the capture of the fort.

A treaty of peace was soon entered into with the rajah, Pertab Sing, by which the English were guaranteed in the possession of Devicotta, with a territory of the annual value of 9,000 pagodas, on condition of their renouncing the cause of Syajee, and guaranteeing to secure his person so as to prevent any further attempts on the throne of his brother—a service for which 4,000 rupees, or about £400, were to be paid annually. The English had been completely misled by the statements of Syajee respecting his prospects of success; but still, this treatment of a person whom they had been endeavouring to re-establish as a legitimate ruler, was highly discreditable. It is even said, that the unfortunate prince would have been delivered into the hands of his enemies, but for the lively remonstrances of Admiral Boscawen. As it was, he found means to make his escape, though not to recover his throne.

In the meantime the French were engaged in transactions of more importance. They had far higher objects in view than any yet aimed at by the English, and their plans were more deeply laid. Dupleix, by means of his wife,† had obtained considerable acquaintance with the intrigues of various Mussulman and Hindoo princes; and this knowledge had afforded him material assistance on more than one occasion. The disturbed state of the Carnatic now offered a favourable opening for his ambition. The protracted life of the old nizam was fast approaching its termination; and the nominal viceroyalty, but actual sovereignty, of the Mogul provinces in the Deccan would, it was easy to forsee, speedily become an object of contest to his five sons. The cause of Anwar-oo-deen, himself almost a centenarian, would not therefore be likely to meet with efficient support from his legitimate superiors; while among the people a very strong desire existed for the restoration of the family of Sadut Oollah. The natural heir was the remaining son of Sufder Ali, but his tender age forbade the idea of placing him at the head of a confederacy which needed a skilful and determined leader. Murtezza Ali (governor of Vellore), though wealthy and powerful, was deemed too treacherous and too cowardly to be trusted. The only relative possessed of sufficient reputation, as a general, to direct an attempt for the subversion of the power of Anwar-oo-deen, was Chunda Sahib. The utter absence of principle manifested

* Sir John Malcolm states, that in 1749, three years after this event, Clive had a severe attack of nervous fever, which rendered necessary "the constant presence of an attendant;" and he adds, that even after his recovery, "the oppression on his spirits frequently returned."—(*Memoirs*, i., pp. 69-70.)

† Madame Dupleix is described in the *Life of Clive* as a creole, born and educated in Bengal; but her parentage is not stated. The Christian name Jeanne, she converted into the Persian appellation of Jân Begum (the *princess Jeanne.*) Her intimate acquaintance with the native languages, joined to a talent for intrigue little inferior to that of Dupleix himself, enabled her to establish a very efficient system of "espionage." At the time of the French capture of Madras, and the attempts on Fort St. David by the English, the Indian interpreter was found to have carried on a regular correspondence

in his seizure of Trichinopoly,* did not prevent him from being "esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic,"† uniting in every military enterprise, "the spirit of a volunteer with the liberality of a prince."‡ On him Dupleix had early fixed his eyes as a fit coadjutor; and throughout his protracted imprisonment at Sattara, had contrived to keep up an intimate connexion with him, through the medium of his wife and family, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry—Madame Dupleix acting as interpreter; and at the same time corresponding, in the name of her husband, with various chiefs likely to prove useful in the coming struggle. At length all things seemed ripe for the enterprise. Through the intervention of Dupleix, the release of Chunda Sahib was effected in the early part of the year 1748, by means of a ransom of seven lacs of rupees (£70,000.) The nizam died shortly after; and notwithstanding the prior claims of his numerous sons, another competitor for the succession arose in the person of a grandson, the child of a favourite daughter. With the young adventurer (generally known by his title of Moozuffer Jung),§ Chunda Sahib hastened to form an alliance, and induced him to commence operations in the Carnatic. Dupleix assisted the confederates with a body of 400 Europeans, 100 Kafirs, and 1,800 sepoys; and French valour and discipline mainly contributed to bring the storming of Amboor (a fort fifty miles west of Arcot) to a successful issue. Anwar-oo-deen was slain at the extraordinary age of 107 lunar years; his eldest son taken prisoner; and his second son, Mohammed Ali, with the wreck of the army, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which place he was governor. The victorious leaders marched in triumph to Arcot, and then to Pondicherry, from whence (after increasing the limits and revenues of that settlement by the grant of eighty-one villages) they proceeded against Tanjore. It would have been unquestionably better policy to have advanced at once upon Trichinopoly; but supplies of money were urgently needed, and the known wealth of the rajah of Tanjore would, it was believed, compensate for the delay. The Tanjorine proved more than a match for his enemies in cunning, though inferior to them in force. Although at length compelled to pay a certain sum, claimed as arrears of tribute to the Mogul empire, and likewise in compensation for the expenses incurred in attacking him, the rajah continued to procrastinate in every possible manner,—one day sending, as part of the stipulated contribution, old and obsolete coins, such as he knew required long and tedious examination; another time, jewels and precious stones, the value of which it was still more difficult to determine. Chunda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices; but the want of funds induced him to bear with them until the end of the year (1749) arrived, and with it intelligence of the approach of a considerable army under the command of Nazir Jung,‖ the second son of the late nizam.

The allies, struck with consternation, precipitately retreated to Pondicherry, harassed by a body of Mahrattas. Dupleix exerted all his energies to reanimate their spirits; lent them £50,000, and increased the French contingent to 2,000 Europeans; but, doubting greatly the ultimate success of the cause which he had so sedulously promoted, he sought to be prepared for any turn of circumstances, by opening a secret communication with Nazir Jung. In this treacherous attempt he failed, the prince having previously formed an alliance with the English.¶

On hearing of the defeat and death of Anwar-oo-deen, Nazir Jung had marched towards the Carnatic, where he was speedily joined by Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob, and at the same time he sent to ask assistance from the English at Fort St. David. They were already filled with alarm at the part taken by the French in the recent hostilities, but possessed no authority from the Court of Directors to engage anew in the perils and expenses of any military undertaking. The result of

with Madame Dupleix in the Malabar tongue. He and a Hindoo accomplice were tried, found guilty, and hanged.—(Malcolm's *Clive*, i., 21; Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 88.)

* *See* p. 252. In addition to the facts already stated, it may be noticed, as enhancing the perfidy of Chunda Sahib, that one means adopted by him to set aside any misgivings on the part of the ranee of Trichinopoly, was by swearing that his troops, if secretly admitted within the citadel, should be employed solely for the confirmation of her authority. This false oath he took on a false Koran—that is, on a brick enveloped in one of the splendid coverings used by Mohammedans to wrap round the volume they revere as divinely inspired.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.)

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 119.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.

§ *Victorious in War.* ‖ *Triumphant in War.*

¶ *Vide* "Vindication," entitled *Mémoire pour Dupleix*; also *Mémoire contre Dupleix*, published by the directory of the Fr. E. I. Cy.; quoted by Mill, iii., 105.

the Tanjore enterprise was not encouraging; the attempt to reinstate Syajee had proved a complete failure; and Pertab Sing, by the cession of Devicotta, had bought them off, as he might have done a body of Mahrattas, —not so much from fear of their power, as because he expected a more dangerous assault on the side of Chunda Sahib and the French. It was evidently no honest desire for peace which dictated the miserable half measures adopted by the Madras presidency. Although Admiral Boscawen offered to remain if his presence should be formally demanded, he was suffered to depart with the fleet and troops. A force of 120 Europeans was sent to Mohammed Ali; and the report of the powerful army and extensive resources * of Nazir Jung induced them to send Major Lawrence, with 600 Europeans, to fight under so promising a standard. The rival armies, with their respective European allies, approached within skirmishing distance of one another, and an engagement seemed close at hand, when thirteen French officers, discontented with the remuneration they had received for the attack on Tanjore, threw up their commissions; and M. d'Auteuil, panic-struck by this mutinous conduct, retreated, with the remainder of the troops under his command, to Pondicherry, accompanied by Chunda Sahib, while Moozuffer Jung,† having received the most solemn assurances of good treatment, threw himself upon the mercy of his uncle, by whom he was immediately placed in irons.

Nazir Jung, relieved from immediate peril, took no thought for the future; but at once resigned his whole time to the pleasures of the harem and the chase. The only rival he feared (Ghazi-oo-deen) was fully employed in the intrigues of the Delhi court; the other three brothers were held in close confinement at Arcot; and the indolent prince, in the haughtiness of imaginary security, treated with disdain the claims of those who had joined him in the hour of danger. The experience of past time might have borne witness that Mogul rulers had seldom offended their turbulent Patan followers with impunity; yet Nazir Jung now behaved towards his father's old officers (the nabobs of Kudapa, Kurnoul, and Savanoor) as if they had been mere feudatories, who as a matter of course had rallied around his standard, instead of what they undoubtedly were—adventurers who had hazarded their lives for the chance of bettering their fortunes. The expectations of the English were equally disappointed by the refusal of a tract of territory near Madras, the promised reward of their assistance; and Major Lawrence quitted the camp in disgust. Dupleix and Chunda Sahib soon learned the state of affairs, and hastened to take advantage of it both by force and stratagem. Masulipatam and the pagoda of Trivadi (fifteen miles west of Fort St. David) were captured; the fort of Jinjee, deemed almost inaccessible, was attacked by the famous French commander Bussy, and the huge insulated rock on which it stands, stormed to the very summit. The boldness of the attempt, and especially its being commenced at midnight, seems to have paralysed the energies of its superstitious defenders; and even the victors, in contemplating the natural strength of the place, were astonished at their success. Nazir Jung alarmed, entered

* Nazir Jung was at Boorhanpoor, in command of the army, at the time of the death of his father: this circumstance favoured his attempt at becoming subahdar of the Deccan, to the exclusion of his eldest brother, Ghazi-oo-deen, who, he asserted, had freely resigned his pretensions, being satisfied with the important position he held in the court of Delhi—a statement which was wholly false. Ghazi-oo-deen was by no means inclined to make any such renunciation, and had in justice nothing to renounce, the government of the southern provinces being still, at least in form, an appointment in the gift of the emperor. Mohammed Ali's claim to the government of the Carnatic (urged, in the first instance, to the exclusion of his elder brother, the only legitimate son of Anwar-oo-deen) was based on the bare grounds that Nizam-ool-Moolk had promised, and Nazir Jung would confirm to him the possession of a patrimony which had been in his family just five years. This was the "rightful cause" maintained by English valour in the field, and contended for, in many volumes of political controversy, during a prolonged paper warfare. The French, on their part, upheld with all the zeal of self-interest, both with the sword and the pen, the claims of the rival candidates. The pretensions of Moozuffer Jung rested on the will of his grandfather, which his adversaries declared to be a forgery; but if a veritable document, it was unlawful as regarded the emperor, and unjust in setting aside the natural heirs. The sole plea urged by Chunda Sahib, was the will of Moozuffer Jung that he should be nabob. The fact was, neither English nor French had any justification for interference in hostilities which were mere trials of strength among bands of Mohammedan usurpers; and the subsequent conduct of both parties in setting up pageants, because it was inexpedient for them to appear as principals, is nothing more than an additional proof that politicians, as a class, agree everywhere in receiving diplomacy and duplicity as convertible terms, maintaining, however, as much as possible, the semblance of honesty in deference to the feeling which our Creator seems to have implanted in the mind of almost every community—that the public safety is intimately connected with the integrity of those who bear rule.

† This name is sometimes mis-spelt Mirzapha.

into negotiations with Dupleix. The French deputies used their admission to his camp as a means of treacherously intriguing with the disaffected nobles. Major Lawrence heard of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to convey a warning to the subahdar at a public audience; but the interpreter employed dared not venture a declaration which might cost him his life, and the important information was withheld from fear of the vizier, who was falsely reported to be involved in the plot. The etiquette which prevented any direct communication with the subahdar, either verbally or by writing, is given as a sufficient reason for no determined effort to that effect having been made.* Nazir Jung continued, to the last moment, utterly unsuspicious of danger. He ratified the treaty with the French, and sent it to Pondicherry. They advanced against him from Jinjee the very next day; and the prince, while manfully striving to animate his troops to repel what he termed "the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans,"† was shot through the heart by the nabob of Kudapa. The army learned the fate of their late ruler by the sight of his head fixed on a pole, and were with little difficulty induced to transfer their services to his nephew Moozuffer Jung, who now, released from captivity, became the gaoler of his three uncles. Dupleix was appointed governor of the Mogul possessions on the coast of Coromandel, from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin,‡ and Chunda Sahib his deputy at Arcot. The installation of the subahdar was performed at Pondicherry with much pomp. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. Dupleix, dressed in the garb of a Mussulman of the highest rank, entered the city in the same palanquin with Moozuffer Jung; and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of every other noble. The rank of a munsubdar of 7,000 horse was conferred upon him, with permission to bear on his banners the insignia of "the fish"§—a distinction among the Moguls equivalent to the coveted "blue ribbon" of the English court. Honours and emoluments could be obtained only by his intervention: the new ruler would not even peruse a petition, unless indorsed by the hand of Dupleix.

The triumph of the ambitious Frenchman, though brilliant, was soon disturbed. The chiefs, by whose perfidy the revolution had been accomplished, demanded the fulfilment of the extravagant promises made to them while the prince, now on the throne, lay bound in fetters. Dupleix endeavoured to bring about an arrangement; and, as an incitement to moderation, affected to relinquish all claim to share in the treasure seized upon the assassination of Nazir Jung, notwithstanding which he received no less than £200,000 in money, besides many valuable jewels.‖ The offers made to the turbulent nobles were, however, so very large, that if (as would appear) really accepted and carried out, it is difficult to account for the rapidity with which they again broke forth into open revolt.¶ After lulling all suspicions by a semblance of contentment, accompanied by oaths of allegiance sworn on the Koran, the chiefs watched their opportunity; and, during the march of the army to Golconda, suddenly took possession of an important pass, and, supported by their numerous followers, opposed the advancing force. The steady fire of the French artillery soon cleared the way; but Moozuffer Jung, furious at finding himself menaced with the fate of his uncle, by the same double-dyed traitors, rushed upon the peril he had nearly escaped, by distancing his attendants in a reckless pursuit of the fugitive nabob of Kurnoul, whom he overtook and challenged to single combat. The elephants were driven close to each other; and the sword of Moozuffer Jung was uplifted to strike, when the javelin of his opponent pierced his brain. A moment later, and the victor was surrounded and cut to pieces: one of his fellow-conspirators had already perished in a similar manner; the third quitted the field mortally wounded.

What were the French to do now for a puppet adapted by circumstances tor the part of subahdar? No time could be spared for deliberation: a few hours, and the heterogeneous multitudes of which Indian armies consist, would, under their respective leaders,

* Major Lawrence perhaps disbelieved the report, otherwise his conduct was supine and neglectful.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 156.

‡ Masulipatam and its dependencies were ceded to the French E. I. Cy., with other territories, valued by them at £38,000 per ann., but, according to Orme, the revenues were considerably overstated.

§ The *Mahi*, or figure of a fish four feet long, in copper-gilt, carried on the point of a spear.

‖ Moozuffer Jung distributed £50,000 among the officers and men engaged at Jinjee, and paid an equal sum into the treasury of the French company, in compensation for the expenses of the war.

¶ Orme asserts, that besides various minor concessions, the Patan nobles were promised by Dupleix one-half the money found in the treasury of Nazir Jung, which, in a subsequent page, is stated at two million sterling.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 160-'2.)

after dividing the spoil of their late master, disperse in search of a new paymaster; and, with them, would vanish the advantages gained by the murder of Nazir Jung. Bussy, the commander-in-chief, was no less bold and ready-witted than the absent Dupleix, and his unhesitating decision exactly met the circumstances of the case. The three uncles of the newly-deceased subahdar were in the camp, having been carried about as prisoners in the train of their nephew, lest some conspiracy should be formed in their favour if separated from his immediate superintendence. In other words, it was convenient to keep within reach all persons whose dangerous consanguinity to the reigning prince might incite an attempt for the transfer of the crown; such an endeavour being best frustrated by cutting off the head for which the perilous distinction was designed. Moozuffer Jung left an infant son, whose claims on the gratitude of the French were afterwards recognised by Bussy,* though he set aside the title of the boy to sovereignty, and releasing the captive princes, proclaimed the eldest, Salabut Jung, viceroy of the Deccan. The army acquiesced in the arrangement, and proceeded quietly on the road to Golconda. Dupleix, on learning the late events, addressed the warmest congratulations to Salabut Jung, who, besides confirming the cessions of his predecessor, bestowed additional advantages on his new friends.

The English watched with amazement the progress of the French, but without any efforts at counteraction. From some unexplained cause, Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose character and experience the strongest reliance was placed in all military affairs, returned to England at the very time his services were most likely to be needed. The Madras presidency desired peace at almost any sacrifice, and united with Mohammed Ali in offering to acknowledge Chunda Sahib nabob of all the Carnatic, except Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The French, borne on the tide of victory, rejected these overtures; and the English, stung by the contemptuous tone adopted towards them, combined with Mohammed Ali to oppose their united foes. The opening of the campaign was not merely unfortunate, it was (in the words of Major Lawrence) disgraceful: "a fatal spirit of division" prevailed among the officers, and the Europeans fled before the force of Chunda Sahib, near the fort of Volconda, while the native troops maintained the conflict. Driven from one position to another, the English and their allies at length sought shelter beneath the walls of Trichinopoly. The enemy followed them without delay, and took post on the opposite side of the town, from whence they made some ineffectual attempts for the reduction of the place.

The French had now reached the culminating point of their power in India: the English, their lowest state of depression; yet the latter were soon to ascend an eminence, to which the position attained by their rivals seemed but as a stepping-stone. The young adventurer already noticed, was selected by Providence as one of the chief instruments in the commencement of this mighty change. In the interval of peace just ended, Clive had been appointed by his steady friend, Major Lawrence, commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. He was now five-and-twenty, in the full strength and vigour of early manhood. The present emergency called forth all his powers; and, by earnestly representing the necessity of some daring attempt to relieve Trichinopoly, he succeeded in gaining the consent of the Madras presidency to attack Arcot, as a probable means of recalling Chunda Sahib to his own capital. A little force, consisting of eight officers (four of whom were factors turned soldiers, like "special constables" for the occasion), 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, sallied forth under the leadership of Clive. The issue of this daring enterprise was awaited by the English with intense anxiety. It was no ordinary detachment, sent forth at slight hazard to effect a diversion: the men by whom it was undertaken were (at least in a military point of view) the life-blood of Fort St. David and Madras: in the event of their being cut off, these settlements would be left, the one with only 100, the other with less than fifty defenders, against the overwhelming strength of the Indo-French potentate Dupleix, and his satellites. On two previous occasions a fierce and sudden tempest had been the destined means of preserving the English from the hands of their foes. The fleet, assembled by the unflagging zeal of La Bourdonnais, shattered and dispersed when bearing down, in the pride of power, on the Coromandel coast; the stealthy, midnight assault of Dupleix on Cuddalore arrested by the rising surf;—these dis-

* The stronghold of Adoni, with its dependencies, which had been the original jaghire of the father, were given to the son, with the addition of the territories formerly possessed by the treacherous nabobs of Kurnoul and Kudapa.—(Orme, i., 249.)

pensations were now to be crowned by a third, yet more remarkable in its consequences.

When Clive and his companions had advanced within about ten miles of Arcot, a violent storm came on, through which they continued their march with the habitual bravery of European troops. The native garrison, accustomed to regard with superstitious terror the turmoil of the elements, learned with astonishment the continued advance of their assailants; and, on beholding them approach the gates of Arcot amid pealing thunder, vivid flashes of lightning, and fast-falling rain, panic spread from breast to breast: the fort was abandoned, and the English, strong in the supposed possession of supernatural courage, entered it without a blow. The city had neither walls nor defences, and no obstruction was offered to the few hundred men who passed on as conquerors, gazed upon with fear, admiration, and respect, through streets crowded by 100,000 spectators. They took possession of the citadel, in which was found a large quantity of lead and gunpowder, with eight pieces of cannon of small calibre. The merchants had, for security, deposited there effects to the value of £50,000; but these were punctually restored to the owners: and "this judicious abstemiousness," adds Orme, "conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest. The fort was inhabited by 3,000 or 4,000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings."

There could be little doubt that vigorous attempts would be made by Chunda Sahib to recover the city which had thus strangely slid from his grasp. Clive instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. It was a discouraging task, even to a man whose genius ever shone most brightly amid danger and difficulty. The walls of the fort were ruinous; the ditches dry; the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns; the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The fugitive garrison, ashamed of the manner in which they had abandoned the place, assembled together, and encamped close to the town. At dead of night Clive sallied out with almost his entire force, attacked the camp, slew great numbers, and returned to his quarters, without having lost a single man.* A more dangerous enemy soon appeared, consisting of about 10,000 men, including 150 French from Pondicherry, under the command of Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.† The garrison had but a slight prospect of maintaining its ground against so formidable an armament; and certainly the retention of Arcot was little less marvellous than its conquest, though accomplished by wholly different means. In the first instance, a scanty force took possession, without effort, of a prize unexpectedly placed within their reach; in the latter case, although reduced by casualties to 324 in number, they showed themselves determined to sacrifice even life in its defence. For fifty days the assault continued; but the courage of the besieged never faltered: they held together as one man; and at length, when food began to fail, and was doled out in diminishing portions, the sepoys, in their exceeding devotion to their suffering comrades, came in a body to Clive, and entreated that all the grain in store might be given to the Europeans who required a nourishing diet,—they could subsist on the water in which the rice was boiled.‡ The reputation of the gallant defence of Arcot proved the immediate cause of its success. An ineffectual attempt at succour, on the part of the Madras government, was followed by the approach of 6,000 Mahrattas, under the famous leader Morari Rao. These troops had been enlisted in the service of Mohammed Ali, but, deeming his cause hopeless, had remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. As a last resource, Clive managed to convey to them an earnest appeal for succour, and received an immediate reply from the chief, that, being at length convinced the English could fight, he would not lose a moment in attempting their relief. This circumstance coming to the ears of Reza Sahib, he forthwith dispatched a flag of truce to the garrison, with offers of honourable terms of capitulation, and a large sum of money to their commander, as the alternative of the instant storming of the fort and the slaughter of all its defenders. Clive, in rejecting the whole proposition, gave vent to his characteristic haughtiness, by taunting Reza Sahib with the badness of his cause, and the inefficiency of his "rabble

* Fifteen Europeans perished in a subsequent sally against the force of Reza Sahib: amongst these was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, perceiving a sepoy from a window taking aim at Clive, pulled him aside and was himself shot through the body.

† Orme calls this leader *Rajah* Sahib; Wilks (a much better authority in a question of orthography), *Reza*.

‡ This water, called Cunjee, resembles very thin gruel.

force." Then, having taken all possible measures to resist the expected attack, he lay down exhausted with fatigue, but was soon aroused by the loud uproar of oriental warfare in its most imposing form.

It was the 14th of November—the period allotted to the commemoration of the fearful massacre on the plains of Kerbela, in which the imaum Hussyn, the grandchild of "the prophet," with his whole family and followers, suffered a cruel death at the hands of his inveterate foes. The recurrence of this solemn festival is usually the signal for the renewal of fierce strife, either by words or blows, between the Sheiahs and the Sonnites, or followers of the caliphs, by whom Ali and his children were superseded. The Mohammedans engaged in the siege seem to have been Sheiahs; and in the absence of any sectarian quarrels, they directed the full force of the fanaticism roused by the recollection of the tragic catastrophe of Kerbela, against the infidel contemners of both imaums and caliphs, and even of their founder himself. Besides the well-known dictum of the Koran—that all who fall fighting against unbelievers offer thereby a sacrifice (accepted, because completed) for the sins of a whole life, and are at once received into the highest heaven, escaping all intermediate purgatories—a peculiar blessing is supposed to rest on those who perish in "holy" warfare during the period consecrated to the memory of the venerated imaums.* Stimulating drugs were called in to heighten the excitement of the discourses addressed by the priests; and in a paroxysm of mental and physical intoxication, the unwieldy host rushed furiously against the gates of Arcot, driving before them elephants with massive iron plates on thir foreheads. The first shock of these living battering-rams was a moment of imminent peril; but the gates stood firm; and then, as in many previous instances, the huge animals, maddened by the musket-balls of the foe, became utterly ungovernable, and turning round, trampled down hundreds of those who had brought forward such dangerous auxiliaries, causing confusion throughout their whole ranks. About an hour elapsed, during which time three desperate onsets were made, and determinedly resisted; the steady fire of the garrison telling fearfully on the shrieking, yelling mass beneath. The assailants then retired beyond the partially dry moat, with the loss of about 400 men,† and requested a short truce, that they might bury their dead. The English gladly complied: they must have needed rest; for many of them being previously disabled by wounds and sickness, the labour of repulsing the foe had fallen upon eighty Europeans (officers included) and 120 sepoys; and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, had expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack, the front ranks being kept constantly supplied with loaded guns by those behind them.‡ The stipulated interval passed away; the firing recommenced, and continued from four in the afternoon until two in the morning, when it entirely ceased. The besieged passed some anxious hours; even the four or five men they had lost could be ill spared, for they expected to find the foe in full force at daybreak; instead of which they beheld the town abandoned, and joyfully took possession of several guns and a large quantity of ammunition left behind in the retreat.

The news of this extraordinary triumph was received at Madras with the utmost enthusiasm. Mohammed Ali, who now assumed the privilege once exclusively confined to the reigning emperor, of bestowing titles, called Clive—Sabut Jung (the daring in war), a well-earned designation which the young soldier bore ever after on his Persian seal, and by which he became known throughout India.

A reinforcement of 200 English soldiers and 700 sepoys joined Clive a few hours after the raising of the siege. Leaving a small garrison at Arcot, he set forth in pursuit of Reza Sahib; and having succeeded in effecting a junction with a Mahratta division, overtook the enemy by forced marches, and, after a sharp action, gained a complete victory.§ The military chest of the defeated general fell into the hands of the con-

* The other imaum (Hassan) likewise fell a victim to the machinations of the caliph Mauwiyah.—(*See* previous pages, 58—62.)

† Orme states, that but few of these were Europeans; for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance.—(i., 195.)

‡ The personal exertions of Clive were very great. Perceiving the gunners taking ineffectual aim at a body of the enemy, who were striving to cross on a raft the water which filled a portion of the ditch, he took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and, by three or four vigorous discharges, compelled the abandonment of this attempt.

§ A gallant exploit was performed on the part of the enemy by a sepoy, who, beholding a beloved commander fall in the breach, crossed the ditch and carried off the body, passing unscathed through the fire of at least forty muskets.—(Orme, i., 194.)

querors, 600 of his sepoys joined their ranks, and the governor of the neighbouring fort of Arnee consented to abandon the cause of Chunda Sahib, and recognise the title of Mohammed Ali. The great pagoda of Conjeveram, which had been seized and occupied by the French during the siege of Arcot, was regained after a slight struggle.* Towards the close of the campaign of 1752, Clive was recalled to Fort St. David. On the march he arrived at the scene of the assassination of Nazir Jung, the chosen site of a new town, projected to commemorate the successes of the French in the East. Dupleix Futtehabad (the city of the victory of Dupleix) was the name given to the place; and a stately quadrangular pillar, with inscriptions in various eastern languages, recounted the short-lived triumph of the ambitious builder. Clive and his followers destroyed the newly-raised foundations, levelled the column to the ground and went their way in triumph, amid the wondering natives, who had lately deemed the French invincible.

Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of his allies, the position of Mohammed Ali continued extremely precarious: many of the strongholds of the province were in hostile keeping; and the want of funds wherewith to pay the army, daily threatened to produce mutiny or desertion. Under these circumstances he appealed to the government of Mysore, and, by extravagant promises in the event of success, prevailed upon the regent to send supplies of money and soldiers to Trichinopoly. The Mysorean troops were 14,000 strong; the Mahrattas, under Morari Rao, numbered 6,000 more; and the Tanjore rajah, who had previously remained neutral, now sent 5,000 men to join the allies. These accessions of strength were soon followed by the arrival of Major Lawrence (then newly returned from Europe), with Clive at his right hand, accompanied by 400 Europeans, 1,100 sepoys, eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores. Preparations were immediately made to take the field. Dupleix became alarmed at the altered state of affairs. As a military commander he had never attained celebrity.† Bussy was absent in the train of Salabut Jung; the remonstrances of Chunda Sahib were unheeded; and the entire force, although the Carnatic lay open before them, took up a position in the fortified pagoda of Seringham, on an island formed by the branches of the Coleroon and Cavery. All parties suffered severely from the protracted duration of the war. The mercantile affairs of the English company were extremely distressed by the drain on their finances; and Major Lawrence, believing it to be an emergency which justified "risking the whole to gain the whole,"‡ sanctioned the daring proposal of his young subaltern—to divide their small force, and remaining himself at the head of one portion for the protection of Trichinopoly, dispatch the other, under the leadership of Clive,§ to cut off the communication between Seringham and Pondicherry. Complete success attended the measure.‖ Chunda Sahib besought M. Law, the commander of the

* While reconnoitring the pagoda over a garden wall, the companion of Clive, Lieutenant Bulkley, was shot through the head close by his side.

† A memoir, drawn up by the French E. I. Cy., in answer to one published by Dupleix, accuses him of having more than once manifested a deficiency in personal courage, and states that he accounted for the care with which he kept beyond the range of a musket-ball, by declaring that, "le bruit des armes suspendait ses réflexions, et que le calme seul convenait à son génie."—(Mill's *British India*, iii., 83.)

‡ Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 220.

§ Some difficulty arose regarding the appointment of a junior captain to so important a command; but this obstacle was removed by the express declaration of Morari Rao and the Mysoreans—that they would take no part in the expedition if dispatched under any other leader than the defender of Arcot.—(*Id.*)

‖ M. d'Auteuil was dispatched by Dupleix with supplies from Pondicherry. Owing to a double mistake on the part of Clive and d'Auteuil, the former was led to believe that the information conveyed to him regarding the French detachment was incorrect; the latter, being informed that the English commander was absent in pursuit of him, thought to take advantage of the slightly-defended British post. With this view he sent eighty Europeans and 700 sepoys. The party included—to the sad disgrace of our countrymen—forty English deserters, whose familiar speech nearly procured the success of the treacherous undertaking. The strangers, on pretence of being a reinforcement come from Major Lawrence, were suffered to pass the outworks without giving the pass-word. They proceeded quietly until they reached an adjacent pagoda and choultry (place of entertainment), where Clive lay sleeping, and there answered the challenge of the sentinels by a discharge of musketry. A ball shattered a box near the couch of Clive, and killed a servant close beside him. Springing to his feet he rushed out, and was twice wounded without being recognised. A desperate struggle ensued; the English deserters fought like wild beasts at bay. The pagoda was in possession of the French, and the attempt to regain it was broken off until cannon could be obtained. Clive advanced to the porch to offer terms: faint with loss of blood, in a stooping posture he leant on two serjeants. The leader of the deserters (an Irish man) came forward, addressed Clive in opprobrious language (apparently infuriated by some private

French forces, to make a determined effort to shake off the toils fast closing round them; but all in vain. Provisions began to fail, and men to desert; at length the personal safety of the nabob becoming in evident danger, and his constitution rapidly giving way under the combined effects of age and anxiety, attempts were made to secure his escape by intriguing with his foes. Negotiations were opened with Monajee, the commander of the Tanjore force, and a large sum of money paid to him, in return for which he swore "on his sword and dagger" to protect the unhappy noble, and convey him unharmed to the French settlement of Karical. This adjuration a Mahratta rarely violates; but Monajee did so in the present instance. His motives are variously stated. One eminent writer asserts, on native authority, that he acted as the instrument of Mohammed Ali:* Orme, that his treachery originated in the disputes which took place in the camp of the allies so soon as the arrival of Chunda Sahib became known. Fearing that his prize would be snatched away, either by the English, the Mysoreans, or the Mahrattas for their own ends, he settled the dispute by causing the object of it to be put to death. The event is still regarded by Mohammedans as a remarkable manifestation of divine vengeance; for, in the very choultry where, sixteen years before, Chunda Sahib, by a false oath, deceived the ranee of Trichinopoly, he was now cruelly murdered while lying prostrate on the ground, broken down by sickness and disappointment.† The head was sent to Trichinopoly; and Mohammed Ali, after gazing for the first time on the face of his rival, caused it to be exposed in barbarous triumph on the walls of the city. The French at Seringham ‡ capitulated immediately after the above occurrence; and the English, desirous of continuing their successful career, urged the nabob to proceed at once to Jinjee. He hesitated, procrastinated, and at length confessed that the aid of the Mysore government had been obtained by no less a bribe than a signed and sealed agreement for the cession of Trichinipoly and its dependencies. Major Lawrence was bitterly mortified at finding that the city to which, at this period, an importance far above its intrinsic value was attached, could not after all be retained by the person with whose interests those of his countrymen had become identified, except by a flagrant breach of faith which he honestly pronounced quite unjustifiable.§ The nabob would not see the matter in this light; the Mysoreans, he argued, never could expect the fulfilment of such an unreasonable stipulation, especially while the chief portion of the dominions claimed by him as governor of the Carnatic still remained to be subdued: abundant remuneration should be made for their valuable services; but, as to surrendering Trichinopoly that was out of the question; for, after all, it was not his to give, but only to hold in trust for the Great Mogul. This very convenient after-thought did not satisfy the Mysoreans. Both parties appealed to the Madras presidency, and received in return assurances of extreme good-will, and recommendations to settle the matter amicably with one another.‖ Morari Rao, the Mahratta chieftain, took a leading part in the discussion which followed, and received gifts on both sides; but it soon became evident that his impartial arbitration, if accepted, was likely to terminate after the fashion of that of the monkey in the fable,—the shells for his clients, the oyster for himself;¶ and at length, after much time spent in altercation, the

quarrel), and taking a deliberate aim, fired his musket. Clive asserts that the ball killed both his supporters, while he remained untouched. The Frenchmen disowned any share in the outrage, and surrendered; the enemy's sepoys were cut to pieces by the Mahratta allies of the English.—(*Life*, 116.)

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 284. † *Idem*, 285.

‡ Under M. Law, a nephew of the Scottish schemer.

§ Yet, from fear of the designs of Nunjeraj and Morari Rao, Major Lawrence afterwards suggested to the presidency the seizure of their persons.

‖ "We wrote to the King of Mysore that we were merchants, allies to the circar (government), not principals."—(Letter from Madras, Nov., 1752.) The Presidency found it as convenient to disavow the semblance, while grasping the reality, of power, as did the nabob to profess fealty to the emperor: at the same time it must be remembered, they were wholly ignorant of the pledge given by their ally.

¶ After the capture of Trichinopoly, in 1741, by the Mahrattas, it remained under the charge of Morari Rao, until its surrender to the nizam, in 1743. Morari Rao, a few years later, managed to establish himself in the Bala Ghaut district of Gooty, and became the leader of a band of mercenaries. By careful training and scrupulous exactitude in the stated division of plunder, these men were maintained in perfect order; and from having frequently encountered European troops, could be relied on even to withstand the steady fire of artillery. Morari Rao and his Mahrattas were, consequently, very important auxiliaries, for whose services the English and French outbid one another. Wilks remarks, they were best characterised by the Persian compound, *Muft-Khoor* (eating at other people's expense): in the present case they were acting as subsidiaries to the Mysore force, in the immediate pay of Nunjeraj.—(*Mysore*, i., 252.)

nabob, glad of any pretext for gaining time, promised to deliver up the fort in two months. Nunjeraj (the Mysore general) seemingly assented to this arrangement; but so soon as Mohammed Ali and Major Lawrence had marched off towards Jinjee, he commenced intriguing with the English garrison for the surrender of the place. The attempt afforded the nabob a flimsy pretext for avowing his determination to retain possession. The result was an open breach with the Mysoreans and Mahrattas. Dupleix, aided as before by the knowledge and influence of his wife, entered into communication with the offended leaders, and exerted every effort to form a powerful confederacy against Mohammed Ali and his supporters. The chief obstacle to his scheme arose from a deficiency of funds and European troops. The French company were much poorer than the English body; and their territorial revenues formed the only available resource for the support of the force at Pondicherry, and that maintained by Bussy at Hyderabad: little surplus remained for the costly operations planned by Dupleix; but he supplied all deficiencies by expending his own princely fortune in the cause. The want of trustworthy soldiers was a more irremediable defect. The officers sent to India were, for the most part, mere boys, whose bravery could not compensate for their utter ignorance of their profession; the men were the very refuse of the population.*

The attempt made by Major Lawrence upon Jinjee failed; but the English campaign of 1752 terminated favourably, with a victory gained near Bahoor, two miles from Fort St. David, and the capture of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput.† These last exploits were performed by Clive, who then returned to England for his health, carrying with him a young bride, an independent fortune, and a brilliant military reputation.‡

Early in January, 1753, the rival armies again took the field. No decisive action occurred; but in May, Trichinopoly was again attacked, and continued, for more than a twelvemonth, the scene of active hostility. The assailants had not sufficient superiority to overpower or starve out the garrison, nor could the English compel them to raise the siege. The introduction or interception of supplies engaged the unwearied attention of both parties, and many severe conflicts occurred, without any decisive advantage being gained by either.

Meantime the mercantile associations in Europe, and especially in France, grew beyond measure impatient at the prolongation of hostilities. Dupleix, foreseeing the unbounded concessions into which the desire for peace would hurry his employers, himself opened a negotiation with the Madras government, where Mr. Saunders, an able and cautious man, presided. The deputies met at the neutral Dutch settlement of Sadras.§ The question at issue—whether Mohammed Ali should or should not be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, after being for four years contested with the sword—was now to be weighed in the balance

* Addressing the French minister, in 1753, Dupleix described the recruits sent him as "enfans, décroteurs et bandits" * * * "un ramassis de la plus vile canaille;" and he complained bitterly that, with the exception of Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.—(Mill, edited by Wilson, iii., 130.)

† The English forces, under Lawrence, were for the most part of a very efficient description; but the only detachment which could be spared on this occasion consisted of 200 recruits, styled by Macaulay "the worst and lowest wretches that the company's crimps could pick up in the flash houses of London," together with 500 sepoys just levied. So utterly undisciplined were the new-made soldiers, that on attacking Covelong, the death of one of them by a shot from the fort was followed by the immediate flight of his companions. On another occasion a sentinel was found, some hours after an engagement, out of harm's way at the bottom of a well. Clive, nevertheless, succeeded in inspiring these unpromising auxiliaries with something of his own spirit; the sepoys seconded him to the utmost. Covelong fell; a detachment sent to its relief was surprised by an ambuscade, 100 of the enemy were killed by one fire, 300 taken prisoners, and the remainder pursued to the gates of Chingleput. The fortress was besieged and a breach made, upon which the French commandant capitulated and retired with the garrison.

‡ Clive married the sister of Maskelyne, the eminent mathematician, who long held the office of Astronomer Royal. The amount of the fortune, acquired as prize-money, during the few years which had elapsed since he arrived in Madras a penniless youth, does not appear; but it is certain that he had sufficient to reclaim, in his own name, the family estate, and to extricate his father from pecuniary embarrassment, beside what he lavished in an extravagant mode of life. Dress, equipages, and more than all, a contested election, followed by a petition, left Clive, at the expiration of two years, the choice between a very limited income or a return to India. He took the latter course. The E. I. Cy., on his arrival in England, had shown their sense of his brilliant exploits by the gift of a sword set with diamonds—a mark of honour which, through his interference, was extended to his early patron and stanch friend, Major Lawrence; and when Clive's brief holiday was over, they gladly welcomed him back to their service, and procured for him the rank of lieut.-col. in the British army.—(*Life*, i., 131.)

§ Forty-two miles south of Madras.

of justice. Dupleix, as the delegate of the nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, claimed the right of appointment, which he had at different times attempted to bestow upon Reza Sahib and Murtezza Ali (of Vellore); the English continued to plead the cause of the candidate they had from the first steadily supported: and both the one and the other, in the absence of any more plausible pretext, reverted to the stale plea of imperial authority. Patents and grants were produced or talked of, which were respectively declared by the opposing parties forgeries and mere pretences. After eleven days' discussion, the proceedings broke off with mutual crimination. Dupleix was censured (doubtless, with sufficient cause) as haughty and overbearing: no arrangement, it was asserted, would ever result from discussions in which he was allowed to take part. The French ministry were glad to free themselves of any portion of the blame attached to the ill success which had attended the arms of the nation in the late contest, and to hold the company and its servants responsible for all failures. The bold and warlike policy of Dupleix had been deemed meritorious while successful: his brilliant and gainful exploits were, at one time, the theme of popular applause; but now, while struggling with unflagging energy against the tide of misfortune, his unbounded ambition and overweening self-conceit overlooked in prosperity, outweighed the remembrance of zeal, experience, and fidelity in the minds of the French Directory, and in August, 1754, a new governor-general, M. Godheu, arrived at Pondicherry, with authority to conclude a peace.* The English were permitted to retain the services of Mr. Saunders and others, well versed in local affairs, instead of being compelled to trust to commissioners newly arrived from Europe. The decision arrived at, though apparently equally fair for both sides, involved, on the part of the French, the sacrifice of all they had been fighting for. One clause of the treaty enacted, that all interference in the quarrels of native princes should be relinquished; and thus tacitly recognised Mohammed Ali as nabob of the Carnatic; another proviso† based the territorial arrangements of the two nations on the principle of equality, and if fulfilled, would entail the resignation of the valuable provinces called the Northern Circars,‡ lately bestowed on Bussy by Salabut Jung. This prince, it is true, was left subahdar of the Deccan, but the English had never attempted to oppose him. Indeed, the sudden death (attributed to poison),§ of Ghazi-oodeen, the eldest son of the old nizam, when approaching at the head of a large army to dispute the pretensions of his brother, had left Salabut Jung in the position of lineal heir, now that the Deccani viceroyalty, like that of Bengal, had come to be looked upon as an hereditary principality.

The treaty was infringed as soon as made. The English proceeded to reduce to obedience to their nabob the districts of Madura and Tinnivelly. The French, under Bussy, retained the circars, and continued to support Salabut Jung. In so doing, they unwillingly contributed to relieve Mohammed Ali from one of his great difficulties—the blockade of Trichinopoly by the Mysoreans.

Nunjeraj, justly repudiating the right of the French to make peace on his behalf, persisted in endeavouring to get possession of the fort, until the rumoured approach of a body of Mahrattas to levy contributions on the Mysore frontier, and the simultaneous advance of Salabut Jung to demand tribute in the name of the Mogul, induced him suddenly to march homewards, to the infi-

* Dupleix immediately returned to France. His accounts with the French company showed a disbursement of nearly £400,000 beyond what he had received during the war. This claim was wholly set aside, upon the plea that expenses had been incurred without sufficient authority. He commenced a law-suit against the company for the recovery of monies spent in its behalf; but the royal authority was exercised to put a summary stop to these proceedings; and all the concession made to Dupleix was the grant of letters of protection against the prosecution of his creditors—which was nothing better than atoning for one injustice by committing another. The career of the proud governor—who had compelled his own countrymen to kneel before him, had threatened to reduce Madras to a mere fishing village, and of whom it had been boasted that his name was mentioned with fear even in the palace of ancient Delhi—terminated sadly enough in disputing over the wreck of his fortune, and soliciting audiences in the ante-chamber of his judges. Such at least is the account given by Voltaire, who adds emphatically, "Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin."—(*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xxxix.)

† "The two companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country."—(First article of Treaty, signed December, 1754.)

‡ Namely, Mustaphabad, Ellore, Rajahmundri, and Chicacole (anciently Calinga): these additions made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles.

§ Prepared by the mother of Nizam Ali.

Before quitting the intricate proceedings on the Coromandel coast, narrated in the foregoing pages, the reader may wish to glance over the annexed summary of the leading events in the south of India. Though chiefly a chronological recapitulation of facts already stated, it likewise anticipates some yet to be described. Having felt the want of "a chart" to illustrate the several territories and dynasties, I subjoin it as an assistance to others in the same position:—

STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA CONNECTED WITH ENGLISH AND FRENCH CONTESTS IN THE CARNATIC IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

Name . . .	DECCAN.	MAHRATTA.	CARNATIC.	MYSORE.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Capital . .	HYDERABAD.	SATTARA AND POONA.	ARCOT.	SERINGAPATAM.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Dynasty . .	*Mohammedan.*	*Hindoo*	*Mohammedan.*	*Hindoo and Mohamd.*	*Hindoo.*	*Hindoo.*	*Hindoo and Mohamd.*
Origin of state; founders or usurpers; successive rulers; and present political authority.	Nizam-ool-Moolk, or *Asuf Jah*, vizier of the emperor Mohammed, and subahdar, or viceroy of the Deccan. In 1717 he assumed sovereignty over the remnant of the Mogul conquests in the south of India; died in 1748. Succession disputed: eldest son, *Ghazi-oo-deen*, supported by Mahrattas; poisoned by mother of his half-brother. *Nazir Jung*, second son, supported by English. *Moozuffer Jung* a grandson, supported by French; assassinated by Patans. *Salabut Jung*, another brother, substituted, but dethroned in turn by *Nizam Ali*, in 1761; who, in 1766, became by treaty an ally of, and had his territories protected by, the E. I. Cy., in return for the cession of the Northern Circars. In 1798, the French force at Hyderabad was entirely removed, in compliance with a treaty arranged by Lord Wellesley.	*Sevajee*, son of Shahjee, grandson of Maloojee, who had a jaghire at Poona, consolidated the Mahrattas by conquests from Aurungzebe, kings of Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, and others: died in 1680. *Sumbajee*, his son and successor, put to death by Aurungzebe: grandson, *Shao*, became a puppet in the hands of his minister the Peishwa, *Bajee Rao*, whose eldest son and successor, *Ballajee Bajee Rao*, obtained from Shao a transfer of real power, and became, in 1749, head of the Mahratta confederacy. Ballajee Bajee died in 1761. *Madhoo*, second son, a minor, succeeded with his uncle *Ragoba* as regent. Madhoo died in 1772: brother, Narrain, succeeded; murdered; Ragoba (Rugonath Rao) proclaimed peishwa. Territory now British.	*Saadut Oollah*, in 1706, appointed by the Mogul nabob or governor; died 1732—no male issue: nephew, *Dost Ali*, succeeded; defeated and slain by Mahrattas, 1740. *Sufder Ali*, his son and successor, assassinated: infant heir proclaimed nabob; stabbed by Patan soldiers. *Anwar-oo-deen*, proclaimed nabob by the nizam, in 1743; was slain in battle, in 1749; his son, *Mohammed Ali*, after various contests with Chunda Sahib and the French, remained in possession of that portion of the Carnatic recovered by British arms. In 1783, the English had to reconquer the Carnatic from Hyder Ali, the sultan of Mysore. Before the close of the century, the whole authority passed into the hands of the E. I. Cy., and the nabob became a state pensioner.	*Arbiral*, the first recorded rajah, in 1507; in 1610, Seringapatam acquired, and other territories subsequently added. In 1714, *Nunjeraj* and another minister became the depositories of power, and the rajah a mere cipher. They were put down, and the throne usurped, in 1769, by a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, *Hyder Ali*, who ravaged the Carnatic by the aid of the French to the gates of Madras: died in 1782, and was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who carried on three wars against the British, and was slain at the capture of Seringapatam by the Marquess Wellesley, in 1799, when the Hindoo rajah was restored as a stipendiary of the E. I. Cy. The Mysore territory has since been governed by British officers in the name of the rajah.	Occupied by *Vencajee*, a Mahratta chief, half-brother to Sevajee, in 1678. This state formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Madura. There was a lineal descent from Vencajee continued till the reign of *Toolja-jee*, son and successor of *Pertab Sing*, in 1772; the fort was then captured by the British on behalf of Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, who claimed tribute, —restored to the rajah in 1781, he becoming a subsidiary to the E. I. Cy. In 1799, Rajah Serfojee surrendered the country to the British, on whom he became a pensioner, with an income of £35,000 *per. an.* Serfojee died in 1832, and was succeeded by his only son, Sevajee, the present stipendiary. Tranquebar, in Tanjore, purchased by English from Danes in 1845.	Part of ancient Malabar, and a gynecocracy for many ages; until Martanden Wurmah persuaded the princesses to resign the future sovereignty to the male line. Between 1740 and 1755, Martanden subdued many petty neighbouring states. In 1784, it was included in a treaty between the E. I. Cy. and Mysore. In 1789 the state was devastated by Tippoo Sultan, and in 1799 the rajah agreed by treaty to pay an annual subsidy for the maintenance of a British force in his dominions; in 1805 another and more stringent treaty was formed; in 1808 and in 1812, insurrections against British authority were suppressed; in 1832 rajah entrusted with the maintenance of internal peace; political control retained by the British government.	A Hindoo principality. In 1732 the rajah died without issue; one of his wives continued to reign until 1736, when *Chunda Sahib*, the ally of the French in the Carnatic, obtained possession by treachery; seized from him by the Mahrattas in 1741. The nizam gained possession in 1743, and delegated the government to Anwar-oo-deen; on his death, in 1749, the territory devolved on his second son, Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. The fort was besieged by the French and their allies from 1751 to 1755, and defended by the English Upon the transfer of the dominion of the Carnatic to the English E. I. Cy., Trichinopoly was incorporated with the Anglo-Indian empire.

nite relief of the nabob. While the treaty was pending, a British squadron with reinforcements had been sent to India, under Admiral Watson, and the decided superiority thus given to the English probably accelerated the arrangement of affairs. Their services were now employed in the suppression of the systematic piracy carried on by the Angria family for nearly fifty years on the Malabar coast. The peishwa, or chief minister of the Mahratta state, viewed them in the light of rebellious subjects, and united with the English for their suppression. Early in 1755, the fort of Severndroog, and the island of Bancoot, were taken by Commodore James; and in the following year, Watson, in co-operation with Clive (then just returned from England with the appointment of governor of Fort St. David), captured Gheria, the principal harbour and stronghold of the pirates. The English and Mahrattas both coveted this position: the tactics of the former proved successful. Booty to the amount of £150,000 sterling was obtained, and its distribution occasioned disputes of a very discreditable character between the sea and land services. The partial biographer of Clive endeavours to set forth his hero on this, as on other occasions, as generous and disinterested; but few unprejudiced readers will be inclined to acquit him of fully sharing, what Sir John Malcolm himself describes as "that spirit of plunder, and that passion for the rapid accumulation of wealth, which actuated all ranks."—(i. 135.)

The scene of Anglo-Indian politics is about to change; the hostilities on the Coromandel coast serving but as the prelude to the more important political transactions of which the Calcutta presidency became the centre.

War of Bengal. — Ali Verdi Khan, subahdar or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, died in 1756. Though in name a delegate of the Mogul emperor, he had long been virtually independent, and his power recognised as hereditary. In the absence of any nearer relative, this important government devolved on his grandson, Mirza Mahmood, a prince better known by his title of Surajah Dowlah. Ali Verdi had no sons: his three daughters married their cousins; and this youth, the offspring of one of these alliances, from his cradle remarkable for extraordinary beauty, became the object of excessive fondness on the part of his grandfather. Unrestrained indulgence took the place of careful training, and deepened the defects of a feeble intellect and a capricious disposition. To the vices incident to the enervating atmosphere of a seraglio, he is said to have added a tendency for society of the most degrading character; and as few of the courtiers chose to risk the displeasure of their future lord, with little chance of any effectual interference on the part of their present ruler, Surajah Dowlah was suffered to carry on a career of which even the annals of eastern despotism afford few examples. A Mohammedan writer emphatically declares, that "he carried defilement wherever he went,"* and became so generally detested, that people, on meeting him by chance, used to say, "God save us from him!"† The accession to irresponsible power of a youth of this character, could not fail to inspire a general feeling of apprehension. The English had special cause for alarm, inasmuch as the new ruler entertained strong prejudices in their disfavour. Some authorities state that Ali Verdi Khan, shortly before his death, had advised his destined successor to put down the growing military power of this nation; more probably he had urged the pursuance of his own gainful and conciliatory policy of exacting, at different times and occasions, certain contributions from all European settlements under his sway, taking care, at the same time, not to drive them into a coalition against his authority, or by any exorbitant demand to injure his permanent revenues by rendering their commerce unremunerative. Policy of this character was far beyond the comprehension of Surajah Dowlah. The plodding traders of Calcutta were, in his eyes, not as in reality agents and factors of a far distant association, but men of enormous private wealth, like the Hindoo soucars or bankers, whom one of his countrymen declared resembled sponges, which gathered all that came in their way, but returned all at the first pressure.‡ This pressure the English were now to receive: a pretext was easily found. The impending outbreak of European war would, it was evident, lead

* *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 646.

† The son of Mohammed Ali made this remark as a reason for employing Hindoo officials in preference to his fellow-believers, whom, he asserted, were like sieves—"much of what was poured in, went through."—(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 222.)

‡ The *one* wife of Ali Verdi Khan steadily befriended the English.—(Holwell's *Historical Events*, p. 176.)

to hostilities in India: they had, therefore, begun to take measures for the defence of the presidency. Surajah Dowlah, with whom a previous misunderstanding had occurred,* sent them an imperative order to desist, and received in return a deprecatory message, urging the necessity of taking measures against French invasion. The subahdar, remembering the neutrality enforced by his grandfather, deemed the excuse worse than the fault; and, although actually on the march against a rebellious relative, he abandoned this object, and advanced immediately to the factory at Cossimbazar, which at once surrendered, the few Europeans there having no means of offering any resistance. The tidings were received at Calcutta with dismay. The defensive proceedings, which had attracted the attention of the subahdar, must have been very partial; for the works, stores of ammunition, and artillery were all utterly insufficient to sustain a protracted siege. The garrison comprised 264 men, and the militia, formed of European and native inhabitants, 250;† but their training had been so little attended to, that when called out, scarcely any among them "knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets."‡ Assistance was entreated from the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Chinsura, but positively refused; and, in the urgent necessity of the case, the probability of impending warfare with the French did not deter the presidency from appealing to them for aid. The reply was an insolent intimation that it should be granted if the English would quit Calcutta, and remove their garrison and effects to Chandernagore; that is, put themselves completely into the power of their patronising protectors. The last resource —an endeavour to purchase immunity from Surajah Dowlah—failed, and an attempt at resistance followed. The military officers on the spot, of whom none ranked higher than a captain, were notoriously incompetent to direct a difficult defence; the civil authorities had neither energy nor presence of mind to counterbalance the deficiencies of their colleagues. To abandon the fort and retreat to shipboard was the common opinion; and, under the circumstances, no dishonour would have attended such a course, if judiciously carried out. But the thunder of the enemy without the walls, was less inimical to the safety of the inhabitants than the confusion, riot, and insubordination within, which, in the words of a modern historian, "made the closing scene of the siege one of the most disgraceful in which Englishmen were ever engaged."§ The intention of a general escape was frustrated by the miserable selfishness of those on whom it devolved to make arrangements for the safety of the whole. The men sent off with the women and children refused to return; and soon after the governor and commandant, with a select body of cowards, seized the last boats which remained at the wharf, and joined the ships which, partaking of the general panic, had dropped down the river. The inhabitants, thus abandoned to the power of a despot whose naturally cruel temper they believed to be inflamed by a peculiar hatred towards themselves, elected Mr. Holwell (a member of council) as their leader, and for two days continued the defence of the place, in the hope that some of the ships would return to their stations and answer the repeated calls for aid made by means of fiery signals thrown up from all parts of the town. These were indeed little needed, for the continued firing of the enemy proclaimed aloud their increasing danger. Orme, who has minutely examined the details of this discreditable business, declares, that "a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all" those who remained to suffer a strange and terrible doom. No stronger illustration can be found of the manner in which selfishness and the greed of gain corrupt and extinguish the gentler instincts of humanity, and deprive men even of physical courage, than this affair.

Mr. Holwell strove, by throwing letters over the wall, to obtain terms of capitulation; but in vain. An assault, in which ninety-five of the garrison were killed or

* An uncle of Surajah Dowlah died governor of Dacca. His hopeful nephew at once resolved on plundering the widowed begum, or princess his aunt, with whom he had long been at open variance, of the enormous fortune she was supposed to have inherited, and sent orders for the imprisonment of the receivers and treasurers of the province: one of these—a Hindoo, named Kishendass, supposed to have accumulated great wealth—escaped to Calcutta. The subahdar sent to demand the fugitive; but the messenger entering the town in a sort of disguise, was treated by the president as an impostor, and dismissed with insult from the company's territory.

† Making 540 men, 174 being Europeans.

‡ Holwell's *India Tracts*, 302.

§ Thornton's *British India*, i., 190.

wounded, was followed by direct insubordination on the part of the remainder of the common soldiers. They broke open the stores, and, all sense of duty lost in intoxication, rushed out of one gate of the fort, intending to escape to the river, just as the enemy entered by another. The inhabitants surrendered their arms, and the victors refrained from bloodshed. The subahdar, notwithstanding his character for inhumanity, showed no signs of it on this occasion, but took his seat in the chief apartment of the factory, and received the grandiloquent addresses of his officers and attendants with extreme elation; all angry feelings being merged in the emotions of gratified vanity at the victory thus absurdly overrated. The smallness of the sum found in the treasury (50,000 rupees) was a great disappointment; but when Mr. Holwell was carried into his presence with fettered hands, they were immediately set free; and notwithstanding some expressions of resentment at the English for the defence of the fort, he declared, upon the faith of a soldier, not a hair of their heads should be touched. The conference terminated about seven in the evening. Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in captivity, and the question arose how they were to be secured for the night. No suitable place could be found; and while the guards were searching about, the prisoners, relieved from fear by the unexpected gentleness of Surajah Dowlah, stood in groups, conversing together, utterly unsuspicious of their impending doom. The chief officer returned and announced that the only place of security he could find was the garrison prison. At this time (before the philanthropic labours of Howard) gaols, even in England, were loathsome dens; that of Calcutta was a chamber, eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, lit and ventilated by two small windows, secured by iron bars, and overhung by a verandah. Even for a dozen European malefactors this dungeon would have been insufferably close and narrow. The prisoners of the subahdar numbered 146 persons, including many English, whose constitutions could scarcely sustain the fierce heat of Bengal in this the summer season, even with the aid of every mitigation that art could invent or money purchase. They derided the idea of being shut up in the "Black Hole," as manifestly impossible. But the guards, hardened to the sight of suffering, and habitually careless of life, forced them all (including a half-cast woman, who clung to her husband) into the cell at the point of the sword, and fastened the door upon the helpless crowd. Holwell strove, by bribes and entreaties, to persuade an old man of some authority among the guards, to procure their separation into two places. He made some attempts, but returned, declaring that the subahdar slept, and none dared disturb him to request the permission, without which no change could be made in the disposition of the prisoners. The scene which ensued perhaps admits of but one comparison in horror—that one is the hold of a slave-ship. Some few individuals retained consciousness; and after hours of agony, surrounded by sights and sounds of the most appalling description, rendered up their souls tranquilly to their Creator and Redeemer, satisfied (we may hope), even under so trying a dispensation, that the dealings of Providence, though often inscrutable, are ever wise and merciful. Man, alas! often evinces little of either quality to his fellow-beings; and in this instance, while the captives, maddened by the double torment of heat and thirst, fought with each other like furious beasts to approach the windows, or to obtain a share in the pittance of water procured through the intervention of the one compassionate soldier, the other guards held lights to the iron bars, and shouted with fiendish laughter at the death-struggles of their victims.* Towards daybreak the tumult began to diminish; shrieks and groans gave place to a low fitful moaning; a sickly, pestilential vapour told the reason—the majority had perished: corruption had commenced; the few who remained were sinking fast. The fatal sleep of Surajah Dowlah at length ceased; the door was opened by his orders; the dead were piled up in heaps; and twenty-three ghastly figures (including the now widowed woman before mentioned) staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was immediately dug, into which the bodies of the murdered men, 123 in number, were promiscuously flung.

No shadow of regret seems to have been evinced by the subahdar for this horrible catastrophe.† The first flush of exultation had passed away, and feelings of pecuniary

* The detachment on guard had lost many men in the siege, and the survivors were merciless.

† Mr. Holwell and Mr. Cooke, another of the sufferers, gave a painfully interesting account of the whole catastrophe before a committee of the House of Commons.—(*Parl. Papers*, E. I. Cy., 1772.)

disappointment were now uppermost. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried into his presence, with some companions, and harshly interrogated regarding the treasures of the company. No satisfactory answer being obtained, they were all lodged in miserable sheds, fed on grain and water, and left to pass as they might the crisis of the fever, in which several who lived through the night of the 20th June, 1756, perished. The release of the survivors was eventually procured by the intercession of the grandmother of the prince,* and a merchant named Omichund.

A Moorish garrison of 3,000 men was placed in Fort William, and with reckless impiety the name of Calcutta changed to that of Alinagore (the port of God.) Surajah Dowlah then exacted from the Dutch a tribute of £45,000, and £35,000 from the French; better terms being accorded to the latter, in consideration of their having furnished 200 chests of gunpowder to the army while on their march to Calcutta.

Tidings of the fall of the settlement and the catastrophe of the Black Hole reached Madras in August, and were received with a general cry for vengeance. Even at such a time the old jealousies between the land and sea forces interposed to prevent immediate action, and two months were spent in discussing how the command was to be divided, and in what manner prizes were to be distributed. At the expiration of that time, Clive and Watson sailed from Madras with ten ships, having on board 900 European troops and 1,500 sepoys. The fugitives from Calcutta were found at Fulta, a town some distance down the Ganges, and offensive operations were commenced by the attack of a fort called Budge-Budge, situated on the river banks between the places above named. An unaccountable piece of carelessness on the part of Clive nearly occasioned the failure of the enterprise. While the ships cannonaded the fort, a number of the troops were to lay wait for the garrison, who it was expected, would abandon the place; instead of which the ambuscade was itself surprised by a body of the enemy while resting on the march, having neglected even the common precaution of stationing sentinels to keep guard in the broad daylight. The presence of mind of Clive, aided probably by his reputation for good fortune, enabled him to rally the soldiers with rapidity, and advance with steadiness and success against the irregular ranks of two or three thousand horse and foot who had stealthily approached amid the thick jungle. Monichund, governor of Calcutta, led the attack, and on receiving a ball in his turban, this commander, having "no courage, but much circumspection,"† turned his elephant, and decamped with his entire force. The fort was cannonaded by the ship (the *Kent*) which first reached the spot, and a general attack projected for the next morning, but prevented by the silent evacuation of the place.‡ The other posts on the Ganges were abandoned at the approach of the English, and Calcutta itself recaptured, after a siege of two hours. The merchandise belonging to the company remained, for the most part, untouched, having been reserved for Surajah Dowlah; but the houses of individuals had been totally plundered. Hooghly was next attacked, and a breach easily effected; the troops mounted the rampart, and the garrison took to flight, leaving in the place a large amount of property.

Intelligence of the renewal of hostilities between England and France, reached the armament at this period. The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans and a train of field-artillery. Their union with Surajah Dowlah would give him an overpowering degree of superiority; it was therefore manifestly politic to take immediate advantage of the desire for an accommodation with which the issue of the contest had inspired him.

In February, 1757, a treaty was formed, by which the subahdar—or, as he is commonly called, the nabob—consented to restore to the English their former privileges; to make compensation for the plunder of

* The widow of Ali Verdi Khan, before mentioned.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 123. The total loss of the English in this affair does not appear. Orme mentions thirteen men killed. Clive, in a private letter to Mr. Pigot, remarks, that "our loss in the skirmish near Budge-Budge was greater than could well be spared if such skirmishes were to be often repeated."—(*Life*, i., 153.)

‡ The attack was deferred on account of the fatigue of the troops. A body of 250 sailors were landed in the evening, and refreshed themselves by becoming extremely drunk. One of them, about dusk, straggled across the moat, scrambled up the rampart, and, meeting with no opposition in the deserted citadel, hallooed loudly to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the place. Sepoys were stationed round the walls. Others of the intoxicated sailors coming up to share the triumph of their comrade, mistook the sentinels for foes, and fired their pistols. In the confusion an officer was killed. The seamen, on returning to their ships, were flogged for misconduct: the man who had discovered the flight of the garrison did not escape; upon which he swore in great wrath never to take a fort again.

Calcutta; and to permit the erection of fortifications. This arrangement was speedily followed by an alliance, offensive and defensive, eagerly ratified by both parties. The peace which followed was of short duration. The English impatiently desired to retaliate on the French their late conduct; and demanded the consent, if not the co-operation of their new ally, which he long refused, declaring with truth, that having no cause of enmity to either party, it was alike a point of duty and interest to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Beneath this ostensible reason, another existed in his desire to preserve terms with the French in the event of a rupture with the English. The invasion and capture of Delhi by Ahmed Shah Abdalli, and the fear of an advance upon Bengal, for a time banished all other schemes. The nabob clung to his European allies as an efficient defence; but a restless inquietude nevertheless possessed him; for the ability to protect was accompanied by an equal power of destruction. At length, the peremptory demand and threats of Watson and Clive, backed by the arrival of reinforcements, with well-directed bribes to underlings, extorted from him a reluctant permission to "act according to the time and occasion."* This oracular phrase was considered to imply consent to the attack of Chandernagore, which was immediately proceeded with, notwithstanding subsequent direct and repeated prohibitions.

The French conducted the defence with gallantry; but the combined force of the land and sea divisions proved irresistible. Admiral Watson evinced extraordinary seamanship in bringing two of his vessels (the *Kent* and *Tiger*) abreast the fort; and after three hours' firing the besieged capitulated. Chandernagore, like Calcutta, comprised a European and native town with a fort, and stretched over territory which, commencing at the southern limits of the Dutch settlement of Chinsura, extended two miles along the banks of the river, and about one-and-a-half inland. Clive was delighted at the conquest, considering it of more consequence than would have been that of Pondicherry itself,† which he hoped would follow. To "induce the nabob to give up all the French factories," and "drive them out, root and branch,"‡—this and nothing less was now attempted. But Surajah Dowlah was never less inclined to so impolitic a procedure, than after the taking of Chandernagore. The exploits of the ships of war had filled him with consternation: it is even asserted that he had been made to believe they could be brought up the Ganges close to his own capital—an operation which he immediately took measures to prevent, by causing the mouth of the Cossimbazar river to be dammed up.§ The idea of counterbalancing the power of the English by that of the French, was a natural and judicious one; but he had neither judgment nor self-reliance for its execution. Old in dissipation, he was young in years and in all useful experience. Vicious habits,‖ and an ungovernable tongue, had alienated from him the affections of the chosen friends and servants of his grandfather; and they viewed with disgust the contrast afforded to the provident habits and courteous bearing of their late ruler by his profligate successor. Scarcely one voice appears to have been raised up to warn the unhappy youth of the growing disaffection of his subjects. The haughty Mussulman nobles were incensed by his insulting demeanour; and the Hindoos had still stronger grounds for estrangement. Under all Mohammedan governments, the financial departments were almost solely entrusted to this thrifty and calculating race. The Brahminical and mercantile classes were treated with that solid respect, which those who wield the sword usually pay to those who keep the purse. By unwearied application and extreme personal frugality, the seits or soucars frequently accumulated immense wealth, which they well knew how to employ, both for purposes of augmentation and for the establishment of political influence. Their rulers lavished enormous sums on wars and pageants; and though sometimes violent means were used to obtain stores of hidden wealth, the more frequent course adopted by princes to raise supplies was through orders on the revenue, in the negotiation of which the bankers contrived to make a double profit. Ali Verdi Khan had understood the value of these auxiliaries, and the importance of conciliating their confidence. Under his sway Hindoos filled

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 140.

† Clive describes Chandernagore as "a most magnificent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than 500 Europeans and blacks, all carrying arms: 360 are prisoners, and nearly 100 have been suffered to give their parole, consisting of civil, military, and inhabitants. Nearly sixty white ladies are rendered miserable by the loss of this place."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 196.)

‡ *Idem.*, p. 196.

§ Parker's *Transactions in the East Indies*, 57.

‖ He threatened Juggut Seit with circumcision, the worst insult that could be offered to a Hindoo.

the highest offices of the state. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, and Rajah Ram of Midnapoor, were the chief of the managers and renters. Roydullub, the dewan or minister of finance, was likewise a person of great influence—the more so from his intimate connection with Juggut Seit, the representative of the wealthiest soucar, or banking firm in India. This last, by means of his extended transactions, possessed equal influence at Lucknow,* Delhi, and at Moorshedabad. Most of these persons, with the addition of Monichund, the temporary governor of Calcutta, Surajah Dowlah had offended in different ways;† and he especially resented the sense evinced by the Hindoos generally of the rising power of the English. The result was a determination to subvert his government. The chief conspirator was the bukshee, or military commander of the army, Meer Jaffier Khan, a soldier of fortune, promoted by Ali Verdi to the highest military rank, and further exalted by a marriage with a member of the reigning family. Omichund, a wealthy Hindoo merchant, long resident in Calcutta, and intimately associated by commercial dealings with the E. I. Cy., became the medium of conveying to the English overtures to join the plot. Clive at once advocated compliance, on the ground that sufficient evidence existed of the intention of the nabob to join with the French for their destruction. It certainly appears that a correspondence was actually being carried on with Bussy, but to little effect, since the precarious state of politics at the court of Salabut Jung rendered his continuance there of the first importance. Still Clive argued that the conduct of the nabob sufficed to release his countrymen from their solemn pledge, and justified them in entering into a plot with the treacherous ministers; and his strong will weighed down the opposition offered in discussing the question by a committee of the Calcutta presidency ‡ To oppose the vacillating, cowardly intrigues of Surajah Dowlah with fraud and perjury, was decided to be a more promising course than to remain in the narrow path of honest dealing. Meer Jaffier promised, in the event of success, large donations to the company, the army, navy, and committee. Clive declared Surajah Dowlah to be "a villain," and Meer Jaffier "a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 263.)

The conduct of the chief person on this occasion, strongly supports the much-criticised opinion of Mill—that deception never cost him a pang. Vague rumours of the plot reached the nabob; and Clive, to dispel his suspicions, wrote to him "in terms so affectionate, that they for a time lulled the weak prince into perfect security."‡ The courier conveyed a second missive of the same date, from the same hand, addressed to Mr. Watts, the British resident at Moorshedabad —in which, after referring to the "soothing letter"§ above alluded to, Clive adds, "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing; that I will join him with 5,000 men who never turned their backs; and that if he fails seizing him, we shall be strong enough to drive him out of the country. Assure him I will march night and day, as long as I have a man left."‖ The protestations of Clive gained force in the mind of the deluded nabob, through a circumstance which occurred at this period. The Mahrattas, who had long been encroaching on the fertile provinces of Bengal, thought the unpopularity and known inefficiency of its present ruler afforded a favourable opportunity for an attempt at its complete subjugation. The capture of Cossimbazar and Calcutta would, the peishwa Ballajee Bajee Rao conceived, render the English willing to enter into a coalition against the nabob, and the co-operation of the troops in the invasion of Bengal was solicited; the compensation offered being the repayment of double the amount of the losses sustained from Surajah Dowlah, and the vesting of the commerce of the Ganges exclusively in the E. I. Cy. Some doubt was entertained as to the authenticity of this communication. It was even surmised to have been a trick on the part of Surajah Dowlah; and as the assistance of the Mahrattas was by no means desirable

* The capital of the viceroy of Oude.

† The copy of a letter found at Moorshedabad, after the fatal battle of Plassey, addressed by the nabob to Bussy, contains allusions to the seizure of Chandernagore, and offered co-operation against "these disturbers of my country, Dileer Jung Bahadur, the *valiant in battle* (Watson), and Sabut Jung (Clive), whom bad fortune attend!"

‡ *Vide* Stewart's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 498; and the translation of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, published at Calcutta in 1789.—(i., 758-'9.)

§ The words of Macaulay, one of Mill's censurers.

‖ The following is an extract from one of Admiral Watson's letters to the nabob:—"Let us take Chandernagore," he writes, "and secure ourselves from any apprehensions in that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Delhi, if you will. Have we sworn reciprocally that the friends and enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? and will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us if we do not fulfil our oaths?"—(Parker's *East Indies*, p. 78.)

in the scheme already set on foot, the letter was at once forwarded to the nabob as affording, in either case, evidence of the good faith of his allies. It proved to be authentic; and all the effect expected resulted from its transmission. But the execution of a plan in which many jarring interests were concerned, necessarily involved numerous dangers. At one moment a violent quarrel between the nabob and Meer Jaffier threatened to occasion a premature disclosure of the whole plot. This danger was averted by a reconciliation, in which that "estimable person," Meer Jaffier, swore upon the Koran fidelity to his master, after having a few days before, given a similar pledge to his English confederates in the projected usurpation. Clive had his full share of what Napoleon would have styled "dirty work" to do in the business. When all things were arranged, Omichund suddenly declared himself dissatisfied with the amount of compensation* allotted to him in the division of the spoil planned by the conspirators. His services at this crisis were invaluable, and his influence with the nabob had repeatedly been the means of concealing the plot. The demand of thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000), was accompanied by an intimation of the danger of refusal. Whether Omichund really intended to risk the reward already agreed on, together with his own life, by betraying a transaction in which he had from the first borne a leading part, may well be doubted; but Clive took an easy method of terminating the discussion by consenting to the exorbitant stipulation. Omichund likewise insisted on the agreement regarding himself being inserted in the treaty between the English and Meer Jaffier. Clive seemingly complied. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red; in the former, Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained the specified proviso. The honesty of Admiral Watson had nearly defeated this manœuvre. He positively refused to sign the false treaty. Omichund would at once suspect some reason for this omission. Clive removed the difficulty by causing a Mr. Lushington to forge the important name.

Hostility to the nabob was now openly professed. The English force marched against him, sending forward a letter equivalent to a declaration of war. Surajah Dowlah dispatched an appeal for aid to the French, assembled his troops, and prepared to encounter a foreign foe, unsuspicious of the treachery at work within his camp. The courage of Meer Jaffier failed; doubt and fear, in the hour of danger, overpowered ambition: he hesitated; and instead of immediately coming over to Clive, at Cossimbazar, with his division, as had been agreed upon, he advanced with the nabob to Plassy. The position of the English became extremely perilous: the strength of the enemy twenty times outnumbered theirs. The ford of the Hooghly lay before them, easily crossed; but over which not one man might ever be able to return. Clive called a council of war for the first and last time in his whole career, probably as a cloak for his own misgivings, since he voted first, and doubtless influenced the majority in deciding that it would be imprudent to risk an advance.† This

* The position of Omichund, with regard to the English, was peculiar. He had been connected with them in the affairs of commerce about forty years, and was looked upon as a person of great importance, both on account of his mercantile transactions, which extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar, and the magnitude of his private fortune. His habitation is described by Orme as having been on a splendid scale, and divided into various departments, resembling rather the abode of a prince than of a merchant. Besides numerous domestic servants, he maintained (as is frequent among eastern nobles) a retinue of armed men in constant pay. When news of the approach of Surajah Dowlah reached Calcutta, the local authorities, among other vague fears, suspecting Omichund of being in league with the enemy, seized and imprisoned him. An attempt was made to capture the person of his brother-in-law, who had taken refuge in the apartments of the women; but the whole of Omichund's peons, to the number of 300, rose in resistance, and the officer in command (a Hindoo of high cast), fearing that some indignity might be sustained by the females, set fire to the harem, and killed no less than thirteen with his own hand, after which he stabbed himself, though (contrary to his intention) not mortally. This melancholy catastrophe did not prevent Mr. Holwell from soliciting the intervention of Omichund to procure terms of capitulation from Surajah Dowlah; and his conduct at this time totally removed the suspicions previously entertained. On the capture of the place, 400,000 rupees were plundered from his treasury, and much valuable property of different descriptions seized; but his person was set at liberty, and a favourable disposition evinced towards him by the nabob, of which he took advantage to procure the restoration of his losses in money, and likewise in soliciting the release of the survivors of the massacre, who were fed by his charity, and in great measure restored to liberty through his entreaties.

† The following is a list of the officers of this council, and the way in which they voted:—*For delay*—Robt. Clive; James Kirkpatrick; Archd. Grant; Geo. Fred. Goupp; Andrew Armstrong; Thos. Rumbold; Christian Firkan; John Corneille; H. Popham. *For immediate attack*—Eyre Coote, G. Alex. Grant; G. Muir; Chas. Palmer; Robt. Campbell; Peter Carstairs; W. Jennings.—(*Life of Clive*, i., 258.)

was an unusual opinion for "Sabut Jung" the daring in war, to form, and it was not a permanent one. Passing away from the meeting, gloomy and dissatisfied, he paced about for an hour beneath the shade of some trees, and, convinced on reflection that the hesitation of Meer Jaffier would give place to reawakened ambition, he resolved to reverse the decision in which he had so lately concurred; and, returning to the camp, gave orders to make ready for the passage of the river.* The army crossed on the following morning, and, at a little past midnight, took up its position in a grove of mango trees† near Plassy, within a mile of the wide-spread camp of the enemy.

The sound of drums and cymbals kept Clive waking all night; and Surajah Dowlah, overpowered by vague fears and gloomy apprehensions, passed the remaining hours of darkness in upbraiding and complaint.‡ At sunrise his army, marshalled in battle array, commenced moving towards the grove in which the English were posted. The plain seemed alive with multitudes of infantry, supported by troops of cavalry, and bearing with them fifty pieces of ordnance of great size, drawn by long teams of white oxen, and propelled by elephants arrayed in scarlet cloth and embroidery. Beside these, were some smaller but more formidable guns, under the direction of Frenchmen.§ The force to oppose this mighty host numbered, in all, only 3,000 men, but of these nearly 1,000 were English. Conspicuous in the ranks were the men of the 39th regiment, who that day added to the inscriptions on their colours the name of Plassy, and the motto, *Primus in India*. Of hard fighting there was but little; treachery supplied its place. The action began by a distant cannonade, in which some of the few officers, still true to a falling cause, perished by the skilfully-directed fire of the "hat-wearers," who, says Hussein Gholam Khan, "have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musketry with both order and rapidity."‖ Several hours were spent in this manner. At length Meer-meden, one of the two chief leaders of the adverse force, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. He was carried to the tent of the prince, and expired while explaining the arrangements he had made for the battle. Driven to desperation by witnessing the death of his faithful servant, Surajah Dowlah summoned Meer Jaffier to his presence, and bade him revenge the death of Meer-meden; at the same time, placing his own turban at the foot of his treacherous relative—the most humiliating supplication a Mohammedan prince could offer—he besought him to forget past differences, and to stand by the grandchild of his benefactor (Ali Verdi Khan), now that his life, his honour, and his throne, were all at stake. Meer Jaffier replied to this appeal by treacherously advising immediate retreat into the trenches; and the fatal order was issued, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of the Hindoo general, Mohun Lall, who predicted the utter confusion which would ensue. Meer Jaffier had unsuccessfully endeavoured to convey a letter to Clive, advising the immediate attack of the nabob's camp; now, perceiving the fortune of the day decided, he remained, as before, stationary with his division of the army, amid the general retreat. Surajah Dowlah, on witnessing the inaction of so large a part of the force, comprehended at once his betrayal; and on beholding the English advancing, mounted a camel and fled to Moorshedabad, accompanied by 2,000 horsemen. In fact, no other course remained to one incapable of taking the lead in his own person; for to such an extent had division spread throughout the Mohammedan troops, that no officer, even if willing to fight for his rightful master, could rely on the co-operation of any other commander. The little band of Frenchmen alone strove to confront the English, but were rapidly carried away by the tide of fugitives. Of the vanquished, 500 were slain. The conquerors lost but twenty-two killed and fifty wounded; they gained not merely the usual spoils of war in

* This is the account given by Orme, who probably heard the circumstances from Clive himself. Scrafton attributes the colonel's change of mind to a letter received from Meer Jaffier in the course of the day.—(*Reflections*, p. 85.)

† Regularly planted groves or woods of tall fruit trees are very common in India: that of Plassy was a square of about two miles in circuit: but it was subsequently neglected, and much diminished.

‡ The despondency of the nabob, says Orme, increased as the hour of danger approached. His attendants, by some carelessness left his tent unguarded, and a common person, either through ignorance, or with a view to robbery, entered unperceived. The prince, at length recognising the intruder, started from the gloomy reflections in which he had been absorbed, and recalled his servants with the emphatic exclamation,—"Sure they see me dead!"—(*Military Transactions*, i., 172.)

§ Orme states the force of the enemy at 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. Clive says 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and forty pieces of cannon.—(*Letter to Secret Committee of E. I. Cy.*)

‖ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 766.

abundance—baggage and artillery-waggons, elephants and oxen—but paramount authority over a conquered province, larger and more populous than their native country.

The conduct of Meer Jaffier had been by no means unexceptionable, even in the sight of his accomplices. He had played for a heavy stake with a faltering hand—a species of cowardice for which Clive had no sympathy; nevertheless, it was expedient to overlook all minor occasions of quarrel at this critical moment, and proclaim the traitor subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Meer Jaffier marched to Moorshedabad. Surajah Dowlah learned his approach with a degree of terror that prevented him from forming any plan of defence: deserted on all sides, he strove to conciliate the alienated affections of the military commanders by lavish gifts; and at length, after balancing between the advice given by his counsellors —to throw himself upon the mercy of the English, or again try the fortune of war—he renounced both attempts, and accompanied by his consort, his young daughter, and several other females, quitted the palace at dead of night, carrying with him a number of elephants laden with gold, jewels, and baggage of the most costly description.* Had he proceeded fearlessly by land in the broad daylight, it is possible that many of the local authorities would have rallied round his standard; but instead of taking a bold course, he embarked in some boats for Plassy, hoping to be able to effect a junction with a party of the French under M. Law, who, at the time of the battle of Patna, was actually marching to his assistance. This proceeding removed all obstacles from the path of Meer Jaffier, and his installation was performed with as much pomp as circumstances would permit. At the last moment, either from affected humility or a misgiving as to the dangerous and troublesome nature of power treacherously usurped, he hesitated and refused to take possession of the sumptuously-adorned musnud, or pile of cushions, prepared for him. Clive, having vainly tried persuasion, took his hand, and placing him on the throne, kept him down by the arm while he presented the customary homage—a nuzzur, or offering of gold mohurs, on a salver. The act was sufficiently significative; thenceforth the subahdars of Bengal existed in a degree of dependence on the foreign rulers by whom they were nominated, with which that formerly paid to the most powerful of the Great Moguls bears no comparison.

This public ceremonial was followed by a private meeting among the confederates to divide the spoil. Whether the extravagance of Surajah Dowlah, during his fifteen months' sway, had exhausted a treasury previously drained by Mahratta wars and subsidies, or whether Meer Jaffier and his countrymen succeeded in outwitting their English associates, and secretly possessed themselves of the lion's share,† remains an open question; but it appears that the funds available, amounted only to 150 lacs of rupees—a sum far short of that which had been reckoned upon in the arrangement previously made. One large claim was repudiated in a very summary manner. When Meer Jaffier, and the few persons immediately concerned in the plot, adjourned to the house of Juggut Seit, to settle the manner of carrying out the treaty, Omichund followed as a matter of course. He had no suspicion of the deceit practised upon him; for "Clive, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had, up to that day, treated him with undiminished kindness."‡ Not being invited to take his seat on the carpet, Omichund, in some surprise, withdrew to the lower part of the hall, and waited till he should be summoned to join the conference.§

* Orme says that Surajah Dowlah escaped by night from a window of the palace, accompanied only by a favourite concubine and a eunuch; but Gholam Hussein, who, besides his usual accuracy, may be expected to be well informed on the subject, makes the statements given in the text, and confirms them by much incidental detail.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 7; *see* also Scott's *Bengal*, ii., 371.)

† The interpreter of Clive—a renegade Frenchman, called Mustapha, who translated the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*—states in a note (i., 773), that the English never suspected the existence of an inner treasury said to contain eight crores (eight million sterling), kept, in pursuance of a custom common in India, in the zenana or women's apartments. In corroboration, various circumstances are adduced in the history of the individuals whom he asserts to have been participants in the secret, to prove their having derived immense wealth from some hidden source. Among others Mini Begum, the favourite wife of Meer Jaffier Khan, who survived him, possessed an immense fortune, although her husband was constantly involved in disturbances with the soldiery from real or affected inability to discharge their arrears of pay.

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Life of Clive*, p. 50.

§ Admiral Watson was not of the party. He died in the course of the year of a malignant fever which prevailed on the coast. Captain Brereton, when questioned before parliament regarding the deception practised on Omichund, bore witness that the admiral had stigmatised the conduct of Clive as "dishonourable and iniquitous."—(Parl. Reports, iii., 151.)

The white treaty was produced and read; its various stipulations (including the utter expulsion of the French from Bengal) were confirmed, and the pecuniary claims of the English met by the immediate payment of one-half—two-thirds in money, and one-third in plate and jewels; the other portion to be discharged in three equal annual payments.*

At length Omichund became uneasy at the total disregard evinced of his presence. On coming forward, he caught sight of the document just read, and exclaimed—"There must be some mistake; the general treaty was on red paper!" Clive, who during his long residence in India never acquired a knowledge of any Indian language, turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the company, then acting as interpreter, and said—"It is time to undeceive Omichund." This was easily done; the few words in Hindostanee, "The red treaty was a trick, Omichund—you are to have nothing," were soon spoken; but the bystanders could scarcely have been prepared for the result. The Hindoo was avaricious to the heart's core; and this sudden disappointment, aimed at the tenderest point, and aggravated by feelings of anger and humiliation, came like the stroke of death. He swooned, and was carried to his stately home, where, after remaining many hours in a state of the deepest gloom, he began to exhibit symptoms of insanity. Some days after he visited Clive, who, probably unwilling to recognise the full extent of the ruin he had wrought, strove to soothe the old man by promises of procuring favourable terms with the company regarding certain contracts which he held from them; and even spoke of him, in an official despatch, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded."† This statement is, however, quite incompatible with the description of Orme, who declares that Omichund, after being carried a senseless burthen from the house of Juggut Seit,‡ never rallied, but sank from insanity to idiocy. Contrary to the custom of the aged in Hindostan, and especially to his former habits and strong reason, Omichund, now an imbecile, went about decked in gaudy clothing and costly jewels, until his death, in the course of about eighteen months, terminated the melancholy history. Such a transaction can need no comment, at least to those who believe that in all cases, under all circumstances, a crime is of necessity a blunder.§ In the present instance there could be no second opinion on the point, except as regarded the private interests of the persons concerned in the division of spoil found in the treasury of the deposed prince. The commercial integrity of the English had laid the foundation of the confidence reposed in them by the natives, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo: the alliance of Juggut Seit and other wealthy bankers had been procured chiefly by this means. Omichund, in his endeavours to allay the suspicions of Surajah Dowlah, had declared that the English were famous throughout the world for their good faith, inasmuch that a man in England, who, *on any occasion*, told a lie, was utterly disgraced, and never after admitted to the society of his former friends and ac-

* Clive, in a letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Moorshedabad, 26th July, after giving some details of the battle, says—"The substance of the treaty with the present nabob is as follows:—1st. Confirmation of the mint and all other grants and privileges in the treaty with the late nabob. 2ndly. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatsoever. 3rdly. The French factories and effects to be delivered up, and they never to be permitted to resettle in any of the provinces. 4thly. One hundred lacs (£1,000,000) to be paid to the company in consideration of their losses at Calcutta, and the expenses of the campaign. 5thly. Fifty lacs (£500,000) to be given to the English sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 6thly. Twenty lacs (£200,000) to Gentoos, Moors, &c., black sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 7thly. Seven lacs (£70,000) to the Armenian sufferers: these three last donations to be distributed at the pleasure of the admiral and gentlemen of the council, including me. 8thly. The entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch, which runs round Calcutta, to be vested in the company: also 600 yards all round, without the said ditch. 9thly. The company to have the zemindary of the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and the river, and reaching as far as Culpee, they paying the customary rents paid by the former zemindars to the government. 10thly. Whenever the assistance of the English troops shall be wanted, their extraordinary charges to be paid by the nabob. 11thly. No forts to be erected by the government on the river side, from Hooghly downwards." Clive carefully avoided all mention of the separate treaties for the payment of monies in which he had the chief share.—(*See* Note in ensuing page.)

† *Life of Clive*, i., 289.

‡ The amount of the reward received by Juggut Seit does not appear. If at all in proportion to his previous wealth, it must have been very large. At the time of the plunder of Moorshedabad by the Mahrattas, in 1742, two million and a-half sterling in Arcot rupees were taken from the treasury of himself and his brother; notwithstanding which they continued to grant bills at sight, of one crore each.

§ "Using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia," remarks Macaulay, "Clive committed not merely a crime but a blunder."—(*Essay*, p. 51.)

quaintances.* This invaluable prestige of honest dealing was placed in imminent jeopardy by Clive; and years afterwards, rank and wealth failed to preserve him from learning, with anger and bitter humiliation, that forgery and lying were vices which, in the sight of his countrymen at large, could not be atoned for by the most brilliant successes. With regard to the enormous sums accepted, or, in other words, seized by English officials, both civil and military, from the treasury of Bengal, that also seems to resolve itself into a very simple question. If, like Morari Rao, they had been professed leaders of mercenary troops, selling their services to the highest bidder, there could have been no doubt that, after their own fashion of reasoning, they would have well earned the stipulated reward. But Clive and his compeers were not masters, but servants; the troops under their command were, like themselves, in the pay of the nation or the company; and it was unquestionably from the government or the Court of Directors (to the latter of whom Clive repeatedly affirmed that he "owed everything"),† and from them only, that rewards should have been received.

Years afterwards, when sternly questioned respecting the proceedings of this period, Clive declared that on recollecting the heaps of gold and silver coin piled up in masses, crowned with rubies and diamonds, through which he passed in the treasury of Moorshedabad, he could not but view with surprise his own moderation in only taking (as it appeared)‡ to the extent of twenty to thirty lacs of rupees—that is, between £200,000 and £300,000. This "moderation"§ was, however, of brief continuance; for, some time afterwards, on the plea of desiring means wherewith to maintain a Mogul dignity conferred on him, he intimated to Meer Jaffier the propriety of its being accompanied by a jaghire (or estate for the support of a military contingent.)‖ In their relative positions a hint was a command, and the quit-rent paid by the E. I. Cy. for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, amounting to nearly £30,000 sterling per annum, was forthwith ceded.

To return to the general narrative. Surajah Dowlah and his female companions reached Raj Mahal on the third night after leaving Moorshedabad. Exhausted with fatigue, and famishing with hunger, they landed, took refuge in a deserted garden, and began to prepare a mess of rice and pulse (called kichery), the common food of the country. While engaged in this unwonted task, the fugitives were discovered by a man of low condition, whose ears had been cut off by order of Surajah Dowlah a twelvemonth before. Dissembling his vengeful feelings, he affected compassion and respect for the prince, and assisted in the preparation of the meal, but secretly sent word to the soldiers engaged in pursuit where to find the object of their search. At this very time, Law and his detachment were within three hours' march of Raj Mahal; but they were driven from place to place by a party under Major Coote, and eventually expelled from Bengal; while Surajah Dowlah was seized by the emissaries of Meer Jaffier, laden with chains, treated with every species of cruelty compatible with the preservation of life, and dragged through Moorshedabad, to the presence of his successor. It was noon; but Meer Jaffier, though seated on the musnud, had taken his daily dose of bang,¶ and was incapable of giving instructions regarding the treatment of the prisoner. His son Meeran, a lad of about seventeen, took upon himself to decide the question. This mere boy, educated in the harem, and remarkably effeminate both in dress and speech, possessed a heart no less callous to the gentler feelings of humanity than that of an old and unprincipled politician, hardened in the world's ways. "Pity and compassion," he said, "spoilt business." It scarcely needed the murmuring and dissension which pervaded the army, when the capture and ignominious treatment of their late ruler became known, to decide his fate.

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 137.

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 182.

‡ Clive cautiously abstained from any explicit statement of the sums acquired by him on various pretences; and his fellow-officials, as far as possible, refrained from acknowledging the extent of his extortions or their own, even when sharply cross-examined before parliament.

§ In a letter addressed to Mr. Pigot, dated August, 1757, Clive speaks of his "genteel competence," and "a possible reverse of fortune," as reasons for desiring to leave Bengal. Mr. Pigot probably sympathised with him, for he himself accumulated a fortune of £400,000, chiefly (according to Mr. Watts) by lending money at high interest to the nabob, the chiefs, and managers of provinces—a practice, says Sir John Malcolm, then too common to be considered as in any way discreditable.—(ii., 251.)

‖ *Vide* his own evidence before the House of Commons. Such a solicitation was clearly opposed to the duty of a servant of the E. I. Cy. and a Lieutenant-colonel in the British army.—(Parl. Papers, vol. iii., p. 154.)

¶ An intoxicating beverage, made from hemp.

Meeran caused him to be confined in a small chamber near his own apartments, and then summoning his personal friends, asked which of them would serve the existing administration, by removing the only obstacle to its permanency. One after another peremptorily rejected the dastardly office; at length it was accepted by a man under peculiar obligations to the parents of the destined victim, in conjunction with a favourite servant of Meeran's. On beholding the entrance of the assassins, Surajah Dowlah at once guessed their purpose. "They will not suffer me even to live in obscurity!" he exclaimed; and then requested that water might be provided for the performance of the purification commanded by the Koran before death. A large vessel which stood at hand was emptied rudely over him, and he was hewn down by repeated sabre strokes; "several of which fell," says the Mohammedan historian, "on a face renowned all over Bengal for regularity of feature and sweetness of expression." The memory of a past deed of violence came over the prince in this terrible hour, and he died declaring, in allusion to an officer whom he had tyrannically caused to be executed in the streets of Moorshedabad, "Hussein Kooli, thou art avenged!" *

The morning after this event Meer Jaffier visited Clive, and, in the words of the former, "thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy." Clive does not appear to have deemed any excuse necessary; but the truth was, his own neglect had been unjustifiable, in not taking precautionary measures to guard at least the life of a ruler deposed by a conspiracy in which the English played the leading part. No effort was made to protect even the female relatives † of the murdered prince from cruel indignities at the hands of Meer Jaffier and his son, and his consort and infant daughter were robbed of all the valuables about them, and sent into confinement in a manner calculated to inflict indelible disgrace on Mohammedan females of rank.

In Calcutta all was triumph and rejoicing. Few stopped to think, amid the excitement created by the tide of wealth fast pouring in, of past calamities or future cares. It was a momentous epoch; the step once taken was irrevocable; the company of traders had assumed a new position—henceforth to be rulers and lawgivers, with almost irresponsible sway over a territory far larger and more populous than their native land. It may be doubted if the directors at home gave much heed to these considerations; their representatives in India certainly did not, each one being fully occupied in gathering the largest possible share of the spoil. The monies stipulated for in restitution of the damage inflicted in Calcutta, with those demanded on behalf of the squadron, army, and committee, amounted to £2,750,000, besides donations to individuals.‡ The company received property to the amount of £1,500,000, and territorial revenues valued by Clive at £100,000 a-year. A fleet of 100 boats, with flags flying and music playing, bore to Fort William £800,000 in coined silver alone, besides plate and jewels, as the first instalment of the promised reward.

Leaving the Bengal functionaries in the enjoyment of wealth and influence, it is necessary to narrate the cotemporary proceedings of the Madras presidency.

Affairs in the Carnatic and Coromandel Coast.—Upon the breaking out of war between Great Britain and France in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. A powerful armament was fitted out, and entrusted to the charge of Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who had shared the exile of James II., and was no less noted for personal courage than for strong feelings against England.

* The above account is, as before stated, chiefly derived from the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. The author is strongly prejudiced against Surajah Dowlah, to whom he was distantly related. He had been taken prisoner in an engagement between this prince and Shaocat Jung, a rival pretender to the viceroyalty of Bengal, who was slain during a fit of intoxication. The conduct of Surajah Dowlah on this occasion, does not corroborate the statements made by Orme and Stewart of his cruelty and violence, and it is possible that these have been exaggerated; but unhappily, all the evidence comes from one side.

† Surajah Dowlah was five-and-twenty at the time of his assassination. His mother, on beholding the mangled remains dragged past her windows, rushed into the street, without veil or slippers, and clasped the body in her arms, but was forced back with blows.

‡ The army and navy had £500,000 for their share, Clive coming in, as commander-in-chief, for £20,000. As a member of the *Secret Committee*, he received to the amount of £28,000, the others having £24,000 each; besides which every one of them obtained a special gift from Meer Jaffier: that of Clive is variously stated at from £160,000 to £200,000. The *General Council* (not of the *committee*) received £60,000. Among the individuals who profited largely by what Clive termed the "generosity" of Meer Jaffier, was Mr. Drake, the runaway governor of Calcutta. Lushington (who forged the hand and seal of Admiral Watson) had, Clive stated in reply to parliamentary inquiry, "something very trifling, —about 50,000 rupees."—(Parl. Reports.) The division of the booty occasioned very serious disputes between the army and the navy.

He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish (1,080 strong), by fifty of the royal artillery, and a great number of officers of distinction. The court of Versailles looked on the success of the expedition as a matter of certainty, and directed the commencement of operations by the siege of Fort St. David. Their anticipated conquests were marred by a remarkable series of disasters. The fleet quitted Brest in May, 1757, and carried with them the infection of a malignant fever then raging in the port. No less than 300 persons died before reaching Rio Janeiro; and from one cause or another delays arose, which hindered the ships from reaching Pondicherry until the end of April, 1758. There new difficulties occurred to obstruct the path of Lally. He had been especially directed to put down, at all hazards, the dissension and venality which prevailed among the French officials, and to compel them to make exertions for the benefit of their employers, instead of the accumulation of private fortunes. The task was at best an onerous one, and Lally set about it with an uncompromising zeal, which, under the circumstances, bordered on indiscretion. Perfectly conversant with the technicalities of his profession, he was wilful and presumptuous: his daring plans, if heartily seconded, might have been crowned with brilliant success; as it was, they met the same fate as those of La Bourdonnais, while he was reserved for a doom more terrible, and equally unmerited. Some of his early measures were, however, attended with success. The English beheld with alarm the overpowering additions made to the force of the rival nation; and when, after a prolonged siege, Fort St. David capitulated, serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Madras. The want of funds alone prevented Lally from making an immediate attack. After vainly endeavouring to raise sufficient supplies on credit, he resolved to direct to their attainment the next operations of the war. The rajah of Tanjore, when hard pressed, in 1751, by the united force of Chunda Sahib and Dupleix, had given a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which remained unredeemed at Pondicherry. To extort payment of this sum an expedition was now undertaken against Tanjore, and on the march thither, many cruel acts of violence were committed.* The rajah, after some resistance, offered to compromise the matter by the payment of a sum much inferior to that required. The French commander was willing to abate his pecuniary demand, provided he should be supplied with 600 cattle for draught and provisions, which were greatly needed for the troops. The rajah refused, on the plea that his religion did not sanction the surrender of kine for the unhallowed uses of Europeans. The impetuous Lally had before excited strong feelings of aversion in the minds of the natives by obliging them to carry burthens for the army, and other services which he enforced promiscuously, without regard to the laws of cast: he now treated the assertion of the rajah as a mere pretext to gain time, similar to those practised upon Chunda Sahib on a previous occasion; therefore, making little allowance for the invariable prolixities of eastern negotiation, he declared that unless an arrangement were forthwith agreed on, the rajah and all his family should be shipped as slaves to the Mauritius. The Hindoos rarely indulge in intemperate language; and the Tanjore prince, stung and astonished by the outrage offered him, resolved to perish sooner than succumb to his insulting foe. At his earnest request, an English detachment was sent from Trichinopoly to his assistance. Lally continued the assault on Tanjore, and had effected a breach, when news arrived that the English fleet, after an indecisive engagement with that of France,† had anchored before Karical, from whence alone the besieging force could derive supplies. Powder and provisions were both nearly exhausted, and Lally, by the almost unanimous opinion of a council of war, withdrew from Tanjore, and hastened to Pondicherry, with the intention of making a simultaneous attack by sea and land on Madras. This project fell to the ground, owing to the determination of the naval commander to quit India immediately, which, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the local government and the army, he persisted in doing, on the ground that the disablement of the ships, and the disease and diminution of the crews, rendered it imperatively necessary to refit at the Mauritius. Lally thus weakened, directed his next en-

* At Kivaloor, the seat of a celebrated pagoda, Lally, in the hope of finding hidden treasures, ransacked the houses, dug up the foundations, dragged the tanks, and carried away the brass idols; but to very little purpose as far as booty was concerned. Six Brahmins lingered about the violated shrines; and Lally, suspecting that they were spies, caused them all to be shot off from the muzzle of his cannon.—(Wilks' *History of Mysore*, i., 397.)

† The English suffered most in their shipping; the French in their men.—(*Vide* Owen Cambridge's *Account of the War in India, from* 1750 *to* 1760, p. 123.)

deavours against Arcot, and succeeded in gaining possession of that place through the artifices of Reza Sahib (now dignified by the French with the title of nabob), who opened a correspondence with the governor placed there by Mohammed Ali, and induced him to make a pretended capitulation, and come over with his troops to the service of the enemy. About the time of entering Arcot, Lally was joined by Bussy. This officer had, by the exercise of extraordinary ability, maintained his position in the court of Salabut Jung, and dexterously threading his way amid the intrigues of the Mohammedan courtiers, headed by the brothers of the subahdar (Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung), had contrived, with very slender means, to uphold the power of his countrymen in connexion with the ruler they had nominated.* Lally did not, or would not, see that the authority of the French at Hyderabad—that even the important possessions of the Northern Circars, rested almost wholly on the great personal influence of one man; and notwithstanding the arguments and entreaties of Bussy and Salabut Jung, the troops were recalled to Pondicherry. It appears that Lally, having heard of the large sums raised by Dupleix on his private credit, hoped that Bussy might be able to do so likewise; and he listened with mingled surprise and disappointment to the averment of the generous and high-principled officer, that having never used his influence with the subahdar as a means of amassing wealth, he was altogether incapable of affording any material assistance in pecuniary affairs. The government of Pondicherry declared themselves devoid of the means of maintaining the army, upon which Count d'Estaigne and other leading officers agreed in council, that it was better to die by a musket-ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger within the walls of Pondicherry, and determined to commence offensive operations by endeavouring to bombard the English settlement, shut up the troops in Fort St. George, pillage the Black Town, and lay waste the surrounding country. The sum of 94,000 rupees was raised for the purpose, of which 60,000 were contributed by Lally himself, and the remainder in smaller sums by members of council and private individuals. The force thus sparely provided with the sinews of war, consisted of 2,700 European, and 4,000 Indian troops. The English, apprised of the intended hostilities, made active preparations for defence under the veteran general, Lawrence, and their efforts were again favoured by climatorial influences; for the French expedition, though in readiness to leave Pondicherry at the beginning of November, 1758, was prevented by heavy rains from reaching Madras till the middle of December, and this at a crisis when Lally had not funds to secure the subsistence of the troops for a single week. The spoil of the Black Town† furnished means for the erection of batteries, and the subsequent arrival of a million livres from the Mauritius, led to the conversion of the blockade (which was at first alone intended) into a siege; but, either from prudential considerations or disaffection,‡ the officers refused to second the ardour of their commander; and after nine weeks' tarry (during the last fortnight of which the troops had subsisted almost entirely upon some rice and butter captured in two small vessels from Bengal), the approach of an English fleet of six sail, compelled the enemy to decamp by night with all haste. The state of feeling at Pondicherry may be easily conceived from the assertion of Lally, that the disastrous result of the expedition was celebrated by the citizens as a triumph over its unpopular commander. Their ill-founded rejoicings were of brief continuance; scoffing was soon merged in gloomy apprehensions, destined to find a speedy realisation. The arrival of an important accession to the English force, under Colonel Coote, in October, 1759, decided for the time the struggle between France and England for supremacy in India. Wandewash was speedily attacked and carried. Lally, while marching to attempt its recovery, was met and defeated. Bussy placed himself at the head of a regiment, to lead the men to the charge of the bayonet, as the only means of saving the battle; had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner.

* A detailed account of his proceedings occupies a considerable part of Orme's *Military Transactions*.

† No attempt was made to defend the Black Town; but after its seizure by the French, the English perceiving the intemperance and disorder of the hostile troops, strove to profit by the opportunity, and sallied out 600 strong. They were, however, driven back with the loss of 200 men and six officers.

‡ Orme says the former; Lally, in his *Memoirs*, the latter: at the same time he severely censures the plots and whole conduct of the Pondicherry government, declaring, in an intercepted letter, that he "would rather go and command the Kafirs of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that of heaven should not."

Chittaput, Arcot, Devicotta, Karical, Valdore, Cuddalore, and other forts, were successively captured; and by the beginning of May, 1760, the French troops were confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English, having received further reinforcements, encamped within four miles of the town. Lally shrank from no amount of danger or fatigue in his exertions to rally the troops and subdue the pervading spirit of mutiny and corruption. As the last chance of upholding the national interest, he resorted to the policy of Dupleix, and looked round for some native power as an auxiliary. The individual on whom he fixed was Hyder Ali,* a soldier of fortune, who had risen to the command of the Mysore army. With him Lally concluded an agreement, by which Hyder undertook to furnish a certain quantity of bullocks for the supply of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3,000 picked horse and 5,000 sepoys. In return he was to receive immediate possession of the fort of Theagur—an important station, about fifty miles from Pondicherry, situate near two of the principal passes in the Carnatic, with, it is alleged, the promise even of Madura and Tinnivelly, in the event of the favourable termination of the war. A detachment of the English army, sent to interrupt the march of the Mysoor troops, was defeated; but, after remaining in the vicinity of Pondicherry about a month, Hyder decamped one night

* The great-grandfather of Hyder Ali was a religious person, named Bhelole, who migrated from the Punjab and settled with his two sons at the town of Alund, 110 miles from Hyderabad. Here he erected a small mosque by charitable contributions, and also what is termed a fakeer's *mokan*—that is a house for the fakeer, who attends at the mosque and procures provisions for the use of the worshippers. By this speculation, Bhelole raised some property, but not sufficient to support the families of his sons, who left him and obtained employment at Sera as revenue peons. One of these, named Mohammed Ali, left a son called Futteh, who having distinguished himself for bravery, was promoted to be a Naik or commander of twenty peons. From this position he gradually rose to eminence, and married a lady of a rank superior to his own. The circumstances attending this union were altogether of a romantic character. The father of the lady was robbed and murdered near the borders of Bednore while traversing the peninsula. His widow and two daughters begged their way to Colar, where they were relieved from further difficulty by Hyder Naik, who married both the sisters in succession—a practice not forbidden by the Mohammedan law. Two sons, of whom the younger was the famous Hyder Ali, were born to the second wife, and they had respectively attained the age of nine and seven years, when their father was slain in upholding the cause of the Mohammedan noble whom he served, against the pretensions of a rival candidate for one of the minor Deccani governments in 1728. The patron of Hyder Naik was defeated and slain; the family of the latter fell into the hands of the victor, and on pretence of a balance due from the deceased to the revenues of the province, a sum of money was extorted from his heirs by cruel and ignominious tortures, applied to both the lads, and even, Colonel Wilks supposes, to the widow herself. Hyder Ali waited thirty-two years for an opportunity of revenge; and then, as will be shown in a subsequent page, grasped it with the avidity of a man retaliating an injury of yesterday. Meanwhile his mother, being permitted to depart after having, in the words of her grandson, Tippoo Sultan, "lost everything but her children and her honour," sought refuge among her own kindred. Through the influence of a maternal uncle, the elder boy was received into the service of a Hindoo officer of rank, and gradually rose to a respectable position; but Hyder Ali attained the age of twenty-seven without entering on any profession, in utter ignorance of the first elements of reading and writing, absent from home for weeks together on some secret expedition of voluptuous riot, or passing, as was the custom of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of rigid abstinence and excessive exertion—wandering in the woods in pursuit of wild beasts, himself hardly less ferocious. At length he thought fit to join his brother's corps as a volunteer on a special occasion, and having attracted the attention of Nunjeraj by his singular bravery and self-possession, he was at once placed in command of some troops, and from that time acquired power by rapid steps. The authority of the Mysore state then rested wholly in the hands of Nunjeraj and his brother Deoraj; but the death of the latter, and the incapacity of the former, induced an attempt on the part of the rajah to become a king in reality as well as name. Hyder at one time sided with, at another against, the rajah, his object in both cases being purely selfish. An invasion of Mysore by the Mahrattas, in 1759, contributed to his aggrandisement, by giving scope for the exercise of his warlike abilities; but he played a desperate game; for the queen-mother, perceiving his daring temper, dreaded to find her son released from the hands of one usurper only to fall into worse custody, and laid a scheme, in conjunction with a Mahratta chief, for the destruction of Hyder Ali, who was then engaged at a distance from court. Hyder escaped with difficulty, and having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours (the first seventy-five on the same horse), reached Bangalore, the fort and district of which had been given him shortly before as a personal jaghire, just in time to precede the orders sent by the rajah to close the gates against him. The strength of the Mahrattas was shattered by the disastrous battle of Paniput, in 1760; the exhausting strife of the European power in the Carnatic precluded their interference; and Hyder found means to reduce his nominal master to the condition of a state pensioner, and then looked round for further food for ambition. As an illustration of the cruelty of his nature, it is related that when after the successful termination of the rebellion, Kundee Rao, the brave and faithful general of the rajah, was surrendered to the conqueror with an earnest supplication for kind treatment, Hyder replied, that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a parroquet; and the miserable captive was accordingly confined in an iron cage, and fed on rice and milk.

with his whole force, on account of internal proceedings which threatened the downfall of his newly-usurped authority in Mysore. The English, so soon as the rains had ceased, actively besieged Pondicherry. Insubordination, dissension, and privation of every description * seconded their efforts within the walls. Lally himself was sick and worn out with vexation and fatigue. The garrison surrendered at discretion in January, 1760,† and the council of Madras lost no time in levelling its fortifications with the ground.‡

The consequences predicted by Bussy, from his compulsory abandonment of Salabut Jung, had already ensued. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, had wrested from the French these important possessions. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabar coast had been likewise attacked, and reduced a few months before the fall of Pondicherry. Theagur capitulated after a feeble resistance; and the capture of the strong fort of Jinjee in April, 1761, completed the triumph of the English, and left the French without a single military post in India.

The storm of popular indignation at this disastrous state of affairs was artfully directed upon the devoted head of Lally. On his return to France the ministry, seconded by the parliament of Paris, threw him into the Bastille, and on various frivolous pretexts he was condemned to die the death of a traitor and a felon. Errors of judgment, arrogance, and undue severity might with justice have been ascribed to Lally; but on the opposite side of the scale ought to have been placed uncompromising fidelity to the nation and company he served, and perfect disinterestedness, together with the uninterrupted exercise of energy united to military talents. It is related that he confidently anticipated a triumphant issue to the proceedings instituted against him, and was seated in his dungeon sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, when tidings of the fatal sentence arrived. "Is this the reward of forty-five years of faithful service?" he exclaimed; and snatching up a pair of compasses, strove to drive them to his heart. The bystanders prevented the fulfilment of this criminal attempt, and left to the representatives of the French nation the disgrace of perpetrating what Voltaire boldly denounced as "a murder committed with the sword of justice." A few hours after his condemnation, Lally, then in the sixty-fifth year of his age, was dragged in a dirty dung-cart through the streets of Paris to the scaffold, a gag being thrust in his mouth to prevent any appeal to the sympathies of the populace.

La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally, were successive victims to the ingratitude of the French company. Bussy was more fortunate. Upon his capture by the English he was immediately released on parole, greatly to the dismay and disappointment of Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic. He subsequently returned to France, and, strengthened by an aristocratic marriage (with the niece of the Duc de Choiseuil), lived to enjoy a high reputation and a con-

* When famine prevailed to an increasing extent in Pondicherry, Lally strove to prolong the defence by sending away the few remaining cavalry, at the risk of capture by the English; by returning all prisoners under a promise not to serve again; and also by expelling the mass of the native inhabitants, to the number of 1,400, without distinction of sex or age. The wretched multitude wandered in families and companies to various points, and sometimes strove to force a path through the hosts of the enemy, or back within the gates from which they had been expelled, meeting on either side death from the sword or the bullet. For eight days the outcasts continued to traverse the circumscribed space between the fortifications and the English encampment, the scant-spread roots of grass affording their sole means of subsistence. At length the English commander suffered the survivors to pass; and though they had neither home nor friends in prospect, deliverance from sufferings more prolonged, if less intense, than those endured in the Black-Hole, was hailed with rapturous gratitude.—(Orme, ii., 699.) An episode like this speaks volumes on the unjustifiable character of a war, between civilised and Christian nations, which is liable to subject heathen populations to calamities so direful and unprovoked.

† The departure of Lally for Madras was marked by a scene of a most discreditable character. The French officers raised a shout of derision, as their late commander passed along the parade a worn and dejected prisoner, and would have proceeded to violence but for the interference of his English escort. The same reception awaited Dubois, the king's commissary. He stopped and offered to answer any accusation that might be brought forward, upon which a man came forth from among the crowd and drew his sword. Dubois did the same: he was of advanced age, with the additional infirmity of defective sight; and the second pass laid him dead at the feet of his antagonist. The catastrophe was received with applause by the bystanders, and not one of them would even assist the servant of the deceased in the removal of the body. The unpopularity of Dubois originated in his energetic protests against the disorder and venality of the local government.

‡ A sharp dispute took place between the officers of the crown and of the company. Colonel Coote claimed Pondicherry for the nation; Mr. Pigot on behalf of his employers; and the latter gentleman being able to enforce his arguments by refusing to advance money for the payment of the troops, unless the point was conceded, gained the day.—(Orme, i., 724.)

siderable fortune. The company itself was soon extinguished,* and the power of the nation in India became quite inconsiderable.

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL RESUMED FROM 1757.—The first important danger which menaced the duration of Meer Jaffier's usurped authority, was the approach of the Shah-zada or heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi, who having obtained from his father formal investiture as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, now advanced to assert his claims by force of arms. The emperor (Alumgeer II.) was at this period completely in the power of his intriguing vizier, Shaab or Ghazi-oo-deen (the grandson of the famous nizam); and the prince had only escaped the toils of the imperious minister by cutting his way, sword in hand, with half-a-dozen followers, through the body of guards stationed to retain him a close prisoner within his own palace. The spirit manifested by this daring exploit did not characterise his after career, for he proved quite incapable of grappling with the many difficulties which beset his path. The governors or nabobs of Allahabad and Oude, both virtually independent powers, supported his cause at the onset; and the prince further endeavoured to obtain the support of the English by large promises. His offers were declined, and active co-operation with Meer Jaffier resolved on. The Shah-zada and his adherents advanced to Patna; but the treachery of the nabob of Oude, in taking advantage of the privilege accorded him of a safe place for his family, to seize the fortress of Allahabad, compelled the ruler of that province to march back for the protection or recovery of his own dominions.† The result of their disunion was to bereave the Shah-zada of friends and resources. In this position he solicited a sum of money from the English general in requital for the abandonment of his pretensions in Bengal, and £1,000 were forwarded to the impoverished descendant of a powerful dynasty. Through the influence of Shaab-oo-deen, the emperor was compelled to sign a *sunnud* (edict or commission), transferring the empty title of subahdar of Bengal to his second son, and confirming Meer Jaffier in all real power, under the name of his deputy. Upon this occasion Clive obtained the rank of a lord of the empire, which afforded him a pretext for extorting a jaghire amounting to £30,000 per annum; although, at the very time, the treasury of Bengal was almost exhausted, and the soldiers of the province clamorous for arrears of pay: and moreover, so doubtful a complexion had the alliance between the English and Meer Jaffier already assumed, that immediately after the departure of the Shah-zada, the nabob was suspected of intriguing with a foreign power for the expulsion of his well-beloved coadjutors. The Bengal presidency learned with alarm the approach of a great armament fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia. Seven ships ascended the Hooghly to within a few miles of Calcutta, where 700 European and 800 Malay soldiers disembarked, with the avowed intention of marching thence to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. England and Holland were at peace; but Clive, notwithstanding the absence of any hostile manifestation on the part of the newly-arrived force, obtained from the nabob a direct contradiction to the encouragement he had previously given, and a positive order for the Dutch to leave the river.‡ An English detachment was sent to intercept the march of the troops to Chinsura, but the officer in command (Colonel Forde) hesitated about proceeding to extremities, and sent to headquarters for explicit instructions. Clive was engaged at the card-table when the message arrived. Tearing off a slip from the letter just presented to him, he wrote in pencil: "Dear Forde,—Fight 'em immediately, and I'll send an order of council to-morrow." Forde obeyed, and succeeded in completely routing the enemy, so that of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen reached Chinsura, the rest being either taken pri-

* French trade with India was laid open in 1770; but in 1785 a new company was incorporated, and lasted until 1790, when its final abolishment, at the expiration of two years, was decreed by the National Assembly.—(Macpherson, pp. 275—284.)

† The Allahabad ruler, while marching homeward, was met by M. Law with a French detachment, and entreated to return to the Shah-zada and assist in besieging Patna, which, it was urged, would occasion but a very slight delay. The proposition was rejected; the nabob continued his march, but being eventually persuaded by the rival subahdar to trust to his generosity, was made prisoner and put to death.

‡ The dominant influence of Clive is illustrated by an anecdote recorded in the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. A fray having taken place between the soldiers of Clive and those of one of the oldest and most attached adherents of Meer Jaffier, the nabob reproached his officer for what had occurred, exclaiming, "Have you yet to learn in what position heaven has placed this Colonel Clive?" The accused replied, that so far from seeking a pretext of quarrel with the colonel, he "never rose in the morning without making three profound bows to his jackass;"—a speech which Scott (*History of the Deccan*, ii., 376) explains as meant in allusion to the nabob himself.

soners or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful, the whole being captured. After this heavy blow, the Dutch, to save their settlements in Bengal from total destruction, made peace with their powerful opponents by paying the expenses of the war; while Clive, aware of the irregularity of his proceedings,* facilitated the termination of the dispute by the restoration of the captured vessels in December, 1759. Early in the following year he resigned the government of Bengal, and sailed for England.

It has been asserted that Clive never suffered his personal interests to interfere with those of his employers. Had this been the truth, he would certainly not have quitted India at so critical a period for the E. I. Cy. as the year 1760. It was not age (for he was yet but five-and-thirty) nor failing strength (for he declared himself "in excellent health") that necessitated his departure; neither is it easy to find any less selfish reasons than a desire to place and enjoy in safety his immense wealth, leaving those at whose expense it had been accumulated to bear alone the brunt of the impending storm. His opinion of Meer Jaffier was avowedly changed; for though he continued personally to address him as the most munificent of princes, yet in his semi-official correspondence with his own countrymen, the "generally esteemed" individual of two years ago, becomes an "old man, whose days of folly are without number." The English in general attributed to the ruler of their own nomination every vice previously alleged against Surajah Dowlah. It was urged, that whatever soldierly qualifications he might have possessed in the days of Ali Verdi Khan, had passed with the vigour of youth, leaving him indolent and incapable; but easily carried away by unfounded suspicions to perpetrate, or at least sanction, deeds of midnight assassination against innocent and defenceless persons of either sex.† A native authority‡ describes Meer Jaffier as taking a childish delight in sitting, decked with costly jewels, on the musnud, which he disgraced by habitual intoxication, as well as by profligacy of the most unseemly description. The English he feared and hated, but lacked energy and ability to offer any systematic opposition to their encroachments. The leading Hindoos became objects of aversion to him on account of their intimate connexion with the powerful foreigners, and plots were laid for the destruction of several individuals, with varying success. The chief instigator of these intrigues was Meeran, the heir-apparent, who, in spite of the inexperience of youth and a merciless disposition, possessed a degree of energy and perseverance which, together with strong filial affection, rendered him the chief support of his father's throne.§ The "chuta" (little or young) nabob and the English regarded one another with scarcely disguised distrust. The Begum (or princess), the mother of Meeran, betrayed excessive anxiety for the safety of her only son; and although her affectionate intercessions were treated with contemptuous disdain by the servants of the company, they were far from being uncalled for; since it needed no extraordinary foresight to anticipate that the ill-defined claims, and especially the right of interference in every department of the native government asserted by the English, must end either in their assumption of all power, in name as in reality, or, it was just possible, in their total expulsion from the province.

Clive had quite made up his mind on the matter; and while receiving immense sums from the nabob on the one hand, and the wages of the E. I. Cy. on the other, he addressed a letter from Calcutta, as early as January, 1759, to Mr. Pitt, urging upon him the necessity of affairs in Bengal being viewed as a national question, and a sufficient force sent forthwith "to open a way for securing the subahship to ourselves." The Mogul would, he added, willingly agree to this arrangement in return for a pledge for the payment of fifty lacs annually—a sum which might be easily spared out of revenues amounting to £2,000,000 sterling; and as to Meer Jaffier, there need be no scruple on his account, since he, like all other Mussulmans, was so little influenced by gratitude,

* He remarked, with regard to these transactions, that "a public man may occasionally be called upon to act with a halter round his neck."

† The infant brother or nephew of Surajah Dowlah, on the accession of Meer Jaffier, is stated to have been murdered by being pressed to death between pieces of wood used in packing bales of shawls.

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 19.

§ Clive calls him "a worthless young dog," and asserts his belief that he would one day attempt the overthrow of the nabob, blaming "the old fool" at the same time severely for "putting too much power in the hands of his nearest relations;" but there is no evidence to warrant his assertion: on the contrary, Gholam Hussein Khan, though strongly prejudiced against both father and son, gives repeated evidence of the unbroken confidence which subsisted between them.—(*Life*, ii., 104; *Siyar*, ii., 86.)

as to be ready to break with his best friends the moment it suited his interests, while Meeran was "so apparently the enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession."*

This communication was forwarded to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Walsh, the secretary of Clive. In relating the discussion which followed its presentation, Mr. Walsh writes, that the able minister expressed his views a little darkly (or probably very cautiously) on the subject; mentioned that the company's charter would not expire for twenty years; and stated that it had been recently inquired into, whether the conquests in India belonged to the company or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think to the company; but, he added, "the company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties;" therefore Clive showed "good sense by the suggested application of it to the public."

Here the question dropped for the time, and Clive returned to England, apparently before learning the result of his memorial, and at a time when events of the first importance were taking place.†

The Shah-zada, at the invitation of certain influential nobles of Patna, had already renewed hostilities, when Clive and Forde quitted the country in February, 1760. In the previous December an English detachment, under Colonel Calliaud, had been sent from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and this force, in conjunction with 15,000 horse and foot, under command of Meeran, marched in the following month to oppose the Mogul prince. Meanwhile the powerful king of the Doorani Afghans was again on his way to ravage Hindoostan. Shaab-oo-deen, the vizier of the pageant-emperor, Alumgeer II., aware of the strangely-assorted friendship which existed between his ill-used master and Ahmed Shah, caused the former to be assassinated, and seated another puppet on the throne. The Shah-zada had entered Bahar, when tidings of the tragical end of his father reached the camp. He assumed the title of Alum Shah, and secured the alliance of Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, by the promise of the vizierat; conferred on Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah (an able Rohilla chief, staunchly attached to the imperial family) the dignity of ameer-ool-omra;‡ and, with the assistance of these leaders, assembled a considerable force. An engagement took place near Patna, between his troops and those of Meeran and the English. The emperor was defeated, and fled to Bahar, where he continued to maintain a feeble contest until the campaign was abruptly concluded by the death of one of the parties chiefly concerned in its results. A heavy storm commenced on the night of the 2nd of July, and Meeran, the better to escape its violence, quitted his spacious tent for one of less size, lower, and of greater strength. According to eastern usage, a story-teller stationed himself beside the prince, striving to soothe the unquiet spirit to repose, while a domestic chafed his limbs, with the same view of inducing sleep. Fierce thunder-claps long continued to break over the encampment, alternating with vivid flashes of lightning. The fury of the elements at last abated, and some attendants, whose turn it was to keep guard, entered and beheld with dismay the lifeless bodies of Meeran and his companions, all three having perished by the same stroke. Colonel Calliaud considered it impolitic to publish the catastrophe, lest the consequence should be the immediate dispersion of the army of the deceased; he therefore, after certain necessary precautions, caused the body to be dressed, as if alive, and placed on an elephant; marched to Patna with all possible expedition, and distributed the troops in winter quarters. It is scarcely possible to avoid attributing the fate of Meeran to an act of Divine retribution, so cruel and bloodthirsty had been his brief career.§ The previous month had added to the list of victims sacrificed by his father and himself, two aged princesses, the surviving daughters of Ali

* *Life*, ii. 120—122. The succession of Meeran had, it should be borne in mind, been one of the primary conditions made by Meer Jaffier with Clive.

† Mr. Scrafton, in a letter to Clive, states that Meeran, on one occasion, became so excited by the partiality evinced towards a Hindoo governor (Roydullub) who was known to be disaffected to him, that he declared, unless an express guarantee of safety should be given, he would leave Moorshedabad with those who were faithful to him, and, if necessary, fight his way to the nabob, who was then at Patna. Scrafton adds, that the "old Begum sent for Petrus the Armenian interpreter for the company), and fell a blubbering, saying that she had but that son, and could not spare him."—(Malcolm's *Life*, i., 349.)

‡ *See* previous section on Mogul empire, p. 177.

§ Upon examination, five or six holes were found on the back part of his head, and on his body streaks like the marks of a whip. A scimitar which lay on the pillow above his head had also holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tent pole appeared as if rotted. Yet, notwithstanding these indications, a rumour arose that the death of Meeran had been caused by the English; and to this unfounded accusation Burke alludes in his famous speech on opening the charges against Warren Hastings.

Verdi Khan; and among his papers was found a list of the names of persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign; determined, as he said, "to rid himself of the disloyal, and sit down in repose with his friends."

The death of Meeran was a terrible blow to his father. The slight barrier which had heretofore in some measure kept down the arrogance and extortion of the English functionaries, and likewise the clamours of the unpaid native troops being now removed, the nabob was left alone to bear, in the weakness of age and intellect, the results of his unhallowed ambition. Clive, with others who had largely benefited by sharing its first-fruits, had gone to enjoy the wealth thus acquired under the safeguard of a free constitution; and their successors would, it was probable, be inclined to look to the expedient of a new revolution as the best possible measure for their private interests, as well as those of their employers. The excitement attendant on the payment of the chief part of the stipulated sums to the Bengal treasury, had before this time given place to depression; that is, so far as the public affairs of the company were concerned. Individuals had accumulated, and were still accumulating large fortunes, to which, in a pecuniary sense, no drawback was attached; but the general trade was in a much less flourishing condition. On being first acquainted with the extent of money and territory ceded by Meer Jaffier, (of which, it may be remarked, Clive gave a very exaggerated account,) the directors sent out word that no supplies would be sent by them to India for several ensuing seasons, as the Bengal treasury would, it was expected, be well able to supply the civil and military exigences of the three presidencies, to provide European investments, and even to make provision for the China trade. This was so far from being the case, that in less than two years after the deposition of Meer Jaffier, "it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the Court of Directors."* The distress created in England by these drafts was very great; and even in the year 1758, the holders were with difficulty prevailed upon to grant further time for their liquidation.

The payment of the English troops engaged in repelling the attempts of the Shahzada, presented an additional difficulty. It had been thought that the stipulated sum of one lac of rupees (£10,000) per month, would amply cover their expenditure; but experience proved that amount insufficient to provide for the exigences of the augmented establishment thereby necessitated, even had the money been regularly paid; instead of which, the nabob was greatly in arrears at the time of Clive's departure.

In fact, his own forces were so costly and extensive, that it is alleged they were alone sufficient to absorb the entire revenue. The death of Meeran was quickly followed by an alarming mutiny. The palace was surrounded, the walls scaled, and Meer Jaffier threatened with instant death unless the claims of the really distressed troops were liquidated. Meer Cossim, who had married the only surviving legitimate child of the nabob, interfered for his protection, and brought about an arrangement by the advance of three lacs from his own treasury, and a promise of the balance due in a stated period.

Mr. Vansittart arrived to fill the position of governor of Bengal in July, 1760. An empty treasury; a quarrelsome and dictatorial council; unpaid and disorderly troops; the provision of an investment actually suspended;—these were some of the difficulties which awaited him.† Mr. Holwell, while in the position of temporary governor, had suggested to his fellow-officials, that the cruelty and incapacity of Meer Jaffier justified his abandonment, and proposed that they should change sides—accept the reiterated offers of the emperor, and make common cause with him. This project was rejected; but the necessity for some decisive measure being pretty generally agreed upon, it was at length resolved to offer Meer Cossim Ali the limited degree of real power still residing in the person of the nabob, on condition of the title and a fixed income being left with Meer Jaffier, and certain additional concessions made to the English.

Mr. Vansittart acquiesced in the scheme formed by Mr. Holwell and the select committee. One or two members of the general council, when the intended change was first hinted at, dissented on the ground that the incapacity of Meer Jaffier was itself favourable to the interests of the company; but the urgent need of fresh supplies of funds to meet increased expenditure, combined per-

* Vansittart's *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*, i., 22. The same authority states, that in 1760 the military and other charges in Bengal amounted to upwards of £200,000 per ann.; while the net revenue did not exceed £80,000—(p. 97.)

† Vansittart's *Letter to E. I. Proprietors*, p. 13.

haps with less easily avowed motives on the part of certain influential persons overpowered this reasoning, and a treaty was entered into by the governor and select committee with Meer Cossim, by which he agreed to assign to the English the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in discharge of the balance due from his father-in-law. On the night on which the articles were signed, Meer Cossim tendered to Mr. Vansittart a note for the payment of twenty lacs of rupees to the five members of the select committee. Considering the large sums extorted from Meer Jaffier on a previous occasion, it was only natural to expect some similar instance of "munificence" in the present case; though, from the impoverished state of the revenues, the amount must of necessity be greatly inferior. The note was, however, returned, and the governor and committee, if they had not the self-denial wholly to reject the tempting offer, displayed at least a sufficient regard to decorum to refuse accepting any portion of it, until Meer Cossim should be seated in security on the musnud, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. In the meantime they appear to have made no private agreement whatever; but, in lieu of it, to have asked a contribution of five lacs for the company, which was immediately paid and employed in aid of the operations then in progress against the French at Pondicherry.

The deposition of Meer Jaffier was effected with so much ease, that on the evening of the day on which it took place, a stranger entering Moorshedabad would scarcely have suspected the revolution that had so recently occurred. When first informed of his intended supercession, the nabob manifested an unexpected degree of energy—declared that his son, Meeran, had warned him what would happen, and even threatened to oppose force by force, and abide his fate. But this was the mere effervescence of impotent rage. The palace was surrounded by English troops, and he possessed few, if any, on whose fidelity reliance could be placed; besides which, so "general a disaffection against his government, and detestation of his person and principles, prevailed in the country amongst all ranks and classes of people," that Mr. Vansittart declared, "it would have been scarcely possible for the old nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month."*

Scarcity alike of money and provisions began to be painfully felt throughout Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Moorshedabad, once the seat of unparalleled abundance, had become the abode of poverty-stricken multitudes; while Patna, exposed for two years to the ravages of the imperial forces, and threatened with renewed invasion, instead of furnishing, as in times of peace, vast stores of rice, was now almost a wildernesss. Amid this wide-spread misery, the man from whom aid was expected continued to lavish sums extorted by oppression on favourites of the most unworthy character; and pleasures (if they deserve that name) of the most disreputable description. The measure of his iniquities was filled by the sanction or direction given by him, in conjunction with Meeran, for the midnight assassination of Gassitee Begum and Amina Begum,† which, in the case of the former princess, was an act of peculiar ingratitude as well as cruelty, since she had been extremely useful to him during the fifteen months' sway of her nephew, Surajah Dowlah. It must be remembered, that Colonel Clive had viewed the assassination of that prince with utter indifference; and it is the less to be wondered at that so sanguinary a commencement having passed uncensured, Meer Jaffier should have allowed his son to follow out the same course until he was cut off as one who, though unscathed by human laws, yet "vengeance suffereth not to live." The

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 100—138.

† Among the reasons stated by the governor and committee for the deposition of Meer Jaffier, was a massacre committed by his orders at Dacca in June, 1760, in which the mother of Surajah Dowlah, his aunt, his widow and daughter, and a boy adopted into the family, were taken from prison at midnight and drowned, together with seventy persons of inferior note. Such wholesale slaughter as this, if actually perpetrated, would have cast into the shade even the enormities which formed the steps to the Mogul throne; yet it does not seem that any official inquiry was instituted in the matter. So hardened do the minds of Europeans become by familiarity to the worst features of despotism, that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Smyth, the three dissenting members of council, in their minute complaining of not having been duly consulted regarding the recent measures adopted by the select committee, positively palliate the charges brought against Meer Jaffier as cruelties which would appear shocking to a civilised government, but which were common to all despotic ones. In fact, the transaction, infamous as it really was, had been greatly magnified; for in October, 1765, it was officially stated by the government of Bengal, that of the five principal victims named above, only two had perished; the rest had been kept in confinement, and were subsequently set at liberty. (Thornton's

death of Meeran formed a new feature in the complicated question upon which Mr. Vansittart was called upon to decide. The prince was well known to have been the chief counsellor and abettor of his father's actions; and it may be doubted whether Mr. Holwell's proposition (of abandoning Meer Jaffier and surrendering the government to the emperor) being wholly set aside, it would not have been wiser to have avoided the questionable expedient of a supercession, by suffering the present nabob to continue to occupy the musnud, but with a very limited degree of authority. It was evident things could not remain as they were; the power of the English was too great and too little—altogether too undefined to be stationary; and though there is much reason to believe that the course pursued in this difficult crisis was really prompted by an honest desire for the good of all parties, yet, like most temporising measures, the result was total and disastrous failure.

The resignation forced upon Meer Jaffier appears, under the circumstances, rather a boon than a punishment. The first outburst of rage having subsided, he listened calmly to the proposals made to him—prudently rejected the offer of continuing to enjoy the empty semblance of power, while the reality was to be vested in another person; and simply stipulated that he should be suffered to proceed immediately to Calcutta, and reside there under British protection. It has been alleged that his ambitious son-in-law objected strongly to such a procedure, and would have preferred disposing of his predecessor after a more summary fashion:* but be this as it may, Meer Jaffier quitted Moorshedabad the very evening of his deposition, bearing away, to solace his retirement, about seventy of the ladies of the harem, and "a reasonable quantity of jewels." His only lawful wife (the mother of Meeran) refused to accompany him, and remained with her daughter and Meer Cossim. Thus ends one important though not very creditable page of Anglo-Indian history in Bengal.

Administration of Meer Cossim Ali.—The question uppermost in the mind of every member of the Bengal presidency, whether friendly or adverse to the new nabob, was—how he would manage to fulfil the treaty with the English, pay the sums claimed by them, and liquidate the enormous arrears due to his own clamorous troops? Being an able financier, a rigid economist in personal expenditure, and a man of unwearying energy, Meer Cossim set about the Herculean task of freeing himself from pecuniary involvements, and restoring the prosperity of the country by measures which soon inspired the English officials with the notion that, so far as their personal interests were concerned, the recent revolution might prove as the exchange of King Log for King Stork. Strict accounts of income and expenditure were demanded from the local governors, from the highest to the lowest; the retrospect was carried back even to the time of Ali Verdi Khan; and many who had long since retired to enjoy, in comparative obscurity, wealth gotten by more or less questionable means, while basking in the short-lived sunshine of court favour, were now compelled to refund at least a portion of their accumulations. In short, according to Gholam Hussein, the advice of Sadi the poet—"Why collectest thou not from every

British India, i., 387.) This does not free the English authorities from blame regarding the fate of those who really perished, and the hazard incurred by the survivors, who were left at the caprice of an apathetic old man and a merciless youth. But so little concern was manifested when human lives and not trading monopolies were concerned, that Meeran, being reproached by Scrafton (then British resident at Moorshedabad) for the murder of one of the female relatives of Ali Verdi Khan, did not take the trouble of replying, as he truly might, that she was alive, but asked, in the tone of a petulant boy who thought he "might do what he willed with his own," "What, shall not I kill an old woman who goes about in her dooly (litter) to stir up the jematdars (military commanders) against my father?" The perceptions of the Bengal public were, happily, not quite so obtuse as those of their Mohammedan or European rulers; and the murder of the princesses (with or without their alleged companions of inferior rank) was held to be so foul a crime, that the fire of heaven, which smote the perpetrator, was popularly believed to have been called down by Amina Begum (the mother of Surajah Dowlah), who in dying uttered the vengeful wish, that the lightning might fall on the murderer of herself, her child, and her sister. The imprecation is of fearful meaning in Bengal, where loss of life during thunder-storms is of frequent occurrence; and the tale ran, that the deaths of Meeran and his victims were not, as stated in the text, a month apart, but simultaneous, the fatal orders being executed at Dacca on the same night and hour that Meeran perished, several hundred miles away. (*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 133.) The translator adds, in a note, that the imprecation of Amina Begum was mentioned in Moorshedabad full thirty days before intelligence became public of the death of Meeran.

* This charge will be found in Holwell's *Indian Tracts*, 90—91; but in a subsequent page it is denied by Mr. Holwell, the person to whom the proposition is stated to have been made.—(*Idem*, p. 114.)

subject a grain of silver, that thou mayest form a treasure?"—became the rule of Meer Cossim; and, in the short space of eight months, he wrought a wonderful change for the better, though at a cost of personal exertion which he described by declaring, that he had "scarce had leisure to drink a little water, nor a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep."*

Such rigid supervision was sure to displease those especially by whom it was most needed; and the camp of the Mogul became in consequence the rallying ground of many discontented zemindars and petty rajahs who were not strong enough to rebel in their own names. Early in 1761 an engagement took place between the imperial forces and those of Meer Cossim and the English under Major Carnac. The emperor was again defeated; the small French corps by which he had been supported quite dispersed; and its indefatigable leader, M. Law, taken prisoner.† Immediately after the battle, overtures of peace were made by the victors, through the intervention of a brave Hindoo general, whose name, whatever it may have been, has been anglicised into Rajah Shitabroy. The proposition was gladly accepted; Shah Alum proceeded to Patna, and there bestowed on Meer Cossim the investiture of the government of the three provinces, on condition of the annual payment of twenty-four lacs of rupees.‡ The English commander then escorted the emperor some distance on his road to join Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude. External hostility had scarcely been removed from the path of Meer Cossim, before obstacles of a domestic character took its place. Several Hindoo officials of high rank persisted in evading his just demands for a settlement of outstanding accounts, and screened themselves from punishment, or even from inquiry, through the intervention of the English. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, afforded a remarkable example of this ill-judged partiality. He had been placed in office by Ali Verdi Khan, and was one of the few nobles whose fidelity to Surajah Dowlah remained inviolate. After the deposition and murder of this prince, Meer Jaffier had urgently solicited Clive to induce Ram Narrain to come to Moorshedabad under the promise of British protection, in order, as the proposer of this notable scheme did not hesitate to avow, to obtain a convenient opportunity for cutting off his head. The experience of Clive in the art of writing "soothing" letters to an intended victim, was, happily for the national honour, not made use of in the present case; on the contrary, the ungenerous policy of maintaining a rival party in the court of the nabob, induced favourable terms to be made with Ram Narrain, and he was confirmed in his government despite the opposition of his nominal master.

As might be expected under such circumstances, between constant warfare and a disaffected ruler, the revenues of Patna proved of little benefit to the exhausted treasury of Moorshedabad. Ram Narrain scarcely disguised the hatred and contempt he felt for Meer Jaffier, and found no difficulty in resisting or evading his demands; but Meer Cossim was a man of a different stamp; and a fierce and prolonged dispute took place between the nabob and the governor—the former demanding the immediate settlement of all arrears; the latter, on one pretence or other, refusing even to render the accounts justly demanded from him. The refractory subordinate relied on the protection of the English, and long continued to be upheld in his unwarrantable

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 214.

† After the fate of the day had been decided, Law, though deserted by his countrymen, refused to quit the field; and vexed to the soul by the utter failure of his attempts to uphold the interests of the French nation, sat down astride a gun, ready to fling away his life, when an attempt should be made to capture him. Major Carnac found him in this attitude, accepted his surrender on parole without delivering up his sword, and subsequently, in common with all the other British officers, treated the captive with marked consideration. Gholam Hussein Khan highly extols this chivalrous behaviour, and finds frequent occasion to applaud in the strongest manner the military qualifications of the English; adding, that if they did but possess equal proficiency in the arts of government, and manifested as much solicitude for the welfare of native communities in time of peace, as they did forethought in war, then no nation in the world would be worthier of command. "But," he adds, "such is the little regard they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference to their welfare, that the natives under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress."—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 102.)

‡ Meer Cossim, aware of the strong personal prejudice of Major Carnac towards himself, refused to enter the imperial camp, lest some design against him—such as it appears was actually entertained by Carnac and Ellis (Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 399)—should be put in practice. Therefore the investiture was performed in the hall of the English factory, a platform being made of two dining-tables covered with cloth, on which to enthrone the fallen majesty of the house of Timur.

refusal to furnish any statement of his administration by the military commanders then stationed at Patna; but at length the representations of Meer Cossim, regarding the violent conduct of Colonel Coote* and Major Carnac, occasioned their recall, and left Ram Narrain in the hands of the nabob, by whom his person was seized and his effects confiscated, on the charge of embezzlement.

The truth was, the whole affair had been treated rather as a bone of contention among the jarring members of the Bengal presidency, than as a question of justice. The secret of their disunion appears to have been sheer jealousy of the present offered by Meer Cossim to the select committee previous to his accession, which they refused receiving until the claims of the company should be satisfied, peace restored, and the long standing arrears of the native troops entirely liquidated.†

These preliminaries having been fulfilled, it was probably expected that Meer Cossim would repeat his offer of the twenty lacs of rupees to the individuals by whom it had been temporarily rejected. The remaining members of council (not of the select committee) became extremely violent on the subject, and instead of pleading, as they might have reasonably done, against being excluded from all share in a transaction which they had about as much, or as little right to benefit by as their colleagues, the tone adopted was one of disinterested zeal for the interest of their employers, in whose name it was insisted the twenty lacs should be immediately demanded from Meer Cossim. This motion was brought forward by Mr. Amyatt, who, as Governor Vansittart did not fail to remark, had been of a different opinion some three years before, or he would scarcely have accepted a share in the golden harvest obtained by the elevation of Meer Jaffier, without exhibiting any such scrupulous regard to the interests of the general body. The result of a subsequent nabob-making affair proved that another stickler for the rights of the company (Mr. Johnstone) was equally willing, when practicable, to make a bargain on his own account. The measure was, however, carried by a majority of the entire council, and a formal requisition to the above effect made to Meer Cossim. The answer was prompt and decisive. The nabob, after stating, "by the grace of God, that he had fulfilled every article of the treaty,"‡ declared, "I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand." The sum intended for the select committee had been, he said, positively refused; most of the gentlemen to whom it was offered had left the country; and as to the one or two still in India, "I do not think," adds the nabob, "they will demand it from me."§ The directors at home clearly appreciated the motives of all concerned, and expressed decided approbation of the "spirited" refusal given to an unauthorised encroachment.

But the fire of anger and distrust, far from being extinguished by such well-merited rebuffs, was fed by various concomitant circumstances. An angry, if not insolent|| memorial, dictated by Clive immediately before sailing for England, and addressed by

* For instance, Meer Cossim complained that on one occasion Colonel Coote, accompanied by thirty-five European horsemen and 200 sepoys, entered his tent in a great passion with a pistol in either hand, crying out, "Where is the nabob?" and uttering "God dammees!" Colonel Coote tacitly admitted the truth of this statement, with the trivial exception that his pistols were not cocked, as the nabob had declared. —(Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 238—244.)

† Soon after his accession, Meer Cossim took occasion to present Mr. Vansittart with a present of 25,000 rupees on the birth of a son—an ordinary eastern compliment, which the governor accepted, but immediately paid into the company's treasury.

‡ A receipt in full was given to Meer Cossim in March, 1762, from all pecuniary obligation to the English. A minute in council showed that he had paid them twenty-six lacs of sicca rupees (valued at 2*s.* 8½*d.* each), together with fifty-three lacs of current rupees (2*s.* 4*d.* each), derived from the ceded districts. He had likewise satisfied the claims both of his own and his predecessor's troops.—(*Narrative.*)

§ It appears, however, from the evidence given before parliament, in 1772, by Colonel Calliaud and Mr. Sumner, that the twenty lacs were actually paid by Meer Cossim, and received in the following proportions:—the governor, five lacs (£50,000); Holwell, Sumner, Calliaud, and M'Gwire, in diminishing portions, according to seniority. This makes the select committee to have consisted of five persons; but beside these, it appears there were others not then present at Calcutta. The committee consisted of the senior members of the council, and the council itself varied in the number of members from six to sixteen, according to the number of those absent in their employments as chiefs of factories, &c.

|| One phrase declares that a recent communication from the directors was equally unworthy of the parties by whom it was written, or those to whom it was addressed, "in whatever relation considered—as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen;" and it is added, significantly, that from the partiality evinced to individuals, "private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here from examples at home, and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than *their own exigencies require.*" This remarkable specimen of plain speaking boasts the signatures of Clive, Holwell, Sumner, and M'Gwire, all of whom were dismissed the service, as also another councillor named Pleydell.

the Bengal officials to their "honourable masters," procured the dismissal of all by whom it had been signed. This measure failed in producing the intended effect; for of the refractory members, the majority, like their leader, had realised immense fortunes by the use of more or less discreditable means; others paid the penalty of sharing the violence of their predecessors by expulsion from the company's service. Although subsequently reinstated, their temporary absence left the governor in a minority in council, and vested the personal opponents of the nabob with overwhelming power. Mr. Vansittart, in rectitude of character, discretion, and gentlemanly bearing, was infinitely superior to his fellow-officials; but he lacked energy to control their unruly tempers, and successfully oppose their selfish ends. It appears that he and the other four gentlemen associated with him (that is, all the members of the select committee then in Bengal), did eventually receive from Cossim Ali the much-canvassed twenty lacs. This single drawback on a general reputation for disinterestedness, afforded an opening of which his enemies well knew how to take advantage, and every effort made to check their illegitimate gains was treated as an act of corrupt and venal partiality towards the nabob.

We have already seen that in the time of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the English officials had striven to construe the firmauns granted by the emperor Feroksheer, as conferring not only exemption from custom-dues on all foreign commerce, but as including the produce of the country, which they asserted ought to pass untaxed, if accompanied by their *dustucks* or licenses, even from one district to another. Now, as half the local revenue was, by the system universally pursued, obtained by innumerable petty dues levied on merchandise, at frequent intervals, in its passage from place to place, it followed that such an unreasonable claim, if granted, must prove highly injurious to the income of the province, and ruinous to the native traders, who, fettered by taxation, could not hope to compete with their favoured rivals. The manifest injustice of the demand procured its speedy, and for a time, complete abandonment. At a subsequent period the directors (in a dispute with the Dutch regarding the right of the emperor to grant the English merchants a monopoly for the sole purchase of saltpetre, notwithstanding the promise of free trade conceded to their competitors) laid it down as an axiom, that the design of all firmauns granted to Europeans was to admit them "to the same freedom of trading with the Mogul's own subjects—surely not a better."* In fact, the interests of the company were in no manner concerned in the question of inland traffic, because this had been entirely resigned to their servants; and every attempt at encroachment made by them during the strong administrations of Moorshed Kooli and Ali Verdi Khan had been carefully suppressed, until the latter ruler became weakened by age, foreign wars, and domestic sorrows. The previous efforts were recommenced and increased at the time of the accession of Surajah Dowlah—so much so, that the articles signed by the English on the surrender of Cossimbazar in May, 1757, included a specific promise to make good all that the Mohammedan government had suffered from the abuse of dustucks.† This pledge was far from being redeemed, and the abuse complained of rose to such an extent, despite the repeated remonstrances of Meer Jaffier, that not only every servant of the company, together with their *gomastahs* or native agents, claimed complete immunity in carrying on inland trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, bamboos, dried fish, &c., but even the Bengalee merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of some member of the presidency; and by virtue of "dustucks" thus obtained, could laugh at the revenue officers, and compel the natives, on penalty of flogging or imprisonment,‡ to buy goods at more, or sell them at considerably less, than the market price.§

Had Mr. Vansittart been a man of more determination, he might probably have averted a new revolution; but the compromising character of his measures served only to encourage his intractable associates. In taking a firm stand on the justice of the question, and insisting upon the proper pay-

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 153.

† Treaty with Surajah Dowlah; *vide* Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 53.

‡ Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 113.

§ The existence and notoriety of these practices is evidenced in a letter from the directors, dated April, 1760, in which it is asserted, that the chiefs of subordinate factories gained full twenty per cent. upon goods supplied to private traders, often exclusive of commission; while the native merchants "apply to our junior servants, and for valuable considerations receive their goods covered with our servants' names: even a writer trades in this manner for many thousands, when at the same time he has often not real credit for an hundred rupees. For the truth of these assertions we need only appeal to yourselves.'

ment of taxes necessary to the maintenance of the country government, he would doubtless have been supported by the directors, who, unbiassed by self-interest, would then, as on a subsequent occasion, have given an honest decision on so plain a case. But Vansittart, aware of the extreme anxiety of the nabob to preserve peace with the English, hoped to bring about an arrangement by offering, on their behalf, the payment of nine per cent. (a rate not a quarter the amount of that exacted from native traders) upon the prime cost of goods at the time of purchase, after which no further duties should be imposed. These terms were settled at a private interview between the nabob and the governor, and the latter departed highly pleased at having brought about an amicable adjustment. But he did not understand the blinding influence of the factious and grasping spirit of the men with whom he had to deal. The members of council, absent in their capacities of chiefs of factories, were called together: even majors Adams and Carnac, though empowered to give a vote only in military affairs, were suffered to come and join a discussion in which they were unprofessionally, and not very creditably, interested as traders; and the result was, the refusal of an overwhelming majority to ratify the pledge given by their president. Warren Hastings, who had lately been elevated to the council, alone stood by Vansittart, and eloquently pleaded the cause of justice, relating the oppressions he had himself witnessed while employed in an inferior capacity in different factories, but with no beneficial result.*

Meer Cossim soon saw the state of the case;—a governor, willing but unable to protect him against the rapacity of subordinate officials. He knew their vulnerable point; and instead of wasting more time in fruitless complaints, aimed a well-directed blow by proclaiming free trade among his own subjects for the ensuing two years. It was clearly the most equitable and statesmanlike measure that could have been adopted; but the council, in their unbridled wrath at having the native traders placed on a level with themselves, denounced it as a shameless infringement on the company's prerogative; and, upon this flimsy pretext, sent a deputation to the nabob, consisting of Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, to demand its immediate annulment. Meer Cossim refused to discuss the subject, and, in commenting on the decision of the council—that all disputes between English gomastahs and his officers, should be referred to the chiefs of the company's factories—he said their justice consisted simply in this:—"they abuse and beat my officers, and send them away bound." Regarding the immediate question at issue, he vindicated the abolition of customs on the plea of necessity, the conduct of the English having utterly prevented their realisation, and thus deprived him of one-half his revenues. The remainder, he added, arose from land-rents, which were diminished by the abstraction of half the country, and were required to pay his standing army. Under these circumstances he would be well pleased to be relieved of his irksome task, and see some other person placed in his stead as nabob. This proposition was probably made in reference to the projects already canvassed in council (and of which he doubtless had some knowledge), for his supercession in the event of the outbreak of hostilities. The tone and bearing of Meer Cossim were, however, still on the whole so deprecating and conciliatory, that no fear of the consequences appears to have arisen in the minds of the council to suggest the danger of driving him to extremities. The governor explicitly declares that, up to this period, the nabob had not shown "any instance of a vicious or a violent disposition; he could not be taxed with any act of cruelty to his own subjects, nor treachery to us."† Of his troops a very contemptible opinion had been formed; they were spoken of as "undisciplined rabble," whom a single European detachment could at once disperse: while Meer Cossim himself was known to possess neither taste nor talent as a military leader; and the chief warlike enterprise of his administration (an invasion of Nepaul) had proved a failure. But sufficient account had not been made of the care with which the native army had been gradually brought to a state of unprecedented efficiency; their number being diminished by the payment and dismissal of useless portions, while the remainder were carefully trained, after the European manner, by the aid of some military adventurers who entered the service of Meer Cossim. Among these the most celebrated was a man called by the natives

* In the course of these discussions, Mr. Batson, one of the council, struck Hastings a blow. The injured party, with true dignity, left to his colleagues the charge of dealing with the offender.

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 394.

Sumroo.* He was a German, Walter Reinehard by name, and came to India as a sergeant in the service of France. Military abilities raised him to high favour with Meer Cossim, and he became the chief instigator and instrument of the cruelties which disgraced the close of the struggle with the presidency. The abuse of certain discretionary powers vested in Mr. Ellis by the council, despite the opposition of the governor, precipitated matters. Patna was seized by the English, and, to their surprise, immediately regained by Meer Cossim. Mr. Amyatt was at this time on his way back to Calcutta; Mr. Hay being detained as a hostage for the safety of some of the native officials then imprisoned at Calcutta. Orders were given for the capture of Mr. Amyatt: he was intercepted, and, with several of his companions, slain in the struggle which ensued. The council closed all avenues to reconciliation with Meer Cossim, by the restoration of the man who, three years before, had been pronounced utterly unfit to reign. Suddenly annulling all that had been said and done—setting aside the imperial investiture, and everything else, Meer Jaffier, without even the form of a fresh treaty, was, by a strange turn of the wheel of circumstances, again hurried to the musnud from whence he had so lately been ignominiously expelled.

Vansittart, overpowered by bitter opposition, and sinking under ill-health, no longer strove to stem the torrent. It was an emergency in which he thought "justice must give way to necessity,"† and accordingly he signed the proclamation inviting the people of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to rally round the standard of Meer Jaffier; with other documents, whose contents were wholly at variance with his previous measures; only declaring that he would resign the government so soon as Meer Cossim should be subdued. This did not prove so easy a task as had been expected. The ex-nabob made a last effort at an accommodation by a letter to the presidency, in which he denied having given any order for the destruction of Mr. Amyatt; but, at the same time, referred significantly to the number of English captured at Patna, plainly intimating that their fate depended on the terms made with him. The threat was little heeded. So perfect and uniform had been his self-control, that not even the governor or Mr. Hastings (the two Europeans who had most intimately known him) ever suspected the fierce passions which lay hid beneath the veil of a singularly dignified bearing and guarded language. No decisive measure was therefore taken for the rescue of the prisoners, but only letters written, threatening unsparing vengeance in the event of any injury being inflicted upon them. These communications did but add fuel to fire. Meer Cossim well knew the stake for which he played — independent sway over at least a part of Bengal, or a violent death, with the possible alternative of poverty and expatriation in the dominions of his powerful neighbour, Shuja Dowlah. The English took the field in 1763, and commenced operations by the successful attack of the army stationed to protect Moorshedabad. The city was captured; and in the following month, the severest conflict which the English had yet sustained took place on the plain of Geriah. The battle lasted four hours, and the enemy at one period broke the line, seized two guns, and attacked the 84th regiment front and rear. But the steadiness of the troops prevailed over the impetuosity of their assailants, and eventually procured a complete victory. Meer Cossim was driven from place to place; defeat and disgrace dogged his steps; and after sending his family and treasures to the stronghold of Rhotas, he commenced a series of executions at once, to gratify his revenge and intimidate his foes. Ram Narrain, with ten relatives, and other native prisoners of note, were the first victims after the battle of Geriah. A no less disastrous engagement, in September, near Oodwa, was followed by the execution of the celebrated bankers, Juggut Seit and his brother (or cousin), of whose persons the nabob had some time before obtained possession. Finally, the treacherous surrender of Monghyr, which he learned at Patna, occasioned an order for the immediate execution of all prisoners confined there, including fifty of the company's servants, civil and military. Among the number were Hay, Ellis, and Lushington (the person before named as having counterfeited the signature of Admiral Watson.) Mr. Fullarton, a surgeon, in virtue of a profession more peaceful than his practice,‡

* His *nom-de-guerre* of Summer was changed by the French soldiers into Sombre, on account of his dark complexion, pronounced by the natives *Sumroo.*

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 317.

‡ He is stated by Vansittart to have been mainly instrumental in urging Mr. Amyatt, with whom he

formed the sole exception to this savage massacre, which was perpetrated by Sumroo and two companies of sepoys. On the advance of the English, Patna was abandoned by its ruthless master; but the capture was not effected until the middle of November, after a prolonged and resolute defence. Meer Cossim, unable to offer further resistance, crossed the Caramnassa as a fugitive, and threw himself upon the protection of his ally, Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, who, from the nominal vizier, had by this time become the gaoler, of Shah Alum. Early in the following year, an army was assembled at Benares by Shuja Dowlah, who, it appears, desired to make the claims of his *protégé* a pretext for obtaining possession of the three provinces for himself. The prospect of invasion was alarming—less from the strength of the enemy than from the mutinous and disaffected condition of the British force. From the moment when a division of booty, to a hitherto unheard-of extent, commenced at the taking of Geriah in 1756, a marked deterioration had, as Clive truly observed, taken place in their health and discipline. Large numbers perished from sheer debauchery; and the survivors, imitating the civilians, were constantly on the watch for some new source of irregular gain. "A gratification to the army" had been one of the articles canvassed in council, as a point to be insisted on in case of Meer Cossim's supercession; but war had come on them at the last so suddenly, and had been attended with such an unexpected amount of danger and expense, that in the terms dictated to Meer Jaffier, after his reinstatement on the musnud, the council had scarcely leisure to do more than stipulate for thirty lacs on behalf of the company; for the reimposition of taxes on the oppressed natives; for their own total exemption, except a duty of two-and-a-half per cent. upon salt,* which, in their liberality, they offered to pay as a gratuitous assistance to the nabob; and, lastly, for complete reimbursement to individuals who might suffer loss by the stoppage of the inland trade. It is easy to understand who these individuals were, but difficult to conceive to what an extent a clause so indefinite as this might enable them to carry their extortions. Even Meer Jaffier seems to have had a notion that, in return for these stipulations, he also might put forward some peculiar claims; and he now successfully urged, as a condition of re-accepting the subahship, permission to employ, as one of his chief ministers, an intriguing Hindoo named Nuncomar, who was actually in confinement for having intrigued against the English with Shuja Dowlah and the French governor of Pondicherry. In these arrangements, all idea of a gratuity to the army was lost sight of; nor was any forthcoming, as expected, after the expulsion of Meer Cossim, although a specific pledge to that effect had, it appears, been given to the troops through Major Adams.†

Under such circumstances little vigour was displayed in opposing the invading troops, until, after ravaging Bahar, they penetrated as far as Patna. Here, however, they were defeated. The English soldiers and sepoys—but especially the latter, on whom the principal weight of the attack fell—behaved with great steadiness and gallantry; and the vizier, perceiving that his rude levies were quite unable to oppose a disciplined European force, soon began to evince an inclination for an amicable adjustment of affairs. But the English would make no terms that did not include the surrender of the fugitive nabob and his sanguinary instrument, Sumroo; and Shuja Dowlah, on his part, looked for nothing less than the surrender of the whole province of Bahar: consequently the discussion produced no result; and the tedious war dragged on until the approach of the rainy season compelled the vizier to conclude the campaign by retreating with all speed to Oude.

The arrival of Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro from Bombay, with European reinforcements, was the signal for an outbreak of the dissatisfaction long at work in the British army; and a whole battalion of sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, marched off to join the enemy. The major detached a select body of troops in pursuit. The fugitives were surprised by night, while sleeping, and brought back as prisoners. By the decree of a court-martial of their own countrymen, twenty-four of the prisoners were condemned to die. They were tied up, four at a time, to the muzzle of as many guns, and blown away; the first to suffer being some grenadiers, who stepped forward and urged that, as they had constantly been allowed precedence in the hour of danger, so now it should be granted them in death. The claim was

had great influence, to adopt the policy which led to so melancholy a termination.—(*Narrative*, i., 164.)

* Even this rate was never levied.—(*Clive*, iii., 103.)

† Evidence of Major Munro.—(*First Report of Parliamentary Committee*, 1772.)

tacitly admitted to be true, by being granted, and the whole twenty-four were executed, despite the earnest remonstrances and even open opposition of their comrades.

Military men have applauded this transaction as a piece of well-timed and necessary severity; those who, like myself, question both the lawfulness and expediency of capital punishments, and deem war and standing armies the reproach and not the glory of Christian nations, will probably view the whole affair in a different light.

In the middle of September (1764) the British troops again took the field, and having crossed the Sone in spite of the opposition of a corps of cavalry, advanced towards the intrenched camp of the vizier at Buxar. A sharp conflict took place, and lasted about three hours; the enemy then began to give way, and slowly retired; but an immediate pursuit being commenced, Shuja Dowlah procured its abandonment, though at an immense sacrifice of life,* by destroying a bridge of boats upon a stream of water two miles from the field of battle. The emperor seized the opportunity of escaping from his tyrannical minister, pitched his tents beside those of the English, and placed himself under their protection. Renewed overtures for peace, on the part of Shuja Dowlah, were again met by a demand for the surrender of Meer Cossim and Sumroo. The former, fearing to trust his life any longer in the hands of one who had already taken advantage of his defenceless position to obtain possession of the chief part of the gold and jewels which he had brought from Bengal, now fled to the Rohilla country, whither he had fortunately caused some treasure to be conveyed before the confiscation ordered by his ungenerous ally, on pretence of paying the troops. Sumroo, no less faithless than cruel, had deserted him; and, with a large body of trained sepoys, had joined the force of Shuja Dowlah before the battle of Buxar. This piece of treachery nearly proved fatal to its perpetrator; for the vizier, anxious to come to terms with the English, and yet to avoid the infamy of delivering up the deserter, positively offered to procure his assassination in presence of any two or three witnesses chosen by Major Munro, and evinced great surprise at the rejection of this truly oriental proposal. It should be remarked, however, in justice to Shuja Dowlah, that though willing to plunder Meer Cossim to the last rupee, he could not be induced to surrender his person on any terms; and even for the life and liberty of the villain Sumroo, he would willingly have paid a heavy ransom; for it was not until after the rejection of the offer of a sum of fifty-eight lacs, in lieu of delivering up the fugitives, that he made the treacherous suggestion above narrated regarding Sumroo. Whether he really intended to carry it out, or if, on the contrary, some other stratagem was designed in the event of the plan being approved by the English, cannot be ascertained. It is certain that his army was in no condition to renew hostilities, and, indeed, never recovered the effects of the late decisive engagement.

Meanwhile corruption, venality, and oppression reigned unchecked in Bengal. The name of a nation, once highly honoured, became alike hateful in the ears of Mussulmans and Hindoos.† The approach of a party of English sepoys served as a signal for the desertion of whole villages, and the shopkeepers fled at the approach of the palanquin of the passing traveller, fearing that their goods might be seized for an almost nominal value, and they themselves abused and beaten for offering a remonstrance. The people at large were reduced to a state of unprecedented misery; the ungenerous and impolitic advantage taken of their weakness, having put it in the power of every marauder who chose to style himself an English servant, to plunder and tyrannise over them without control. The effect, Warren Hastings plainly declared to be, "not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to refuse them even the benefit of any." Had all this wrong proceeded from the will of a single despot, there can be little doubt he would have been speedily removed by a combination of his own officers, or, as Mohammedan history affords so many instances, been smitten to the earth by a private individual, in vengeance for some special injury. But the tyranny of a far-distant association, dreadful and incomprehensible beyond any bugbear ever painted by superstition, possessed this distinguishing feature above all other despotisms—that it was exercised through numerous distinct agencies,

* Stated at 2,000 men drowned or otherwise lost; besides which, 2,000 men were left dead on the field, with 133 pieces of cannon. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 847.

† *Vide* Hasting's letter;—*Narrative*, ii., 78. Clive declares the oppressions practised had made "the name of the English stink in the nostrils of a Gentoo or a Mussulman."—(Malcolm's *Life*, ii., 380.)

of which the hundred hands and arms of the Hindoo idols could convey but a faint and feeble image.

Oppression reached a climax under the second administration of Meer Jaffier. He had previously complained in forcible language* of the injury done to the native merchants, as well as to the provincial revenues, by the abuse of the privileges conferred by the firmaun; but to this wrong he formally assented when replaced on the musnud. It soon, however, became manifest that it mattered little what the terms of the agreement had been; for he was regarded simply as "a banker for the company's servants, who could draw upon him as often, and to as great an extent as they pleased."† The clause for compensation to individuals proved, as might have been foreseen, a handle for excessive extortion. At the time of its insertion the nabob had been assured that, although it was impossible to specify the particular amounts of claims, they would not altogether exceed ten lacs; notwithstanding which, the demand was increased to twenty, thirty, forty, and at last reached fifty-three lacs. Seven-eighths of this sum, according to the testimony of Mr. Scrafton, then an E. I. director, "was for losses sustained (or said to be sustained) in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the company, and to the utter ruin of the India merchants." He adds, that "half of this sum was soon extorted from the nabob, though the company were at that time sinking under the burden of the war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent. interest, and even with that assistance could not carry on both their war and their investment, but sent their ships half loaded to Europe." ‡ The military establishment of the English had by this time increased to 18,000 horse and foot, and its ill-regulated expenditure soon swallowed up the thirty lacs paid by Meer Jaffier, as also the further sum of five lacs a month, which he had agreed to furnish during the continuance of the war.

Pressed on all sides by extortionate claims, despised and brow-beaten by the very men who had used him as an instrument for their private ends, the nabob sank rapidly to an unhonoured grave. His death in January, 1765, had been shortly preceded by the departure of Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings for England; and in the absence of any restraining influence, the council were left to conduct the profitable affair of enthroning a new nabob after their own fashion. The choice lay between the eldest illegitimate son of Jaffier, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, aged twenty years, and the infant son of Meeran. The claim of the emperor to appoint an officer was considered far too inconvenient to be acknowledged; it would be easy to extort his sanction when the selection was made. Repeated offers had been made by him to bestow on the English real power over the revenues of Bengal, by vesting in them the right of collection. This office, called the *dewannee*, had been devised during the palmy days of the empire§ as a means of preventing attempts at independence on the part of the subahdar, the dewan being designed to act as treasurer, appointed from, and accountable to, the Delhi government, leaving the subahdar to direct in all other matters. This arrangement had been allowed to fall into disuse; for Ali Verdi Khan had usurped the whole authority, both financial and judicial. Shah Alum must have been too well acquainted with the state of affairs, to doubt that the English, if they accepted the dewannee, would be sure to engross likewise all real power vested in the subahdar; but he expected in return a tribute, on the regular payment of which dependence might be placed. It did not, however, suit the views of the representatives of the E. I. Cy. to occupy a position which should render them personally accountable for the revenues. A nabob—*i.e.*, a person from whom "presents" might be legally received—could not be dispensed with. The child of Meeran was old enough to understand the worth of sugar-plums, but hardly of rupees; and his claims were set aside for those of Nujeem-ad-Dowlah. The new nabob consented to everything demanded of him: agreed to entrust the military defence of the country solely to the English, and even to allow of the appointment, by the presidency, of a person who, under the title of Naib Subah, should have the entire management of the affairs of government. He eagerly advocated the nomination of Nuncomar to fill this important

* "The poor of my country," said Meer Jaffier, "used to get their bread by trading in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, which the English have now taken to themselves; by which my poor are starving, my revenues ruined, and no advantage to the company." —(*Vide* Scrafton's *Observations* on Vansittart's *Narrative*, printed in 1766, pp. 38-'9.)

† Clive's speech, 1772;—Almon's *Debates*, xiv.

‡ Scrafton's *Observations*, pp. 48-'9.

§ *See* preceding section on Mogul Empire, p. 117.

office, but in vain; and the selection of an experienced noble, named Mohammed Reza Khan, was perhaps the best that could have been made. The other articles of the treaty were but the confirmation of previous arrangements; and the whole affair wound up, as usual, very much to the satisfaction of the English officials concerned, among nine of whom the sum of £139,357 was distributed, besides gifts extorted from leading Indian functionaries, in all of which the chief share was monopolised by Mr. Johnstone, the dissenting member of council, who had so vehemently deprecated the conduct of the select committee of 1760, in receiving the largess of Meer Cossim. The money thus acquired was not destined to be enjoyed without a contest; for the curb (so greatly needed) was at length about to be placed on the greediness of Bengal officials.

Ever since the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, the E. I. Cy. had been spectators rather than directors of the conduct of their servants in Bengal. Clive had quitted their service with bitterness in his heart and defiance on his lips; and the example of insubordination, ambition, and covetousness given by him, had been closely imitated by men who could not appreciate the energy and perseverance which enabled him to swim where they must sink. The representations of Mr. Vansittart, the massacre at Patna, and the sharp contest with Shuja Dowlah following that with Meer Cossim, seriously alarmed the mass of East India proprietors;—anxiety for their own interests, and indignation at the wrongs heaped on the natives in their name, for the sole benefit of a few ungovernable servants, conspired to rouse a strong feeling of the necessity of forthwith adopting measures calculated to bring about a better state of things. Stringent orders were dispatched in February, 1764, forbidding the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country;* and in the following May it was directed that new covenants should be executed by all the company's servants (civil and military), binding them to "pay over to their employers all presents received from the natives, which should exceed 4,000 rupees in value." The above orders, and the unsigned covenants, were actually lying at Calcutta when the treaty with the new nabob was made, and the sum above stated extorted from him. Probably the directors were not unprepared for disobedience, even of this flagrant character. The execution of orders so distasteful needed to be enforced in no common manner; and reasoning, it would seem, on the ground that it was one of those cases in which "the children of this world are wiser than the children of light," it was suggested that Clive (now a lord) was of all men the best fitted to root up the poisonous tree he had planted.†

The inducement was not wanting; for his jaghire had been called in question; and to ensure its continuance for the next ten

* Second Parl. Report on E. I. Cy., 1772.

† An Irish peerage was, after long delay, obtained by Clive, who took the title of Baron of Plassy: an English one, by his own account, might have been purchased with ease (*Life*, ii., 189); but then the enormous wealth which was to maintain its possessor on a level, in a pecuniary point of view, with the high-born aristocracy of England, rested on a precarious footing. Clive, notwithstanding his extraordinary facility of attributing to himself every possible perfection, never doubted that his position in society rested on his "bags of money and bushels of diamonds" (ii., 168), rather than on any mere personal qualifications; and when urged to exert his influence in the India House, soon after his return to England, for some special purpose, in contravention to the directors, he peremptorily refused, declaring, "my future power, my future grandeur, all depend upon the receipt of the jaghire; and I should be a madman to set at defiance those who at present show no inclination to hurt me." It must be remembered that Clive, besides the jaghire, had avowedly realised between three and four hundred thousand pounds during his second sojourn in India—a circumstance that greatly detracts from the effect of the fiery indignation with which, when the right was questioned of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or his own to accept, the quit-rent paid by the company, he came forward to save his "undoubted property from the worst of foes—a combination of ungrateful directors" (ii., 229.) "Having now," says Sir John Malcolm, "no choice between bartering his independence to obtain security for his fortune," Clive commenced hostilities after the old fashion, sparing neither bold strokes in the field, nor manœuvres in the closet. Upwards of £100,000 were employed by him in securing support by a means then commonly practised, but afterwards prohibited—viz., that of split votes. He had, however, some powerful opponents, with the chairman, Mr. Sulivan, at their head. This gentleman and Clive were at one period on intimate terms; but according to the latter, their seeming good-fellowship had been sheer hypocrisy, since, in reality, they "all along behaved like shy cocks, though at times outwardly expressing great regard and friendship for one another." The issue of the conflict in London was materially influenced by the critical state of affairs in Calcutta. The court of proprietors took up the matter in the most decided manner. Clive availed himself of the excitement of the moment, and besides the confirmation of his jaghire for ten years, obtained as a condition of his acceptance of the office of governor and commander-in-chief in the Bengal Presidency, the expulsion of Mr. Sulivan from the direction. The four persons associated with him, under the name of a select committee—Messrs. Sumner, Sykes, Verelst, and General (late Major) Carnac—were all subordinate to his will;

years to himself or his heirs, he agreed to return to India for a very limited period—signed covenants to refrain from receiving any presents by which he became pledged from native princes; and, invested with almost despotic power, reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Here he found matters in a widely different condition to that which had caused the E. I. Cy. so much well-founded apprehension. Meer Cossim had been expelled; the emperor had thrown himself upon the English for protection; and Shuja Dowlah was so reduced as to be on the eve of deprecating their wrath by a similar expedient of placing his person at their mercy. The majority of the reasons for which such extraordinary powers had been vested in Clive, in conjunction with a select committee of four persons devoted to his will, had therefore ceased to exist; but he persisted in retaining these powers, and with sufficient reason; for the task he had to perform, if conscientiously fulfilled, would have probably required their exercise. As it was, he excited a general storm of rage, without effecting any permanent good—at least so far as the civil department of the presidency was concerned. The general council, in all, included sixteen persons; though probably not half that number assembled at ordinary meetings. Among them was Mr. Johnstone, who had played so leading a part in the transactions of the last few years. He was a person possessed of advantages, in regard both of ability and connexions, which rendered him not ill calculated to do battle with Clive; and he scrupled not to retort the severe censures cast upon himself and his colleagues, by asserting that they had only followed the example given by the very man who now lamented, in the most bombastic language, the "lost fame of the British nation," and declared himself to have "come out with a mind superior to all corruption," and a fixed resolution to put down the exercise of that unworthy principle in others.*

The events of the next twenty months, though of considerable importance, can be but briefly narrated here. Immediately upon his arrival, Lord Clive, and the two members of the select committee who had accompanied him from England, without waiting for their destined colleagues, assumed the exercise of the whole powers of government, civil and military, after administering to themselves and their secretaries an oath of secrecy. Mr. Johnstone † made a desperate resistance to the new order of things, but was at length defeated and compelled to quit the service. The other members, for the most part, submitted, though with the worst possible grace; and the vacancies were supplied by Madras officials. The covenants forbidding the acceptance of presents were signed; then followed the prohibition of inland trade by the company's servants. This was a more difficult point to carry. Clive well knew that the salaries given by the E. I. Cy. were quite insufficient to maintain the political rank obtained by recent events.‡ Poverty and power, side by side with wealth and weakness, would, as he himself declared, offer to the stronger party temptations "which flesh and blood could not resist." With a full appreciation of this state of affairs, it was a plain duty to press upon the directors (as the clear-sighted and upright Sir Thomas Roe had done in the early part of the preceding century) § the necessity of allotting to each official a liberal income, which should hold out to all a reasonable prospect of obtaining a competency, by legitimate means, within such

the first-named had been ignominiously expelled the company, for signing the violent letter quoted at p. 294, but subsequently reinstated.

* These sentiments Lord Clive accompanies with an adjuration which too clearly illustrates the condition of his mind regarding a future state. "I do declare," he writes, "by that Great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable *if there must be an hereafter*, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption." Yet at this very time Clive scrupled not to employ his private knowledge of the state of affairs, and of the increased value of stock likely to result from the acceptance of the dewannee, to write home directions in cipher (so that, if falling into strange hands, no other person should benefit by the information), desiring that every shilling available, or that could be borrowed in his name, should be invested in E. I. stock "without loss of a minute." Mr. Rous (a director) and Mr. Walsh acted with promptitude, by proceeding forthwith, though on a Sunday, to obtain the key of the cipher, which it seems they very imperfectly understood.—(*See* Thornton's *India*, i., 492.)

† Johnstone and his colleagues, when vainly pressed to make over to the company the monies received from Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, replied, that when Clive surrendered the money he had obtained from the father, they would yield in turn the gifts of the son.

‡ The salary of a councillor was only £250; the rent of a very moderate house in Calcutta, £200.

§ "Absolutely prohibit the private trade," said he, "for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages, to their content; and then you know what you part from." No amount of legitimate emolument will, however, assuage the thirst for gain inherent in many clever, unprincipled men.

stated term of years as experience had proved could be borne by an average European constitution. But Clive, instead of strenuously urging a policy so honest and straightforward as this, took upon himself to form a fund for the senior officers of the presidency, from the governors downwards, by resolving, after consultation only with Mr. Sumner and Mr. Verelst, that a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on for their exclusive benefit, with the drawback of a duty to the company estimated at £100,000 per annum. Monopolies are odious things at best: this one was of a peculiarly obnoxious and oppressive character; and the directors wisely and liberally commanded its immediate abandonment. The arrangements of Clive could not, however, be so lightly set aside; and they continued in operation until 1768.

With regard to Shuja Dowlah, it was deemed expedient that he should be replaced in the government of Oude, although a specific promise had been made that, on payment of fifty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, real power over the dominions of his tyrannical vizier should be given to the emperor, in the event of the English being triumphant. But this pledge, which had been needlessly volunteered, was now violated; the vizier being deemed (and with reason) a better protection against Mahratta and Afghan invasion, on the north-western frontier, than his gentle master. In another matter the claims of Shah Alum were treated in an equally arbitrary manner. The arrangements concluded with him by the Calcutta government were now revised, or, in other words, set aside by Clive. The emperor was given to understand, that since it was inconvenient to put him in possession of the usurped dominions of Shuja Dowlah (commonly called the "nabob-vizier"), the districts of Corah and Allahabad (yielding jointly a revenue of twenty-eight lacs) must suffice for a royal demesne; and, at the same time, some large sums of money unquestionably due from the company to the indigent monarch, were withheld on the plea of inability to pay them.* Shah Alum remonstrated warmly, but to no purpose: he was compelled to cancel all past agreements, and bestow on the company complete possession of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, under the name of the "perpetual Dewannee," clogged only by a yearly tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The formal confirmation of the English in their various scattered settlements throughout the nominal extent of the empire, was likewise obtained; nor was the jaghire of Lord Clive, with reversion to his employers, forgotten in the arrangement. As a precautionary measure against the French (who, by virtue of a recent European treaty, had been reinstated in their Bengal settlements, with the proviso of neither erecting fortifications nor maintaining troops), it was deemed expedient to obtain from the emperor a free grant of the five Northern Circars, over which Nizam Ali, the brother and successor (by usurpation and murder) of Salabut Jung, then exercised a very precarious authority. In 1760, the Nizam (as he is commonly called) had proffered these Circars to the Madras government in return for co-operation against the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali; but his overtures were rejected, because the forces required could not be spared. In 1766, an arrangement was brought about by dint of no small amount of bribery and intrigue, by which four of the Circars were surrendered, and the reversion of the fifth, or Guntoor Circar, which was held by a brother of the Nizam, Bassalut Jung, was promised to the company, on condition of the payment of a rent of nine lacs of rupees, together with a most imprudent pledge to furnish a body of troops whenever the Nizam might require their aid in the maintenance of his government. The imperial firmaun, of which the chief articles have been just recited, took away the scanty remains of power vested by the Bengal presidency in Nujeem-ad-Dowlah. The weak and dissolute character of this youth rendered him an easy tool; and when informed by Clive that every species of control was about to pass from him, and that a stipend of fifty-three lacs would be allotted for the family of Meer Jaffier, out of which a certain sum would be placed at his disposal, this worthy prince uttered a thankful ejaculation, adding, "I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I please."†

A leading feature in the second administration of Clive remains to be noted—one of the most important, as well as the most interesting in his remarkable career. The other "reforms" effected by him were nothing better than a change of evils; but, in checking the spirit of insubordination and rapacity which pervaded the whole Anglo-

* Thirty lacs deficit of annual tribute, besides jaghires or lands in Bengal now withdrawn, amounting to five lacs and a-half of rupees per ann.—(*Mill.*)

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii., 125.

Indian army, he served both the company and the state well and bravely. Clive was essentially a military genius:* he scrupled not to declare in after-times, that all he had in the world had been acquired as the leader of an army; and when questioned regarding the very exceptionable trading regulations instituted under his auspices, he declared, with regard to an article under notice, that "of cotton he knew no more than the pope of Rome." He might have pleaded equal ignorance of the state of the immense native population of Bengal. But the condition of the troops was a subject he would naturally study *con amore*. Dissension, luxury, and profligacy, attended with alarming mortality, had immediately resulted from the large booty divided at Geriah under the auspices of himself and Admiral Watson. Since then excessive and extortionate gain, under pretence of trading, had become the predominant evil; and the severity of Major Munro, though it might for a time check, by the influence of terror, the insubordination of the sepoys, or even that of the European rank and file, left untouched the root of the evil—namely, the eagerness of the officers in the pursuit of trade, at the expense of professional duty. Now, Clive was the last person in the world to expect men to be content with honourable poverty, when they might acquire wealth without the cost of toil, or the stigma of indelible disgrace attached to certain heinous crimes; and this circumstance, together with not unnatural partiality, induced him to take measures for the introduction of a better system among the military servants of the company, with far more gentleness than he had evinced in dealing with the civilians. The officers were to be compelled to renounce all trading pursuits: this was the first reform to be carried out by Clive; the second was the final and uncompensated withdrawal of an extra allowance, called *batta*, given since an early period, but now to be abolished, excepting at some particular stations where, on account of the dearness of articles necessary to Europeans, it was to be either wholly or partially continued. The allowance originally granted by the company had been doubled by Meer Jaffier, who, at the instigation of Clive, paid the additional sum out of his own pocket, besides the regular expense of the English troops engaged in his service, but ostensibly as a boon revocable at pleasure. His successor, Meer Cossim Ali, made over to the company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, in lieu of certain monthly payments; and although the revenues of these territories more than covered the cost of the army, including the *double batta*, the directors, considering the large profits of their servants and their own necessities, stringently ordered the discontinuance of this allowance. Their repeated injunctions, the civil government, overawed by the military, had never dared to enforce; and even Clive did not bring forward the question of double batta until the restoration of peace had enabled him to remodel the army by forming it into regiments and brigades, with an increased number of field-officers.† These improvements were effected without opposition, and the prohibition of officers receiving perquisites, or engaging in certain branches of trade, was compensated in Clive's plan by allowing them a liberal share in the monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. The proportions to be received by the senior servants of the company, independent of their fixed salaries, according to the lowest calculation, were £7,000 sterling per annum to a councillor or colonel, £3,000 to a lieutenant-colonel, £2,000 to a major or factor. Some scanty amends for the shameless oppression of taxing the natives thus heavily, was made by placing the management of the trade in their hands instead of under the guidance of European agents; but even this measure was adopted from the purely selfish motive of saving expense.‡

* In Chatham's words, "a heaven-born general."

† Previous to the capture of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, the Bengal establishment consisted of one small company of artillery, about sixty European infantry (including officers), and 300 Portuguese half-caste, called topasses; out of the above, three captains, five lieutenants, and four ensigns perished in the Black-Hole. On the recapture of Calcutta, a battalion of sepoys was raised and officered from the detachments which had been sent from Madras to the relief of Fort William; and others were subsequently formed in like manner; until, at Plassy, in 1757, the British force comprised 3,000 sepoys. In 1760 there were sixty European officers, viz.—nineteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns. In 1765, Clive found the amount raised to four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 regular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European infantry, and nineteen battalions or regiments of sepoys—in all, about 20,000 men—whom he divided into three brigades, each comprising one European regiment, one company of artillery, six regiments of sepoys, and one troop of native cavalry. The brigades were respectively stationed at Monghyr, Bankipoor (near Patna), and Allahabad.—(Strachey's *Bengal Mutiny*.)

‡ Even Clive admitted that by his arrangement the

As yet all had proceeded smoothly, so far as the military were concerned, and Clive, with his usual self-reliance, considering the time at length arrived when the double batta might be safely abolished, withdrew it at the close of the year 1765. The remonstrances of the officers were treated as the idle complaints of disappointed men, and several months passed without any apprehension arising of serious consequences, until towards the end of April a misunderstanding among the parties concerned suddenly revealed the existence of a powerful and organised combination,* formed by the majority of the leading commanders, aided and abetted by many influential civilians, to compel the restoration of the extra allowances. It was a great and formidable emergency, but "*Frangas non flectes*" had been ever the motto of Clive, and now, rejecting all temporising measures, or idea of a compromise, he came forward with a deep conviction of the danger with which the precedent of military dictation would be fraught, and a firm resolve to subdue the mutiny or perish in the attempt. And there was real danger in the case; for his imperious bearing, combined with the unpopular regulations he came to enforce, had rendered him an object of strong personal ill-feeling to many individuals of note; yet, when told of threats against his life, alleged to have been uttered by one of the officers, he treated the report as an unworthy calumny, declaring that the mutineers were "Englishmen, not assassins." The dauntless courage which had distinguished the youthful defender of Arcot again found ample scope for exertion: it was no longer the over-dressed baron of Plassy †—the successful candidate for power and pelf—the head of the then generally detested class of Anglo-Indian "nabobs,"—but plain Robert Clive, who now, in the full vigour of manhood, his heavy, overhanging brow expressing more forcibly than words a stern purpose, set forth, not in the palanquin of the governor, but, soldier-like, on horseback, to face the disaffected troops. There were still some few officers on whom reliance could be placed; others were summoned from Madras and Bombay: commissions were liberally scattered throughout the ranks; the services of civilians were used to supply vacancies; and increase of pay, for a fixed period, was promised to the common soldiers, whom the officers, to their credit, had made no attempt to corrupt. The danger was in some sort increased by a threatened incursion of the Mahrattas, under their chief minister, the peishwa Mahdoo Rao; yet, on the other hand, this very circumstance aroused in the breasts of many of the malcontents a feeling of shame at the thought of deserting their colours in the face of the foe. The Monghyr brigade, under Sir Robert Fletcher, was the one in which the determination to resign had been most general; and Clive, after a long harangue, perceiving indications of a disposition to resist his orders, took advantage of the steady obedience of the sepoys, by directing them to fire on the officers unless they dispersed immediately. A general submission followed; courts-martial were held, and many of the delinquents cashiered: among others Sir Robert Fletcher, the head of the Monghyr brigade, who, although active in subduing the confederacy, was found to have been gravely implicated in its formation. No blood was shed in these proceedings, and the result proved that such severity would

price of salt had been made too high for the natives, and the profit to the monopolists unreasonably large. —(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii., 259.)

* From the month of December, 1765, consultations had been held and committees formed under the veil of Masonic lodges, and no less than 200 officers pledged themselves to resign their commissions on 1st of June, 1766, but agreed to proffer their services for another fortnight, by the expiration of which time it was expected the extensive defection would compel Clive to consent to the restoration of the double batta. In the event of capital punishment being decreed by courts-martial, they swore to prevent the execution of any comrade at the cost of life; and each one signed a penalty bond of £500 not to re-accept his commission if offered, unless the object of the confederacy were gained.

† Like most biographers, Sir John Malcolm and his coadjutors have endeavoured to set forth the character of their hero in the most favourable light, and by this means have drawn a picture which every impartial reader must feel to be incomplete and one-sided. The termination of the life of Clive by his own hand is not even hinted at; and there is much reason to believe the same partiality to have chiefly guided the selection of letters for publication. Nevertheless, a very amusing one has crept in, addressed by Clive to his intimate friend and agent, Orme the historian, filled with commissions as numerous and minute in detail as any ever received by a London lady of fashion from a country cousin. Among the items, all of which were to be "the best and finest to be got for love or money," were 200 shirts, with wristbands and ruffles, worked to order. The dress of Clive at the durbar (or Oriental levee) was a "fine scarlet coat with handsome gold lace," which one of his purveyors, Captain Latham, considered preferable to "the common wear of velvet." The thick-set figure of Clive, arrayed in a scarlet coat *lined with parchment that the cloth might not wrinkle*, must have presented a strange contrast to the graceful forms and picturesque attire of the Indian nobles.

have involved a needless sacrifice; but the merit of moderation does not rest with Clive, who declared that his endeavours were not wanting to get several of the mutinous ring-leaders shot; but his efforts were neutralised by some wholesome doubts in the minds of the judges regarding the extent of the company's authority. In the words of Sir John Malcolm "a misconstruction of the mutiny act inclined the court-martial *to mercy*." It is a singular ending to the affair, that Sir Robert Fletcher, after this narrow escape, returned to India as commander-in-chief for the Madras presidency; while one John Petrie, sent home by Clive with a rope round his neck, came back to Bengal with a high civil appointment, through the influence of his friends the Johnstones. Soon after this dispersion of one of the most dangerous storms which ever menaced the power of the E. I. Company, the health of Clive failed rapidly, and though earnestly solicited to continue at least another year, and apparently not unwilling to do so, bodily infirmity prevailed, and he quitted Bengal for the third and last time in January, 1767. Shortly before his departure, the young nabob, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, died of fever, and his brother Syef-ad-Dowlah was permitted to succeed him. In a political point of view the change was of less importance than would have been that of the chief of a factory, but it was advantageous to the company in a pecuniary sense, as affording an opportunity for reducing the stipend.*

* The conduct of Clive, in respect to pecuniary gain, during his second administration, is too important to be left unnoticed; yet the facts necessary to place it in a clear light, can be ill given within the compass of a note. It should be remembered, that by his agreement with the E. I. body, the famous jaghire was to be continued to him for ten years, and provided he should survive that period, was to become the property, not of Meer Jaffier, but of the company. Now jaghires, by the constitution of the Mogul government, in which they originated, were simply annuities, given for the most part expressly for the support of a military contingent. A jaghire was like an office of state, revocable at pleasure: so far from being hereditary, an omrah, or lord of the empire, could not even bequeath his savings without special permission; and we have seen that the Great Moguls—Aurungzebe for instance—never scrupled to exercise their claim as heirs to a deceased noble, leaving to the bereaved family a very limited maintenance as a matter of favour. Clive had solicited this jaghire simply to support his position as an omrah, and had no right whatever to expect its continuance for the purpose of building palaces and buying up rotten boroughs in England. The company might therefore well question the right of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or of their powerful servant to accept, as a perpetual jaghire the quit-rent paid by them for their territory in Bengal. But the question was altogether a perplexed one, inasmuch as Meer Jaffier's claims were wholly founded on the usurpation which had been accomplished by English instrumentality. Shah Alum was the only person who could have rightfully demanded a quit-rent from the company when bestowing on them the dewannee; but the truth was, that every advantage was taken of his necessitous position, regardless of the dictates of justice. The confirmation of the jaghire to Lord Clive, with reversion to the company in perpetuity, was exacted from the emperor; and in thus obtaining a boon for his employers, Clive was far from being uninfluenced by selfish motives; for, on coming to India, he was distinctly told that the strict observance of his pledge—of refraining from every description of irregular gain—should be acknowledged in a manner which must satisfy the expectations even of a man who, after a most extravagant course of expenditure, had still an income of £40,000 a-year. And when, on his return to England, the term of the jaghire was extended for ten years, or, in other words, £300,000 were guaranteed to him or his heirs, Clive had surely reason to admit that "no man had ever been more liberally rewarded." Nevertheless, his administration, even in a pecuniary point of view, had not been blameless. On arriving in India, it appeared that Meer Jaffier had bequeathed to Clive five lacs of rupees, which were in the hands of Munnee Begum, the mother of the reigning prince. Whether Meer Jaffier really left this sum either from friendship to Clive, or from a desire to propitiate him in favour of his favourite concubine and children, or whether they themselves offered a present in the only form in which he could have any excuse for accepting it, is not known; but it was no one's interest to examine into the affair, since Clive thought fit to set the matter at rest by employing the money as a fund greatly needed for the relief of the disabled officers and soldiers of the Bengal establishment, with their widows, and thus laid the foundation of a hospital-establishment at Poplar. Even, however, in this case Clive took care of his personal interests, by inserting a clause in the deed providing that in case of the failure of his interest in the jaghire (then only guaranteed for ten years, of which a considerable portion had expired), the whole five lacs should revert to him. He moreover contrived to make the fund a weapon of political power, by threatening to exclude from it all persons whom he might think "undeserving in any respect soever."—(iii., 43.) With regard to the large sums of money *avowedly* received by him during his second administration, it certainly appears that he did not apply them to the increase of his fixed income, but systematically appropriated the overplus of such gains to the benefit of certain connections and friends (*i.e.*, his brother-in-law, Mr. Maskelyne; his physician, Mr. Ingham; and a Mr. Strachey, his secretary), "as a reward," he writes, in his grand-bashaw style, "for their services and constant attention upon my person."—(iii., 136.) On his arrival in India he at once embarked largely in the salt trade, and thereby realised in nine months a profit, including interest, of forty-five per cent.; his share in the monopoly of salt, established in defiance of the repeated orders of the company, was also greatly beyond that of any individual; and it is certain he employed these and other irregular gains for purely private purposes. Besides this, he sanctioned the unwarrantable conduct of many favoured officers in continuing to re-

It is hardly necessary to remark that the Bengal presidency did not assume a loftier tone of feeling in questions regarding religion or morality under the auspices of Lord Clive. The priestly office was not then deemed inconsistent with mercantile pursuits; and the saving of souls gave place to the engrossing cares of money-making. As to the general state of society, Clive's own account affords abundant evidence of the aptitude with which cadets and writers, fresh from public schools, or, it may be from the pure atmosphere of a quiet home, plunged headlong into a career of extravagance and notorious profligacy, of which the least revolting description would have made their mothers sicken with disgust. One walk about Calcutta would, it appears, suffice to show a stranger that the youngest writers lived in splendid style, which Lord Clive explains, by saying "that they ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanquins and chaises; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret;"—the certain result being, to become over head and ears in debt to the banyan, or native agent, who, for the sake of obtaining the cover afforded by the bare name of a servant of the powerful English company, supplied the youths with immense sums of money, and committed "such acts of violence and oppression as his interest prompts him to."* It may be remembered that Clive commenced his own Indian career by getting into debt; and there is reason to believe that for *all* the proceedings mentioned by him in the above quotation, the company's servants might have pleaded his lordship's conduct in extenuation of their own.†

After the departure of Clive, a select committee continued, by his advice, to preside over the affairs of Bengal, the chair of the governor being filled by Mr. Verelst until December, 1770. During the administration of this gentleman and his temporary successor, Mr. Cartier, no changes were made in the system of the "double government:" that is to say, of a sway carried on in the name of a nabob, but in reality by English officials. Mill forcibly describes the utter want of any efficient system, or of well-known and generally recognised laws, which formed the prevailing

ceive presents after they had been required to sign covenants enjoining their rejection. For instance, his staunch adherent, General Carnac, after his colleagues had executed the covenants, delayed a certain time, during which he received a present of 70,000 rupees from Bulwant Singh, the Hindoo rajah of Benares, who joined the English against Shuja Dowlah; and he appears to have afterwards obtained permission to appropriate a further sum of two lacs of rupees, given by the emperor, whose unquestioned poverty did not shield him from the extortions of British officers. It has been urged that Clive made atonement for the doubtful means by which he acquired his wealth by its liberal distribution; and the act chiefly insisted upon is the grant of an annuity of £500 a-year to General Lawrence, when he left India enfeebled by asthmatic complaints and the increasing infirmities of age, and returned in honourable poverty to his native land. Considering that Clive acknowledged that to the patronage and instructions of Lawrence he owed all his early success, the extent of the allowance was no very remarkable evidence of a munificent disposition. The dowries of three or four thousand pounds each to his five sisters, with an injunction "to marry as soon as possible, for they had no time to lose" (ii., 161), evince a strong desire to get them off his hands. The princely estates purchased by him, in various parts of the country, were undisguised manifestations of his ostentatious mode of life: among them may be named the noble property of Claremont (obtained from the Duchess of Newcastle), Walcot, Lord Chatham's former residence at Bath, and a house in Berkeley-square. No description of expense was spared to render these aristocratic dwellings fitting exponents of the grandeur of the Indian *millionnaire;* and the smaller accessories of picture galleries and pleasure-grounds did not hinder Clive from carefully following out his leading object—of obtaining parliamentary influence. Six or seven members were returned at his expense, and their efforts doubtless did much to mitigate, though they could not wholly avert, the storm which burst over his head in 1772. The decision of the committee employed in examining his past conduct pronounced, as was fitting, a sentence of mingled praise and condemnation. He had notoriously abused the powers entrusted to him by the nation and the company; but he had rendered to both important services. Such a decision was ill calculated to soothe the excited feelings of Clive, whose haughty nature had writhed under proceedings in which he, the Baron of Plassy, had been "examined like a sheep-stealer." The use of opium, to which he had been from early youth addicted, aggravated the disturbed state of his mind, without materially alleviating the sufferings of his physical frame; and he died by his own hand in Nov., 1774, having newly entered his fiftieth year.—(Malcolm's *Life.*)

* Clive's speech on East Indian Judicature Bill, March, 1722.—(Hansard's *Parl. Hist.*, 355.)

† The French translator of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin* (who was in the service of the Bengal presidency and well acquainted with Clive, to whom he occasionally acted as interpreter) explains a forcible denunciation by Gholam Hussein, of the conduct of certain persons who were tempted by the devil to bring disgrace on families, as an allusion to the violation of all decorum committed by Meer Jaffier, in giving to Clive "ten handsome women out of his seraglio—that is, out of Surajah Dowlah's." Had the donation been conferred on a good Mussulman, instead of a disbeliever in the Koran, the sin would, it seems, have been thereby greatly diminished.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 722.)

feature of this period. The native tribunals retained scarce the shadow of authority; the trade of the country was almost ruined by the oppressions committed on the people; and the monopoly of the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, when at length unwillingly relinquished by the English officials, did not prove the relief to the Bengalee merchants that might have been expected, owing to the heavy pressure of tyranny and extortion to which they were subjected. In fact, there were so many channels by which the natives could be wronged and the company plundered, that closing up one or two might change the direction of the flood, but could not diminish its volume. Clive was naturally unwilling to acknowledge how much of the task for which he had been munificently rewarded had been left unfulfilled; and it was not till after long and bitter experience that the E. I. Cy. learned to appreciate, at their proper value, his exaggerated account of the revenues* obtained through his aggressive policy. And here it may be well to pause and consider for a moment the nature of our position in Bengal, and, indeed, in the whole of the south of India. The insatiable ambition of Aurungzebe had urged him onwards without ceasing, until every Mohammedan kingdom in the Deccan had become absorbed in the Mogul empire. The impolicy of this procedure has been before remarked on. The tottering base forbade the extension of an already too weighty superstructure; but the emperor persevered to the last. Beejapoor and Golconda fell before him, and the governments established by their usurping dynasties were swept off by a conqueror who had time to destroy institutions, but not to replace them. The result was the rapid rise of the many-headed Mahratta power, and the equally rapid decay of Mogul supremacy, even while Aurungzebe, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons were all in arms together for its support. The death of the emperor, well nigh hunted down by the foes who from despising he had learned to hate, followed as it was by repeated wars of succession and intestine feuds, reduced his descendants, step by step, until their last representative, Shah Alum, became nothing better than the pageant of every successful party. The disastrous battle of Paniput (1761) left the Mahratta state thoroughly unhinged, and, together with internal strife, incapacitated its rulers for assuming that dominant position in India under which such men as Sevajee, Bajee Rao, or the first peishwa, Maharashtra, would doubtless have aspired. In fact, India in the middle of the eighteenth century, resembled, in a political point of view, a vast battle-field strewn with the fragments of ruined states, and affording on every side abundant evidence of a prolonged and severe conflict, from which even the victors had emerged irretrievably injured. In the Deccan this was especially the case; and the only relics of legitimate power rested with a few small Hindoo states (Tanjore, Mysore, Coorg, &c.), whose physical position or insignificance had enabled them to retain independence amid the general crash of monarchies. The representatives of the E. I. Cy. in India understood the state of affairs, but very imperfectly: it appears that, in 1756, they did not even clearly know who Ballajee Bajee Rao (the actual ruler of the Mahratta state) might be; but at the same time, they had been too long anxious spectators of the proceedings of Aurungzebe and his successors, to be ignorant of the thoroughly disorganised state of the empire. The successful manœuvres of Dupleix and Bussy must have sufficed to remove any lingering doubt on the subject; while the jealousy of the two nations in Europe rendered it evident, that in the absence of a native power (Mussulman or Hindoo) sufficiently strong to compel their neutrality, a contest for supremacy must, sooner or later, take place between the French and English, especially as the former had all along assumed political pretensions ill at variance with the peaceful pursuits of trade. Without entering on the difficult question of the general proceedings of the English company, far

* In addressing the House of Commons, in 1772, Clive described Bengal as "a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, a revenue of £4,000,000, and trade in proportion." The extreme distress then existing he treated as a temporary effect of dissensions in the company at home, and misgovernment in India, dating of course from his departure; and he spoke of the venality that prevailed, equally among high and low, with a bold assumption of disinterestedness, declaring, "that in the richest country in the world, where the power of the English had become absolute, where no inferior approached his superior but with a present in his hand, where there was not an officer commanding H.M. fleet, nor an officer commanding H.M. army, nor a governor, nor a member of council, nor any other person, civil or military, in such a station as to have connection with the country government who had not received presents, it was not to be expected the inferior officers should be more scrupulous."—Almon's *Debates*, 1772.

less attempting to vindicate the special aggressions and tricky policy of Clive and his successors, it seems, nevertheless, of absolute necessity to bear in mind the hopeless complication of affairs through which Anglo-Indian statesmen had to grope their way at this critical period; nor do I feel any inconsistency, after employing the best years of my life in pleading—faintly and feebly, but most earnestly—the rights of native British subjects (made such by the sword), in avowing, in the present instance, my conviction, that having once taken a decided course by the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, it would have been better to have assumed at once all power, in name as in reality, over Bengal, and given the natives the benefits they were entitled to expect under a Christian government, instead of mocking their hopes by placing on the musnud a Mussulman usurper of infamous character,—deposing, reinstating, and after his death continuing the pretence in the person of his illegitimate son. Such an unworthy subterfuge could answer no good purpose; it could deceive no one—certainly not the European governments of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France; for they were severally experienced actors in the theatre of oriental policy. The native population knew, to their cost, that all real authority was now vested in the English presidency; but its members were far too eagerly employed in gathering up spoil for themselves, to heed the cries of the poor in Bengal, or the remonstrances of the company in England. The consequence was, the "middle-men" reaped an abundant harvest, heedless of the ruinous effects of their negligence and venality alike on those they served and those they governed. The directors in London, buoyed up by the representations of Clive, and the flattering promises of their servants abroad, augmented their dividends, fully expecting to find this step justified by largely increasing remittances from India. On the contrary, the anarchy which prevailed, and the additional expenses of every department of government, with the abuses that crept in,* swallowed up the diminishing revenues; and though every ship brought home individuals who had amassed wealth as if by magic, yet heavy bills continued to be drawn on the company; the bullion sent for the China trade was wholly, or in part, appropriated; and the investments continued to diminish alike in quantity and quality. The British government had before set forth a claim to control both the revenues and territorial arrangements of India. The subject was warmly contested in parliament; and in 1767, a bill passed obliging the E. I. Cy. to pay the sum of £400,000 per annum into the public treasury,† during the five years for which alone their exclusive privileges were formally extended. In 1769, a new term of five years was granted, on the same condition as that above stated, with the additional stipulation of annually exporting British manufactures to the amount of £300,000 and upwards. The directors, in the following year (1770), declared a dividend at the rate of twelve per cent; but this improvident procedure was taken in the face of a failing revenue and an increasing debt. In the Carnatic, the ill-advised pledge of co-operation with the Nizam had brought the Madras presidency in collision with Hyder Ali; and in Bengal, affairs grew more and more involved, until the necessity for a change of policy became evident to save the country from ruin and the company from bankruptcy. Mr. Vansittart (the ex-governor), Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Forde, were sent out in 1769, to investigate and arrange the business of the three presidencies: but this measure proved of no effect; for the *Aurora* frigate, in which they sailed, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, was never more heard of, and probably foundered at sea.

The loss of Mr. Vansittart was a new disaster to the native population of Bengal, since he well knew the ruinous condition to which they had been reduced by the baneful influence of the monopolies so cruelly enforced by his countrymen; and notwithstanding the perverse proceedings of Clive, and his adherents in the E. I. House in associating with him as fellow-commissioner his sworn foe, Luke Scrafton, still some comprehensive measure might have been expected to have been devised by a man generally considered kind-hearted, to relieve the overwhelming misery in which he would have found the native population involved, had he been permitted to reach

* Clive, in allusion to the charges of contractors, commissioners, engineers, &c., said—"Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune." During his own administration, he found soldiers charged for in the hospital-list, whose funeral expenses had been long paid.—(*Life*, iii., 137—288.)

† The E. I. Cy. themselves proposed to purchase the extension of their privileges by suffering the public to participate in the territorial acquisitions gained with the aid of the army and navy. The government interfered (ostensibly at least) to check the simultaneous increase of debt and dividend.

Calcutta in safety. The miseries of a land long a prey to oppression and misgovernment, had been brought to their climax by drought. The rice crops of December, 1768, and August, 1769, were both scanty, and the absence of the heavy periodical rains, usual in October, produced an almost total failure of the harvest earnestly desired in the following December. The inferior crops of grain and pulse ordinarily reaped between February and April, were dried to powder by the intense heat, and Bengal, formerly the granary of India, became the scene of one of the most awful famines on record. Not merely whole families, but even the inhabitants of entire villages were swept off by this devastating scourge.* The bark and leaves of trees were eagerly devoured by thousands of starving wretches, who therewith strove—too often in vain—to appease the gnawing pangs of hunger, happy if their sufferings did not goad them to seek relief by more unnatural and loathsome means; for the last horrors that marked the siege of the Holy City were not wanting here; the child fed on its dead parent, the mother on her offspring. The people thronged the towns in the hope of obtaining succour, the highways were strewed with the corpses of those who had perished by the way, and the streets of Moorshedabad and Calcutta were blocked up with the dying and the dead. Day after day the Hooghly rolled down a pestilential freight of mortality, depositing loathsome heaps near to the porticoes and gardens of the English residents. For a time a set of persons were regularly employed in removing the rapidly accumulating masses from the public thoroughfares; but the melancholy office proved fatal to all employed in it: exposure to the effluvia was certain death; and during the worst period, dogs, vultures, and jackals were the only scavengers. The hot, unwholesome air was filled with shrieks and lamentations, amidst which arose the voices of tender and delicate women, nurtured in all the refinements of oriental seclusion, who now came forth unveiled, and on their knees besought a handful of rice for themselves and their children.†

Large subscriptions were raised by the presidency, the native government, and individuals of all ranks and countries. In Moorshedabad alone, 7,000 persons were fed daily for several months; and fearful scenes, involving the destruction of large numbers of the weak and the aged, took place at these distributions, from the fierce struggles of the famished multitudes. Of the total amount of life destroyed by this calamity, no trustworthy estimate has ever been given.‡ Mr. Hastings—perhaps the best authority—supposes Bengal and Bahar to have lost no less than half their inhabitants: other writers state the depopulation at one-third; and even the lowest calculations place the loss at three million of human beings—or one-fifth the inhabitants of the three provinces (including Orissa.)

The question of how far the Bengal authorities were to blame for this calamity, was warmly discussed in England. Their accusers went the length of attributing it wholly to a monopoly of rice by them; but this was so far from being the case, that, with the exception of the necessary measure of storing a sufficient quantity (60,000 maunds) for the use of the army, all trading in grain was strictly forbidden by an order of council in September, 1769. If, as was asserted, certain functionaries did — as is very possible, in defiance of prohibitions, enunciated but not enforced§—make enormous profits of hoards previously accumulated, these were but exceptional cases; and it may be added (without any attempt to exculpate those who, in the face of misery so extreme, could bargain coolly for exorbitant gains), that the reason for regret was

* The anonymous but well-informed author of *English Transactions in the East Indies*, published at Cambridge in 1776, states, that the duty laid by Clive on salt was thirty-five per cent.; the previous tax, even under the monopolies established by Mohammedan nabobs, having been only two-and-a-half. He adds, that the five gentlemen who signed resolutions regarding trading monopolies in India, to levy taxes upon necessaries of more than one-third their value, instead of the fortieth penny with which they were before charged, were all, on their return to England, chosen as members of parliament to co-operate in arranging the national assessments.—(143.)

† *Vide Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 438. Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, i., 214. Macaulay's *Clive*, 83.

‡ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 309. Malcolm's *Clive*, iii., 253. Grant's *Sketch*, 319.

§ The author of *English Transactions*, recently quoted, concurs with many writers of the period in asserting, that some of the company's agents, finding themselves conveniently situated for the collection of rice in stores, did buy up large quantities, which they so managed as to increase immensely the selling price to the people, for their private gain (p. 145); and Dr. Moodie, in his *Transactions in India* (published anonymously in London in 1776, but of which a copy bearing his name, with many MS. additions, was in the possession of the E. I. Cy.), mentions the case of a needy English functionary at the court of the nabob, who made £60.000 in a few months.

not that some few persons had had the forethought to make provision for the day of want, but that a policy of evident necessity should have been neglected by the rulers of a population mainly dependent for subsistence on so precarious a staple as rice. The true cause of complaint against the Bengal presidency—and it is a heavy one—rests on the systematic oppression and utter misgovernment which their own records reveal as having existed, despite the orders of the directors in England. These again, deceived by the gross exaggerations of Clive, looked upon Bengal as a fountain fed by unseen springs, from which wealth, to an immense extent, might be perpetually drawn, without the return of any considerable proportion to the country from whence it was derived. Clive, during his second administration, had promised the company a net income from Bengal of £2,000,000 per annum, exclusive of all civil or military disbursements; and he declared in parliament, in 1772, that India continued to yield "a clear produce to the public, *and to individuals*, of between two and three million sterling per annum."* It is certain that the Bengal investment of 1771, amounting in goods alone to £768,500, was "wholly purchased with the revenues of the country, and without importing a single ounce of silver"†—a fact which abundantly confirms the declaration of Hastings,—that the sufferings of the people, during the famine, were increased by the violent measures adopted to keep up the revenues, especially by an assessment termed na-jay, "a tax (in a word) upon the survivors, to make up the deficiencies of the dead."‡ Besides this, when the immense and absolutely incalculable amount of specie exported, from the time of the deposition of Surajah Dowlah to the epoch of the famine, is considered in connexion with the notorious deficiency of the circulating medium, and the abuses and erroneous policy connected with the coinage,§ it is easy to understand how fearfully scarcity of money must have aggravated the evils of failing harvests; and how, when rice rose from a standard of price (already permanently augmented under British supremacy to four, six, and even ten times the usual rate), it became of little importance to the penniless multitudes whether it might or might not be purchased for a certain sum, when all they had in the world fell short of the market value of a single meal. In England, the rates of labour are always more or less influenced by the price of provisions; but when the Bengal merchants endeavoured to raise the manufacturing standard, their attempts were soon forcibly put down by the local authorities, who well knew that Indian goods, purchased at a premium consistent even with a Bengalee's humble notion of a "fair day's wages for a fair day's work," would not, when sold in the European markets, indemnify the company for prime cost, for

* Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, iii., 287.

† Verelst's *State of Bengal*, see pp. 81—85.

‡ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 310.

§ A cotemporary English writer, reviewing the evidence given before parliament in 1772, remarks, that from 1757 to 1771, it is acknowledged or proved, that the E. I. Cy. and their servants received between twenty-nine and thirty millions sterling from Indian princes and their subjects, besides a sum not known, arising from trading monopolies.—(Parker's *Evidence*, 281.) Of the amount above stated, the company received nearly twenty-four million, and their servants upwards of five-and-a-half as presents, which were, however, but one form of what Clive termed the "long track of frauds under the customary disguise of perquisites," which annually brought lacs to junior servants whose salaries were mere pittances.—(*Life of Clive*, iii., 84; *Life of Hastings*, i., 300.) No estimate could be formed of the fortunes thus accumulated, because the prohibition of the directors to send remittances home, exceeding a certain limited amount, by bills drawn on them in England, led Clive and the whole body of officials who, at a humble distance, followed in his footsteps, to invest their wealth in the purchase of diamonds, or to transmit vast sums through the medium of the Dutch and French companies, by which means these inferior settlements had money in abundance, while the investments at Calcutta were often procured by loans, of which eight per cent. was the lowest interest taken for a long series of years. Among the charges brought against Clive, when examined before parliament in 1772, were frauds in the exchange and the gold coinage. According to Ferishta, no silver coin was used in India as late as A.D. 1311; and Colonel Briggs, in commenting on this passage, remarks, that up to a very late period, the chief current coin in the south of India was a small gold fanam, worth about sixpence.—(i., 375.) Since then, however, gold having been entirely superseded by silver, measures were instituted to bring the former again into circulation; and on the new coinage Clive received a heavy per-centage, as governor. The ill-fated bankers—Juggut Seit and his brother—had introduced a tax on the silver currency during the short reign of Surajah Dowlah, which the English very improperly adopted. It consisted in issuing coins called sicca rupees, every year, at five times their actual value, and insisting on the revenues being paid in this coin only, during the period of its arbitrary value—that is, during the year of coinage. In three years it sank to the actual value of the silver; but its possessor, on payment of three per cent., might have it recoined into a new sicca rupee of the original exaggerated value. *Vide* Dow's account of this ingenious method of yearly "robbing the public of three per cent. upon the greater part of their current specie."—(*History of Hindoostan*, i., *Introduction*, p. cxlvii.)

duties and other expenses, exclusive of the profit, which is the originating motive of all commercial associations. Now, it is a well-known fact, that many men who, in their private capacity, would sooner face ruin than inflict it on the innocent, will, as members of a senate or corporation (under the influence of a vague notion of state-necessity or the good of proprietors, whose interests it is their acknowledged duty to consult), institute proceedings of a character utterly opposed to the simple principles of action which guide them in the daily intercourse of domestic life. Flagrant wrong they shrink from with unaffected disgust; but still there are few men who do not, with strange inconsistency, manifest by their practice that public affairs require a constant sacrifice of integrity to expediency, which once admitted as justifiable in their private career, must inevitably destroy the mutual confidence which forms the basis of that distinguishing national characteristic—an English home. The ignorance of the E. I. Cy. of the actual state of affairs (in great measure the result of the newness of their position), was doubtless the leading cause of their suffering the continuance of many unquestionably faulty practices, from the difficulty of providing efficient substitutes. The course of events was well fitted to teach them the great lesson—that there is no course so dangerous to rulers as a persistance in tyranny and misgovernment. The misery of the mass, aggravated by the shameless extortions of English functionaries, necessitated a large increase of military expenses:* taxes were literally enforced at the point of the bayonet; "bur-jaut," or the compulsory sale of articles at less than their actual cost, became a notorious practice; and, simultaneous with these iniquitous proceedings in India, were the pecuniary involvements of the company in London; and, what was yet more disgraceful, the fierce strife between the proprietors and directors, and again between both these and his majesty's ministers.

While the sums obtained from Meer Jaffier and Cossim Ali were in process of payment, the affairs of the company went on smoothly enough: annual supplies were furnished for the China trade, and likewise for the Madras presidency (which was always in difficulties, notwithstanding the various sums obtained from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of Arcot), while five lacs or more were yearly drawn by the Bombay presidency.† The dividend of the E. I. Cy., from Christmas, 1766, to Midsummer, 1772, averaged eleven per cent. per annum; during the last-named year it had reached twelve-and-a-half per cent., and this notwithstanding the stipulated payment to government of £400,000, in return for the continuance of the charter. Meantime the bonded debt of Bengal increased from £612,628, in 1771, to £1,700,000, in 1772; and the company, though most unwillingly, were obliged to throw themselves upon the mercy of the ministry (of which the Duke of Grafton and Lord North were at the head), and confess their utter inability to furnish their annual quota; and further, their necessity of soliciting from the Bank of England a loan of above a million sterling to carry on the commercial transactions of the ensuing season.

The government, thus directly appealed to, had ample grounds for instituting an inquiry into the condition of an association which, notwithstanding its immense trading and territorial revenues, had again become reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. It was argued, that the bitter complaints of venality and mismanagement, freely reciprocated by the directors and the servants of the company, were, on both sides, founded in truth. Moreover, the representations made on behalf of Mohammed Ali by his agents, particularly Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, had considerable effect, not only generally in producing an unfavourable opinion of the dealings of the E. I. Cy. with Indian princes, but specially by inducing the sending to Arcot of a royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay, and subsequently of Sir Robert Harland, between both of whom and the local government the most open hostility existed. These proceedings have had too little permanent effect to need being detailed at length, but they illustrate the state of feeling which led to the parliamentary investigations of 1772, and resulted in the first direct connexion of the ministry with the management of East Indian affairs, by the measure commonly known as the *Regulating Act* of 1773. A loan was granted to the company of £1,400,000 in exchequer bills,‡ and various

* Dow asserts, that "seven entire battalions were added to our military establishment to enforce the collections."—(*Hindoostan*, i., cxxxix.)

† *Original Papers*, sent from India and published in England by Governor Vansittart.—(ii., 74.)

‡ The conditions of the loan were, that the sur-

distinct provisions were made to amend the constitution of that body, both at home and abroad, and to ameliorate the condition of the native population newly brought under their sway. A governor-general (Warren Hastings) was nominated to preside over Bengal, and to some extent control the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen (in Sumatra); the number of counsellors was reduced to four; and these, together with the governor-general, were appointed for five years:* the old Mayor's Court at Calcutta was set aside, and a Supreme Court of judicature, composed of a chief justice and three puisne judges (all English barristers) established in its place, and invested with civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all British subjects† resident in the three provinces (Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa); but the governor-general and members of council were exempted, unless indicted for treason or felony. Europeans were strictly forbidden to enter into the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and rice; and the governors, counsellors, judges, and revenue-collectors, were rigidly prohibited all trade whatever. Not only the covenanted servants of the company, but also the civil and military officers of the crown, were forbidden to receive presents from the natives; and the maximum of the legal rate of interest in Bengal was fixed at twelve per cent. per annum. Specific punishments were affixed to the violation of the above enactments, on conviction before the Supreme Court.

The majority of these regulations were of a nature which, from the political character of the English constitution, could be enforced against British subjects only by the express authority of their national rulers.‡ The privity of the Crown thus of necessity established in the affairs of the company, was further secured by a proviso, that all financial and political advices transmitted from India, should, within fourteen days after their arrival, be communicated to the administration by the Court of Directors;§ and any ordinance of the governor-general in council might be disallowed by the Crown, provided its veto were pronounced within two years after the enactment of the obnoxious measure.

The state of Bengal, at the period at which we have now arrived, has been sufficiently shown in the foregoing pages. The only events still unnoticed with regard to the CALCUTTA PRESIDENCY, are the death of the nabob, Syef-ad-Dowlah, of small-pox; the accession of his brother, Mobarik-ad-Dowlah, a boy of ten years old; and the departure of Shah Alum from Allahabad to take possession of his own capital of Delhi. After the retreat of the Doorani invader, the government of this city had been assumed by Nujeeb-oo-Dowla (the Rohilla chief frequently alluded to in previous pages), and, together with such authority, territorial and judicial, as yet remained

plus of the clear revenue of the company should be paid half-yearly into the exchequer, till the liquidation of the debt; that in the interim, their annual dividend should not exceed six per cent.; and that until the reduction of their total bond-debt to £1,500,000, the dividend should not exceed seven per cent.—(13 George III., c. 64.) Among the alterations made by this enactment in the internal arrangements of the association, was a decree for the annual election of six directors for the term of four years; the interval of a year to be then suffered to elapse before the same person could be again eligible; whereas the directors had been previously annually chosen for a single year, at the close of which they might be at once re-elected. The qualification for a vote was raised from £500 to £1,000 stock, and regulations were framed to prevent the collusive transfer of stock for electioneering purposes.

* The salary of the governor-general was fixed at £25,000 per ann.; the counsellors, £10,000 each; chief justice, £8,000; puisne judges, £6,000 each; to be received in lieu of all fees or perquisites.

† Notwithstanding the absolute nullity of any power in the youth on whom the title of nabob had been last conferred, the natives of Bengal were not yet viewed as British subjects; and by the *Regulating Act*, could not be sued in the Supreme Court, (except upon any contract in writing, where the object in dispute exceeded 500 rupees in value), unless they were themselves willing to abide by the decision of that tribunal. This protective clause was set forth only in the directions for civil proceedings, and (probably from inadvertence) not repealed in those which regarded the penal court. The omission enabled the chief justice to adjudge the celebrated Nuncomar to death for forgery, at the suit of a native.

‡ The preamble to the act states it to have been a necessary measure, because several powers and authorities previously vested in the E. I. body had "been found, by experience, not to have sufficient force and efficacy to prevent various abuses which have prevailed in the government and affairs of the said company, as well at home as in India, to the manifest injury of the public credit, and of the commercial interests of the said company."

§ The regulations and ordinances decreed by the governor-general in council, were invalid unless duly registered and published in the Supreme Court of judicature. Appeals against any of them might be laid before the king in council by any person in India or in England, if lodged within sixty days after the publication of the act complained of, either at the Supreme Court or the E. I. House, where notices of all such measures were to be affixed.

connected therewith, was exercised by him in the name of the young prince, Jewan Bukht, the eldest son of Shah Alum, who had been left behind at the period of his father's flight in 1758. The encroachments of the Jat Rajah, Sooraj Mull, into whose hands Agra had fallen after the battle of Paniput, in 1761, resulted in a regular conflict between him and Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, in 1764. The rajah was killed at the very commencement of hostilities; and the endeavour of his son and successor, Jowher Sing, to prosecute the war by the assistance of the Mahratta chieftain, Mulhar Rao Holcar, proved ineffectual. In 1769, the peishwa's army crossed the Chumbul, and after desolating Rajast'han and levying arrears of chout from the Rajpoot princes, they proceeded to overrun the country of the Jats, which at this time extended from Agra to the borders of Delhi on the north-west, and near to Etawa on the south-east, and afforded a revenue of nearly £250,000. The Mahrattas gained a decided victory near Bhurtpoor, and made peace with the Jats on condition of receiving a sum of about £75,000. They then encamped for the monsoon, intending at its expiration to enter Rohilcund, and revenge on the leading chiefs the part played by them in concert with the Afghan victor at the bloody field of Paniput. Nujeeb-oo-Dowla took advantage of the interval to negotiate a treaty on behalf of himself and the Rohillas in general; and his overtures were favourably received, on account of the mutual need each party had of the other to obtain an object desirable in the sight of both, the withdrawal of the emperor from the immediate influence of the English, and his re-establishment in Delhi. The arrangement was marred by the death of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, at the close of 1770. His son, Zabita Khan, who appears to have inherited the ambition, unchecked by the loyalty or prudence of his father, assumed the charge of affairs, and showed no inclination to procure the return of his liege lord. In the following year, Rohilcund was overrun by the Mahrattas; the strong fortress of Etawa fell into their hands; Delhi was seized by them, and Zabita Khan fled to Seharunpoor, the capital of his own patrimony in Rohilcund.

The prince, Jewan Bukht, was treated with marked respect, and the emperor given to understand, that if he did not think fit to accept the repeated invitations made to him to return to his capital, his son would be formally placed on the throne. In an evil hour, Shah Alum yielded to a natural desire of taking possession of the scanty remains of imperial power which formed his ill-omened inheritance. The darkest hour he had hitherto encountered had afforded him experience of the fidelity of a Mahratta general;* nor does there seem to have been any sufficient reason for his anticipating the mercenary and unprincipled conduct which he eventually received at their hands, which, however, never equalled in treachery the proceedings of his professed friend and nominal servant, but most grasping and relentless foe, Shuja Dowlah, the cherished ally of the English. In fact, the insidious counsels and pecuniary aid furnished by this notable schemer, were mainly instrumental in resolving Shah Alum to quit Allahabad, which he did after receiving from the Bengal presidency a strong assurance "of the readiness with which the company would receive and protect him, should any reverse of fortune compel him once more to return to his provinces."† The commander-in-chief (Sir Robert Barker) and Shuja Dowlah attended the royal march to the frontier of the Corah district, and then took leave with every demonstration of respect and good-will; the latter declaring that nothing but the predominant influence of the Mahrattas at court prevented his proceeding thither and devoting himself to the performance of the duties of the vizierat. Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. Happily, his enjoyment of this gleam of prosperity was unmarred by a knowledge of the almost unexampled miseries which awaited him during the chief part of the ensuing six-and-twenty years. Could but a passing glimpse of coming sorrows have been foreshadowed to him, the lowliest hut in Bengal would have seemed a blessed refuge from the agonies of mind and body he and his innocent family were doomed to endure within the stately walls of their ancestral home.

* Etal Rao lay encamped on the banks of the Jumna, when the emperor (then heir-apparent) fled from Delhi. He received the fugitive with the utmost kindness.—swore on the holy waters of the Ganges not to betray him; and more than redeemed his pledge, in spite of threats and bribes, by guarding the prince for six months, and then escorting him to a place of safety.—(Francklin's *Shah Alum.*)

† Official Letter from Bengal, 31st August, 1771. Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 287

The Bombay Presidency, so far as its finances were concerned, continued to be a heavy tax on the E. I. Cy., the net revenue not sufficing to defray a third of its civil and military expenditure.*

In the Madras Presidency, events had taken place which the superior importance and interest of Bengal affairs have prevented from being noticed in chronological succession. Reference has been made to the ill-feeling which sprang up between the E. I. Cy. and Mohammed Ali (the nabob of their own nomination.) The cause was twofold—first, the English expected to find the province, of which Arcot was the capital, a mine of wealth, and hoped to derive from the nabob, when firmly established there, considerable pecuniary advantage. They soon discovered their mistake as to the amount of funds thus obtainable, and still more with regard to the expenditure of life and treasure to be incurred in establishing the power of a man who, though of very inferior capacity, was inordinately ambitious, and yet distrustful—not perhaps without cause—of the allies, by whose assistance alone his present position could be maintained, or his views of aggrandisement carried out. The chief points in the long-continued hostilities, undertaken by the presidency to enforce his very questionable claims to sovereignty or tribute, may be briefly noted, nor can the painful admission in justice be withheld—that many expeditions dispatched under the auspices of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigot, whatever their ostensible motive, were really prompted by a desire to replenish a treasury exhausted by military expenses, especially by the long war with the French, which commenced in 1746, and terminated with the reduction of Pondicherry in 1761. The miseries of the native population must have been too great to admit of much increased exaction. Since its first invasion by Aurungzebe,† the Carnatic had been, almost without interruption, the scene of rapine and disorganisation; imperial agents, usurping nabobs, and chout-collecting Mahrattas had claimed revenues, and exacted contributions, as each found opportunity; and the commanders of districts and forts maintained their often ill-gotten authority, by resisting or complying with the demands made upon them, according to the urgency of the case. But the great load of suffering fell ever on the unarmed and inoffensive peasantry, whose daily sustenance was to be procured by daily work. This suffering was not of a character peculiar to the epoch now under consideration: it would seem that, from time immemorial, the working classes of Hindoostan had practically experienced the scourge of war; for every one of the multifarious languages of the peninsula has a word answering to the Canarese term *Wulsa*, which, happily, cannot be explained in any European tongue without considerable circumlocution. The Wulsa denotes the entire population of a district, who, upon the approach of a hostile army, habitually bury their most cumbrous effects, quit their beloved homes, and all of them, even to the child that can just walk alone, laden with grain, depart to seek shelter (if, happily, it may be found) among some neighbouring community blessed with peace. More frequently the pathless woods and barren hills afford their sole refuge, until the withdrawal of the enemy enables them to return to cultivate anew the devastated fields. Such exile must be always painful and anxious: during its continuance the weak and aged die of fatigue; if long protracted, the strong too often perish by the more dreadful pangs of hunger. Colonel Wilks affirms, that the Wulsa never departed on the approach of a British army, when unaccompanied by Indian allies;‡ but this is poor comfort regarding the measures taken on behalf of Mohammed Ali, since there is no reason to suppose his troops more scrupulous than their fellows, or less feared by the unhappy peasantry. The fort and district of Vellore were captured for him, in 1761, from Murtezza Ali,§ with the assistance of the English, after a three months' siege; but the treasure taken there ill repaid the cost of the conquest. The latter part of 1763, and nearly the whole of the following twelve-

* In the *Report of Select Committee*, June, 1784, the net revenue of Bombay for the year ending April, 1774, is stated at £109,163; civil and military charges, £347,387: leaving a deficiency of £238,224.

† During the nineteen years preceding the death of Aurungzebe, in 1707, his favourite general, Zulfeccar Khan, was employed in the Carnatic in ceaseless and destructive hostilities; and it is recorded that nineteen actions were fought, and 3,000 miles marched by this officer in six months only. Famine and pestilence—the direct consequences of prolonged and systematic devastation—followed, and even exceeded in their ravages the scourge of war. The terrible sufferings of the people, during this melancholy period, are affectingly described in many of the memoirs comprised in the valuable Mackenzie collection.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysore*, i., 309.

§ *See* previous pages, especially Note †, p. 252.

months, were taken up in a struggle with Mohammed Esoof, a brave and skilful officer, who had long and faithfully served the English as commandant of sepoys. He had been placed in command of Madura, as renter; but the unproductive condition of the country rendered it, he declared, impossible to pay the stipulated sum. The excuse is believed to have been perfectly true; but it was treated as a mere cloak to cover an incipient attempt at independence. An army marched upon Madura, and Esoof, fairly driven into resistance, commenced a desperate contest, which occasioned heavy loss of life on the side of the English, and the expenditure of a million sterling, before hostilities terminated by the seizure and betrayal of his person into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom he was condemned to die the death of a rebel, and actually executed as such.

His betrayer was a man named Marchand, who had joined him among a body of French troops sent to his aid by the Mahratta rajah of Tanjore, from whom a heavy sum had recently been extorted on the plea of arrears of tribute due to the general government of the Carnatic. The acquisition of the Northern Circars, in 1766, and the treaty made by Lord Clive with Nizam Ali, has been noticed, as also the impolicy of engaging to hold a body of troops in readiness to do the will of so belligerent and unscrupulous a leader. It was not long before the fulfilment of this pledge was insisted on, and the immediate consequence proved the commencement of a long and disastrous series of wars with Hyder Ali. Since his sudden separation from the French, in 1760, his road to eminence had been short and sanguinary. Force and fraud, used indifferently, according to the nature of the obstacle to be overcome, had raised Hyder to the supreme authority in Mysore; and a skilful admixture of the same ingredients, enabled him gradually to acquire possession of many portions of Malabar and Canara, until then exempt from Moslem usurpation. The strife at one period existing between Nizam Ali and his elder brother, Bassalut Jung, induced the latter to make an attempt at independence, in prosecution of which he marched, in 1761, against Sera,* a province seized by the Mahrattas, and separated by them from the government of the Deccan, of which it had previously formed a part. The resources of Bassalut Jung proving quite insufficient for the projected enterprise, he gladly entered into an arrangement with Hyder Ali; and, on receiving five lacs of rupees, made over his intention of conquering Sera to that chief, on whom he conferred the title of nabob, together with the designation of Khan Bahadur—"the heroic lord." Sera was speedily subdued, and its reduction was followed, in 1763, by the seizure, on a most shameless pretext, of Bednore,† a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, abounding in magnificent forests, and fertilized by copious rains, which produce harvests of remarkable abundance. The sequestered position of this little kingdom, had hitherto preserved it from Mohammedan invasion, and enabled successive rulers to accumulate

* The districts of Great and Little Balipoor were included in the province of Sera: the former was held as a jaghire by Abbas Kooli Khan, the persecutor of Hyder in childhood. Bassalut Jung wished to exclude this territory from that over which he assumed the right of investing Hyder with authority,—(a right, says Wilks, which could only be inferred from the act of granting); but the latter declared the arrangement at an end, if any interference were attempted with the gratification of his long-smouldering revenge. Abbas Kooli Khan fled to Madras, leaving his family in the hands of his bitter foe; but Hyder showed himself in a strangely favourable light; for in remembrance of kindness bestowed on him in childhood by the mother of the fugitive, he treated the captives with lenity and honour. This conduct did not, however, embolden Abbas Kooli to quit the protection of the English, or throw himself on his mercy; and, some years later (in 1769), when Hyder presented himself at the gates of Madras, he embarked in a crazy vessel, and did not venture to land until the hostile force had reascended the mountain-passes.—(Wilks' *Mysore*, i., 410.)

† The last actual rajah of Bednore died in 1755, leaving an adopted heir, of about seventeen years of age, under the guardianship of his widow. The youth animadverted with severity on the conduct of the ranee, with regard to a person named Nimbeia, and the result was his own assassination by a *jetti* or athlete, who watched an opportunity to dislocate his neck while employed in shampooing him in the bath. The guilty ranee selected an infant to fill the vacant thone; but, about five years after, a pretender started up, claiming to be the rightful heir, and describing himself as having escaped the intended doom by means of a humane artifice practised by the athlete. Hyder readily availed himself of the pretext for invading Bednore, though he probably never entertained the least belief of the truth of the story; and the whole army treated the adventurer with the utmost derision, styling him the "Rajah of the resurrection." So soon as Bednore was captured, Hyder, setting aside all conditions or stipulations previously entered into, sent the ranee and her paramour, with his own *protégé*, to a common prison in the hill-fort of Mudgherry, whence they were liberated on the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767. The ranee died directly after her release.

much treasure. The mountain capital (eight miles in circumference) fell an easy prey to the Mysorean chief; "and the booty realised may," says Colonel Wilks, "without the risk of exaggeration, be estimated at twelve million sterling, and was, through life, habitually spoken of by Hyder as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness."* The subjugation of the country was not, however, accomplished without imminent danger to the life of the invader.†

Hyder now assumed the style of an independent sovereign, and struck coins in his own name. Having completed the necessary arrangements for the occupation of the lesser districts included in his new dominions (which comprehended two places often named in the history of early European proceedings on this coast,—Onore and Mangalore), he next seized the neighbouring territories of Soonda and Savanoor, and then rapidly extended his northern frontier almost to the banks of the Kistnah. Here, at length, his daring encroachments were arrested by Mahdoo Rao, the young and energetic Mahratta peishwa, who (taking advantage of the accommodation with Nizam Ali, which had succeeded the partial destruction of Poonah by the latter in 1763) crossed the Kistnah, in 1764, with a force greatly outnumbering that of Hyder. A prolonged contest ensued, in which the advantage being greatly on the side of the Mahrattas, and the army of Hyder much reduced, he procured the retreat of the peishwa, in 1765, by various territorial concessions, in addition to the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees. When relieved from this formidable foe, he forthwith commenced preparations for the conquest of Malabar, which he succeeded in effecting after an irregular war of some months' duration with the proud and liberty-loving Nairs, or military cast; for the disunion of the various petty principalities neutralised the effects of the valour of their subjects, and prevented any combined resistance being offered. Cananore,‡ Cochin, Karical—all fell, more or less com-

* *History of Mysore*, i., 452. Mill says—"More likely it was not a third of the sum" (iii., 469); but native testimonies and the reports of the French mercenaries in the service of Hyder, with other circumstances, tend to confirm the opinion of Wilks. In a life of Hyder Ali, written by the French leader of his European troops, whose initials (M. M. D. L. T.) are alone given, it is stated that two heaps of gold, coined and in ingots, and of jewels, set and unset, were piled up until they surpassed the height of a man on horseback. They were then weighed with a corn measure. Hyder gave a substantial proof of the extent of his ill-gotten booty, by bestowing on every soldier in his service a gratuity equal to half a year's pay.—(*History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Bahader;* translated from the French: Dublin, 1774.)

† The ministers of the late dynasty entered into an extensive conspiracy for his assassination and the recovery of the capital. Some vague suspicions induced Hyder to cause inquiry to be made by his most confidential civil servants. The persons so employed were, strangely enough, all concerned in the plot. They performed their commission with apparent zeal, and read the result to the dreaded despot as he lay on a couch shivering with ague. His keen perceptions were undimmed by bodily infirmity; but affecting to be duped by the garbled statements made by the commissioners, he detained them in consultation until he felt able to rise. Then, entering the durbar, or hall of audience, he examined and cross-examined witnesses until the mystery was quite unravelled. The commissioners were executed in his presence, many unhappy nobles of Bednore arrested, and, before the close of the day, 300 of the leading confederates were hanging at the different public ways of the city. Hyder, we are told, retired to rest with perfect equanimity, and rose on the following morning visibly benefited by the stimulating effect of his late exertions. Peace of mind had, however, fled from him; and, notwithstanding the terrible perfection which his inquisitorial and sanguinary police system subsequently attained, the dagger of the assassin was an image never absent from his sleeping or waking thoughts, save when banished by the stupor of complete intoxication, which became to him a nightly necessity. One of his most intimate associates relates, that after having watched over him during a short interval of convulsive sleep, snatched in his tent during a campaign, Hyder exclaimed on awaking—"The state of a yogee (religious mendicant) is more delightful than my envied monarchy: awake, they see no conspirators; asleep, they dream of no assassins."—(Wilks' *Mysore*, i., 143.)

‡ The Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast had been materially lessened during the interval between the last mention made of them in 1740 (p. 245), and the invasion of Hyder Ali in 1766 The expensive trading establishments maintained there proved a heavy drain on the finances of the company, which Stavorinus, on the authority of Governor Mossel, alleges to have been occasioned by the continual disputes and wars in which they had been engaged with the native princes, "and not a little by the infidelity and peculation of the servants who have been employed here." Mossel declares, "it would have been well for the Dutch company had the ocean swallowed up the coast of Malabar an hundred years ago." Under these circumstances, the best thing was to get rid of such unfortunate acquisitions. Cranganore was sold to the rajah of Travancore; and Cananore, in 1770, for the sum of 100,000 rupees, to a recently established potentate, styled by Stavorinus the Sultan of Angediva or Anchediva, a little rocky isle, two miles from the coast of North Canara. This chief belonged by birth to the mixed class, the offspring of intercourse (after the Malabar custom) between native women and Arabian immigrants: they bore the significant appellation of Moplah or *Mapilla* (the children of their mothers); but were mostly believers in the Koran. Ali Rajah, the purchaser of Cananore, had risen by trade to wealth, and thence to political importance: he took

pletely, into the power of Hyder; and Maan Veeram Raj, the Zamorin, or Tamuri rajah of Calicut, disgusted by the faithlessness of his unprincipled opponent, and terrified by the cruel and humiliating tortures inflicted on his ministers to extort money, set fire to the house in which he was confined, and perished in the flames.* Shortly after this event, Hyder was recalled to Seringapatam by the alarming intelligence that the English and Mohammed Ali had united with the Nizam in a confederacy for the reduction of his dangerous ascendancy. Hyder was a complete master of every description of intrigue. He succeeded, by dint of bribery, in withdrawing Nizam Ali from the alliance into which the English had unwisely entered, and the very corps which had accompanied the Nizam into the dominions of Hyder, sustained in its retreat an attack from their united forces.† Madras was imperilled by the unlooked-for appearance of 5,000 horse, under the nominal command of Tippoo, the eldest son of Hyder Ali, then a youth of seventeen. The president and council were at their garden-houses without the town; and had the attention of the invaders been less absorbed in the accumulation of plunder, they might have seized as their prize the whole of these functionaries, and dictated at leisure th terms of general peace and individual ransom. But they delayed until news arrived of a decisive victory gained by Colonel Smith, at Trincomalee,‡ over Hyder and Nizam Ali, which being closely followed by other advantages on the side of the English (including the successful defence of Amboor),§ brought the campaign to an end. Hyder retreated within his own frontier, and the Nizam concluded a peace with the English in February, 1768, by which he agreed to receive seven lacs per annum for six years, as temporary tribute for the Circars, instead of the perpetual subsidy of nine lacs per annum previously promised. Hyder was himself equally solicitous of forming a treaty with the Madras presidency. He did not scruple to avow his inability to oppose at once both them and the Mahrattas; and he candidly avowed that disinclination to make common cause with the latter people, was the leading incentive to his repeated overtures for alliance with the English. His offers were,

an early opportunity of propitiating the favour of Hyder, at the expense of the high-born Hindoo princes in his vicinity. When Stavorinus himself visited India, in 1775–'8, the Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast nominally extended a distance of about thirty-two leagues; but, excepting the little island of Paponetty, and a few insignificant villages on the shore, the company had "no other actual property in the soil than in that upon which their fortifications are constructed."—(Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., chapters xiii. and xiv.)

* Several of the personal attendants of the Zamorin being accidentally excluded when the doors were fastened, threw themselves into the flames, and perished with their master. This catastrophe had no effect in softening the heart of Hyder, or inducing him to show compassion to the ministers. The Nairs, rendered desperate by his cruelty, rose against him repeatedly, and were, if captured, either beheaded or hanged, until the idea struck their persecutor of preserving them to populate certain other portions of his dominions. The experiment proved fatal to the majority of the unhappy beings upon whom it was tried: of 15,000 who were subjected to this forced emigration, only 200 survived the fatigue and hardships of the way and the change of climate, which Indians in general—and particularly the natives of Malabar—can ill bear under every possible circumstance of alleviation.—(Wilks' *Mysore*, i., 477.)

† Either from generosity or policy, five English companies, attached to the Nizam as a guard of honour, were suffered by him to depart and join the force under Colonel Smith three days before the commencement of open hostilities by the new allies.

‡ Hyder prevailed on the Nizam to give the order to retreat, and was himself clearly perceived by the English issuing directions for that purpose, in the midst of a select body of infantry, whose scarlet dresses, with lances eighteen feet long, of bamboo, strengthened by bands of polished silver, rendered them no less picturesque in appearance than formidable in reality. The retreat was, for the moment, delayed by a singular incident. Nizam Ali invariably carried his favourite wives in his train, even to the field of battle. On the present occasion, directions were given to the drivers of the elephants on which they were seated, to decamp forthwith,—an undignified procedure, which was firmly opposed by the fair occupant of one of the howdahs. "This elephant," she exclaimed, "has not been instructed so to turn; he follows the imperial standard:" and though the English shot fell thick around, the lady waited till the standard passed. A considerable body of cavalry, roused to action by the sense of shame inspired by this feminine display of chivalry, made a partial charge upon the enemy.—(Wilks' *Mysore*, ii., 38.)

§ The assault lasted twenty-six days, at the expiration of which time, the besieged were relieved by the approach of the British army. In honour of the steady courage there manifested, the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment bear "the rock of Amboor" on their colours. Hyder had a narrow escape during this enterprise; for while examining the fortifications, under cover of a rock which sheltered him completely from the direct fire of the fort, a cannon-shot rebounded from a neighbouring height, and cut in two his only companion, leaving him unhurt. The Mysorean court were, according to Colonel Wilks, the most unscientific in all India; and being ignorant of the simple principle by which a ball would rebound amid the rocks which limited its influence, until its force was spent, they attributed the fate of Khakee Shah to a miracle of vengeance, wrought to punish his recent offence of taking a false oath on a false Koran, to aid Hyder in deceiving and entrapping his ancient and much-injured patron, Nunjeraj.—(Wilks.)

however, haughtily rejected. Driven to desperation, he put forth all his powers, ravaged the Carnatic, penetrated to Trichinopoly, laid waste the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly, and finally, after drawing the English army, by a series of artful movements, to a considerable distance from Madras, he selected a body of 6,000 cavalry, marched 120 miles in three days, and suddenly appeared on the Mount of Saint Thomas, in the immediate vicinity of the English capital. The presidency were struck with consternation. The fort might undoubtedly have held out till the arrival of the army under Colonel Smith, but the open town with its riches, the adjacent country, and the garden-houses of the officials, would have been ravaged and destroyed; moreover, the exhausted state of the treasury afforded little encouragement to maintain hostilities with a foe whose peculiar tactics enabled him to procure abundant supplies for his troops in a hostile country, and to surround his enemies with devastation and scarcity in the heart of their own domains.* A treaty was concluded with him in April, 1769, of which the principal conditions† were a mutual restoration of conquests and a pledge of alliance, defensive but not offensive. The distinction involved in the latter proviso was, as might have been foreseen, of little avail; for the foes against whom Hyder especially desired the co-operation of the English troops, were the Mahrattas, who periodically invaded his territories; and on the expected approach of Mahdoo Rao, he urgently appealed to the presidency for the promised aid, which they withheld on the plea of complicated political relations, and thus excited, with too just cause, the vindictive passions of their ally. The military abilities of the peishwa were of no common order: and he approached with the determination of materially circumscribing the power of a rival whose proceedings and projects, after long undervaluing, he began to appreciate correctly. Seizing one by one the conquests‡ of Hyder,

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pletely, into the power of Hyder; and Maan Veeram Raj, the Zamorin, or Tamuri rajah of Calicut, disgusted by the faithlessness of his unprincipled opponent, and terrified by the cruel and humiliating tortures inflicted on his ministers to extort money, set fire to the house in which he was confined, and perished in the flames.* Shortly after this event, Hyder was recalled to Seringapatam by the alarming intelligence that the English and Mohammed Ali had united with the Nizam in a confederacy for the reduction of his dangerous ascendancy. Hyder was a complete master of every description of intrigue. He succeeded, by dint of bribery, in withdrawing Nizam Ali from the alliance into which the English had unwisely entered, and the very corps which had accompanied the Nizam into the dominions of Hyder, sustained in its retreat an attack from their united forces.† Madras was imperilled by the unlooked-for appearance of 5,000 horse, under the nominal command of Tippoo, the eldest son of Hyder Ali, then a youth of seventeen. The president and council were at their garden-houses without the town; and had the attention of the invaders been less absorbed in the accumulation of plunder, they might have seized as their prize the whole of these functionaries, and dictated at leisure th terms of general peace and individual ransom. But they delayed until news arrived of a decisive victory gained by Colonel Smith, at Trincomalee,‡ over Hyder and Nizam Ali, which being closely followed by other advantages on the side of the English (including the successful defence of Amboor),§ brought the campaign to an end. Hyder retreated within his own frontier, and the Nizam concluded a peace with the English in February, 1768, by which he agreed to receive seven lacs per annum for six years, as temporary tribute for the Circars, instead of the perpetual subsidy of nine lacs per annum previously promised. Hyder was himself equally solicitous of forming a treaty with the Madras presidency. He did not scruple to avow his inability to oppose at once both them and the Mahrattas; and he candidly avowed that disinclination to make common cause with the latter people, was the leading incentive to his repeated overtures for alliance with the English. His offers were,

an early opportunity of propitiating the favour of Hyder, at the expense of the high-born Hindoo princes in his vicinity. When Stavorinus himself visited India, in 1775–'8, the Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast nominally extended a distance of about thirty-two leagues; but, excepting the little island of Paponetty, and a few insignificant villages on the shore, the company had "no other actual property in the soil than in that upon which their fortifications are constructed."—(Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., chapters xiii. and xiv.)

* Several of the personal attendants of the Zamorin being accidentally excluded when the doors were fastened, threw themselves into the flames, and perished with their master. This catastrophe had no effect in softening the heart of Hyder, or inducing him to show compassion to the ministers. The Nairs, rendered desperate by his cruelty, rose against him repeatedly, and were, if captured, either beheaded or hanged, until the idea struck their persecutor of preserving them to populate certain other portions of his dominions. The experiment proved fatal to the majority of the unhappy beings upon whom it was tried: of 15,000 who were subjected to this forced emigration, only 200 survived the fatigue and hardships of the way and the change of climate, which Indians in general—and particularly the natives of Malabar—can ill bear under every possible circumstance of alleviation.—(Wilks' *Mysore*, i., 477.)

† Either from generosity or policy, five English companies, attached to the Nizam as a guard of honour, were suffered by him to depart and join the force under Colonel Smith three days before the commencement of open hostilities by the new allies.

‡ Hyder prevailed on the Nizam to give the order to retreat, and was himself clearly perceived by the English issuing directions for that purpose, in the midst of a select body of infantry, whose scarlet dresses, with lances eighteen feet long, of bamboo, strengthened by bands of polished silver, rendered them no less picturesque in appearance than formidable in reality. The retreat was, for the moment, delayed by a singular incident. Nizam Ali invariably carried his favourite wives in his train, even to the field of battle. On the present occasion, directions were given to the drivers of the elephants on which they were seated, to decamp forthwith,—an undignified procedure, which was firmly opposed by the fair occupant of one of the howdahs. "This elephant," she exclaimed, "has not been instructed so to turn; he follows the imperial standard:" and though the English shot fell thick around, the lady waited till the standard passed. A considerable body of cavalry, roused to action by the sense of shame inspired by this feminine display of chivalry, made a partial charge upon the enemy.—(Wilks' *Mysore*, ii., 38.)

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he marched onward until the Mysore state shrank into narrower limits than it had occupied under the native government at the beginning of the century. The authority of the usurper tottered; and the Hindoo rajah, thinking the conjuncture of affairs favourable to the assertion of his claims, strove to open a communication with the Mahratta general; but the proceeding being detected, the unhappy prince was immediately strangled while in the bath. Still Hyder cared not, at this crisis, openly to seat himself on the ivory throne of Mysore: double governments were in fashion throughout India, and the brother of the late rajah was proclaimed his successor. He did not long survive this perilous distinction; and Hyder, with unblushing effrontery, affected to choose from the children of the royal lineage, for the next pageant, a boy of sense and spirit—qualities which would necessarily unfit him to be the tool of the deadly foe of his family.* The retreat of the Mahrattas was secured on more favourable terms than could have been expected, by reason of the fast-failing health of the peishwa, who, in the same year (1772), died of consumption. He left no child, and his widow, to whom he had been devotedly attached, burnt herself with his body. Maharashtra is described as having greatly improved under his sway, and as being, in proportion to its fertility, probably more thriving than any other part of India, notwithstanding the inherent defects of its administrative system, and the corruption which Madhoo Rao restrained, but could not eradicate. His death, says Grant Duff, "occasioned no immediate commotion: like his own disease, it was at first scarcely perceptible; but the root which invigorated the already scathed and wide-extending tree, was cut off from the stem; and the plains of Paniput were not more fatal to the Mahratta empire, than the early death of this excellent prince."†

The above sketch illustrates, so far as the limits of this work will permit, the position of the three presidencies and of the leading neighbouring states, at the period when great and rapid changes were about to be effected in the whole scope and tenor of Anglo-Indian policy. The princes of Rajast'han were engaged in holding their own against the marauding Jats and Mahrattas, under Holcar and Sindia,‡ who, for their own ends, thought fit to interfere in a disputed suc-

who had renounced the world. After the ensuing complete victory of the Mahrattas, Tippoo was advised by his faithful friend, Seyed Mohammed (who related the adventure to Colonel Wilks), to make his way to Seringapatam as a travelling mendicant; and they contrived to reach the capital that night, to the great relief of Hyder, who believing his son lost, had refused to enter the city, and was awaiting further intelligence in a small mosque, probably unable to bring himself to encounter the burst of anger and sorrow to which his wife, the mother of Tippoo, who had great influence with him, would give vent on learning the circumstances which he knew, and the issue he feared.—(*Mysore*, ii., 146.)

* Hyder assembled the children in the royal hall of audience, which he had previously caused to be strewn with fruits, sweetmeats, flowers, books, coin, and toys of all description: each took what struck his fancy; one boy seized a brilliant little dagger, and soon afterwards a lime with the unoccupied hand. "That is the rajah," said Hyder; "his first care is military protection; his second, to realise the produce of his dominions."—(*Idem.* ii., 163.)

† *History of the Mahrattas*, ii., 237. The actual revenue of the Mahratta state, at this period (including the jaghires of Holcar, Sindia, Janojee Bhonslay, and Dummajee Guicowar, together with tribute, fees, fines, and extra revenue of every description), amounted to about seven million sterling per ann., including Mahdoo Rao's personal estate, which seldom exceeded £30,000 per ann. He was, however, possessed of twenty-four lacs of private property, which he bequeathed to the state, and which indeed was much needed. At the time of his accession, a large outstanding debt existed; and although at his death, reckoning sums due, the value of stores and other property, a nominal balance existed, yet the treasury itself was empty. The ordinary army of the peishwa comprehended 50,000 good horse; and calculating the contingent which Guicowar and Bhonslay were bound to furnish at from ten to fifteen thousand, Holcar and Sindia's army at 30,000, and allowing 3,000 for the Puars of Dhar, his total force at command must have amounted to about 100,000 fine cavalry, exclusive of Pindarries. No wonder that Hyder Ali should have been ever solicitous to shun contact with, and form alliances against, such a force under such a leader. By official records, it appears that of 449 officers under Mahdoo Rao, ninety-three were Brahmins, eight Rajpoots, 308 Mahrattas, and forty Mohammedans.—(*Idem.*, p. 270.)

‡ Holcar and Sindia both acquired valuable territorial possessions (or rather the mortgage of them) in Mewar, which, like most of the Rajpoot principalities, was about this time a prey to internal miseries,—its fields, mines, and looms all unworked, and hordes of "pilfering Mahrattas, savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks" let loose to do their wicked will in its once fruitful valleys. Oudipoor had nearly fallen before Sindia, but was bravely and successfully defended by Umra Chund, the chief minister of Rana Ursi, who, in 1770, succeeded in compelling Sindia to accept a ransom, and raise the siege. This excellent minister fell a victim to court intrigues; but his death, says Tod, "yielded a flattering comment on his life: he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history, of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow-citizens." They yet love to descant upon his virtues; and "an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umra-chunda*—evincing, that if virtue has few imitators in this country, she is not without ardent admirers."

cession to the throne of Amber or Jeypoor. Pretexts, more or less plausible, were put forth by other Mahratta leaders for the same course of invasion and plunder. The state of the Rohillas will be more particularly mentioned in a subsequent page. The far-distant Seiks had gradually increased in number and power, and could now furnish 80,000 men fit to bear arms. They possessed all the fertile country of the Punjaub between Sirhind and Attoc.

ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS.—This celebrated governor superseded Mr. Cartier in the Bengal presidency in April, 1772. He had accompanied Mr. Vansittart to England in 1764, and was at that time in the enjoyment of a moderate independence, and a reputation for ability and disinterestedness of no common order. Presidents and counsellors, commanders military and naval—in a word, the whole body of European officials, of any rank in the service—are recorded as having received costly presents from the native princes. In this list the name of Warren Hastings is alone wanting; and as it is certain his position in the court of Meer Cossim must have afforded more than average opportunities for the accumulation of wealth in a similar manner, the exception tends to prove that the love of money formed no part of his "sultan-like and splendid character."* On the contrary, he was generous even to prodigality; by which means, a brief sojourn in England, surrounded by family claims, reduced his finances to a condition little above that in which they had been fifteen years before; when, through the influence of a distant relative in the E. I. direction, the impoverished scion of a noble house had been dispatched, at the age of seventeen, as a writer to Calcutta.† There, as we have seen, he had risen from the lowest grade of office to a seat at the council-board, aided by general talent and application to business, but especially by the then rare advantage of acquaintance with the Persian language—the medium through which official correspondence in India was mainly conducted. The evidence given by him during the inquiry instituted by parliament in 1766, regarding the system of government adopted by the E. I. Cy., afforded a fair opportunity for the exposition of his views on a subject of which he was well calculated, both by experience and ability, to form a correct opinion; and although the hostility of the Clive party in the India House, prevented—happily for Hastings—his being suffered to accompany his former chief, Mr. Vansittart, in the projected mission to Bengal, no objection was made to his appointment to the station of second in council at Madras, whither he proceeded in 1769. Here his measures

* Bishop Heber's *Journal* (London, 1828), i., 330.

† The pedigree of the young writer can, it is affirmed, be traced back to the fierce sea-king, long the terror of both coasts of the British channel, whose subjugation called forth all the valour and perseverance of the great Alfred; and in tracing the political career of the Indian governor, one is tempted to think that not a few of the piratical propensities of Hastings the Dane, were inherited by his remote descendant. The more immediate ancestors of Warren Hastings were lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, and retained considerable wealth up to the time of the civil war in which King Charles I. lost his crown and life, and their existing representative all his possessions, except the old manor house, which being from poverty unable to retain, they sold in the following generation to a London merchant. To regain the ancient home of his family was the aspiration of Warren Hastings, while still a child of seven years old; and the hope which first dawned on his mind as he lay on the bank of the rivulet flowing through the lands of Daylesford to join the Isis, never passed away, but cheered him amid every phase of his chequered career, from the time when he learned his daily tasks on the wooden bench of the village school, or laboured at a higher description of study at the next school to which he was sent, where he was well taught, but so scantily fed, that he always attributed to that circumstance his stunted growth and emaciated appearance. From Newington Butts he was transferred to Westminster school, where Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, *and Impey*, were fellow-students. His comrades liked and admired the even-tempered boy, who was the best of boatmen and swimmers; and so high were his scholarly acquirements, that upon the sudden death of the uncle, who had placed him at Westminster, Dr. Nicholl, then head-master, offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But the distant relative on whom the responsibility of the decision devolved, persisted in sending the youth to India, and he was shipped off accordingly. Some seven years after, when about four-and-twenty, he married the widow of a military officer. She soon fell a victim to the climate, leaving Hastings one child, who was sent to England for health and education. The death of this son, to whom he was fondly attached, was the first intelligence received by the bereaved father on his arrival in 1764, and it rendered him more than commonly indifferent to the management of his pecuniary affairs. On leaving India, the chief part of his savings remained vested there, the high rate of interest being probably the inducement; but great advantages of this description are usually of a precarious character, and Hastings lost both principal and interest. This calamity did not hinder him from providing liberally for an aunt, for an only and beloved sister, like himself, the offspring of an early and ill-starred marriage, and for other pensioners, although his own Indian equipment had to be purchased with borrowed money.

were especially directed to improve the investments on which the dividends of the company mainly depended, and these exertions were instrumental in procuring his promotion to the station of governor of the Bengal presidency.*

Affairs there had reached the last stage of disorganisation. Seven years had elapsed, since the acquisition of the dewannee, without the establishment of any efficient system for the government of the people, and the result was the total absence of "justice or law, or adequate protection to person or property anywhere in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, except at Calcutta; the boys of the service being sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice, and rulers, heavy rulers, of the people." These youths — whom Hastings elsewhere describes as "most of them the agents of their own banyans (native managers), and they are devils"— occupied more lucrative positions than the governor himself, obtaining from one to three lacs a-year; but they were a dangerous class to meddle with, being "generally sons, cousins, or *élèves* of directors."† The new governor was not the man to risk provoking a powerful opposition to his administration by their recall, but contented himself with some indirect and partial attempts to retrench their power, and pave the way for its gradual withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the measures dictated by the Court of Directors were to be carried out, and the task was one of much greater delicacy and importance than persons imperfectly acquainted with the constitution of Indian society could possibly conceive. The company were extremely dissatisfied with the amount of revenues levied by the native officials, and were well disposed to attribute to their mismanagement and venality the ruinous condition both of their own finances and of the trade of the country. This frame of mind procured a ready reception to the charges brought before them through irregular channels, by means of the long purse and restless intrigues of Nuncomar, against Mohammed Reza Khan, who, it was alleged, had been guilty of extensive embezzlements of revenue, and likewise of an illicit monopoly of rice during the recent famine. Hastings was consequently directed to put in immediate execution the resolve of the company—"to stand forth as dewan, and to take upon themselves the entire care of the revenues;" and, likewise, to institute a public examination into the conduct of the ex-dewan. These instructions were addressed by the secret committee of the company, not to the council, but privately to the governor, and were received by him in the evening of the tenth day after his accession to office. On the following morning, orders were dispatched to Moorshedabad for the seizure of Mohammed Reza Khan, which was effected with the utmost secrecy in the silence of midnight. The Mussulman, with characteristic composure, upon being unexpectedly made a prisoner, attempted neither resistance nor expostulation, but bent his head and submitted to the will of God. It was considered necessary by the presidency to subject to a like arrest and examination the brave Hindoo chief, Shitabroy, whose distinguished services had been rewarded by a similar appointment in Bahar to that given to Mohammed Reza Khan in Bengal, although the directors had given no order on the subject, nor was any accusation whatever on record against him. The inquiry into the conduct of these ex-officials and their subordinates was delayed for some months, on the plea of giving time for the

* Among the fellow-passengers of Hastings, during his voyage, was a German baron named Imhoff, who, in the hope of finding remunerative employment as a portrait painter, was proceeding to India, accompanied by his wife, a very beautiful and accomplished woman, a native of Archangel, and their children. The result of some months of constant intercourse between two persons of high intellectual acquirements, and feelings stronger than their principles, may be conjectured. Hastings was taken dangerously ill; the lady nursed him (according to the Rev. Mr. Gleig) "with a sister's care;" and before the vessel reached Madras, it was arranged that a divorce should be sued for in the Franconia courts by the baroness, who, during the long years which might and did elapse pending the decision of the judges, was to continue to live with the baron. This arrangement was actually carried out: the Imhoffs followed Hastings from Madras to Calcutta; and when the marriage was at length formally dissolved, the baron returned to his native country with wealth to purchase and maintain the position of a landed proprietor, leaving the governor-general of India to marry the divorced lady, and adopt her two sons. Whether from ignorance of these facts, or a politic desire to overlook the antecedents of the union of a distinguished public servant, it appears that Queen Charlotte welcomed Mrs. Hastings with especial affability to a court remarkable for its high standard of female character. It is but justice to state, that Mr. and Mrs. Hastings remained devotedly attached to each other; and that the affectionate attentions of her son and daughter-in-law, Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff, were the solace of Hastings under the many self-sought sorrows of his old age.

† *Life of Warren Hastings*, pp. 147, 235, 269.

deposition of complaints. In the meanwhile, the *Khalsa,* or government revenue establishment, was transferred from Moorshedabad to Calcutta; the office of naib-dewan was abolished both for Bengal and Bahar; the British council formed into a board of revenue; and a native functionary or assistant dewan, under the old Hindoo title of roy-royan,* appointed to act in the Khalsa, to receive the accounts in the Bengal language, and make reports. The great obstacle to an equitable and satisfactory arrangement of the revenues, was the utter ignorance of the law-makers regarding the tenure of land; but Hastings, influenced by the necessity of a speedy decision, and considering it better "to resolve without debate, than to debate without resolving,"† cut the Gordian knot by determining to let the lands in farm for a period of five years.‡ In many instances, the hereditary Hindoo rulers of districts had sunk into the condition of tributaries, and in that character had been forcibly included by their Moslem conquerors in the large class of zemindars or middle-men, by whom the village authorities of the old system of numerous independent municipalities were gradually supplanted in Bengal. By the present regulations, when the zemindars, and other middlemen of ancient standing, offered for the lands, or rather land-rents, which they had been accustomed to manage, terms which were deemed reasonable, they were preferred; when their proposals were considered inadequate, a pension was allotted for their subsistence, and the lands put up for sale—a proceeding which, of necessity, involved the repeated commission of glaring injustice and impolicy; for many men who had nothing to lose were installed, to the expulsion of previous zemindars, who only offered what they could realise with ease to their tenants (for so these must be called, for want of a proper term to express a false position) and remuneration to themselves. To the ryots, or actual cultivators, leases or titles were given, enumerating all the claims to which they were subject, and prohibiting, under penalties, every additional exaction. These arrangements, however fair-seeming in theory, were founded on incorrect premises, and proved alike injurious to the interests of the company and the welfare of the people.§ Regarding the administration of justice, Hastings exerted himself with praiseworthy zeal. Aware of the intention of the home government to take this portion of Indian affairs under their especial consideration, he feared, not without reason, that their deliberations might issue in an endeavour to transplant to India the complicated system of jurisprudence long the acknowledged and lamented curse of lawyer-ridden England. In the hope of mitigating, if not averting this evil, he caused digests of the Hindoo and Mohammedan codes to be prepared under his supervision, and forwarded them to Lord Mansfield and other legal functionaries, with an earnest entreaty that they might be diligently studied; and in such changes as the altered state of affairs immediately necessitated, he was careful, by following the plain principles of experience and common observation, to adapt all new enactments to the manners and understanding of the people, and the exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to ancient usages and institutions.‖

There was justice as well as policy in this procedure; and it is only to be regretted that it was not carried out with sufficient exactitude. All attempts to force a code of laws, however excellent, upon people unfitted by antecedent circumstances to receive the boon, have proved abortive: a heathen nation must be educated—and that often very gradually—in the principles of truth and justice brought to light by the Gospel, before they can rightly appreciate the practical character of these virtues. The thief will not cease to steal, the perjuror to forswear, or the corrupt judge abstain from bribery at mere human bidding; a stronger lever is requisite to raise the tone of society, and produce a radical change in its

* The roy-royan had before been the chief officer under the naib-dewan, having the immediate charge of crown lands, and the superintendence of the exchequer.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 369.)

† Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 301.

‡ Under Mohammed Reza Khan's management, the system followed was the ruinous one introduced by Mohammedan nabobs, of farming out the lands annually.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i., p. cxxxv.)

§ No European was permitted, directly or indirectly, to hold lands in any part of the country.

‖ Halhed's *Digest of Hindoo Laws* was drawn up in Sanscrit by certain pundits (Hindoo doctors of law), translated from Sanscrit to Persian, and thence to English. The Mohammedan code, such as it is, has but one legitimate source—the Koran; nevertheless, an immense mass had been written on the subject, of which a digest called *the Hedaya*, filling four large folio volumes, was framed by order of Aurungzebe; and of this work a *précis* was now executed under the supervision of Hastings. The Brahmins would accept nothing for themselves but bare subsistence during their two years' labour. Promises were made of endowments for their colleges,

whole spirit, before public virtue could flourish in a moral atmosphere so deeply vitiated as that of Bengal. After centuries of oppression and venality, the new rulers felt that their safest policy was to commence a course of gradual amelioration, rather than of abrupt changes—abolishing only punishments openly at variance with the common dictates of humanity, such as torture and mutilation. Stipendiary English magistrates were appointed to act with native colleagues; civil and criminal tribunals were established in each district, under the check of two supreme courts of appeal—the Suddur Dewannee Adawlut, and the Nizamut Suddur Adawlut. In these arrangements one great error was, however, committed, in overlooking, or wilfully setting aside, the system of *punchayets*, or Indian juries, which had, from time immemorial, been the favourite and almost unexceptionable method of deciding civil disputes.

The immediate difficulties of the presidency at this period were, how to raise funds wherewith to provide the investments, which were expected to be regularly furnished from the revenues; and to obtain relief from a bond-debt, varying from a crore* to a crore and a-half of rupees, the interest of which alone formed an item of ten lacs in the yearly disbursements. In a pecuniary point of view, the cessation of the enormous salary of nearly £100,000, paid to Mohammed Reza Khan, was an advantage. He had filled, during the preceding seven years, the double office of naib-subah (properly subahdar) and naib-dewan; that is to say, he had been entrusted with the exercise of all the higher powers of government, judicial and financial (comprehended in the nizamut), and likewise with the charge of the education and management of the household affairs of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah; the expenditure of the yearly stipend of £320,000 having been entrusted exclusively to him. Hastings now resolved on reducing the nabob's allowance by one-half—a diminution which, together with the stoppage of the salaries of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitabroy, effected, it is asserted, a clear yearly saving of fifty-seven lacs of rupees, equivalent, at the then rate of money, to between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. The youth and inexperience of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah rendered it necessary to nominate a new superintendent for his establishment; and the selection made was so strange, that it gave rise to much subsequent criticism, as to the real motive for choosing a female, and yet setting aside the mother of the prince. Hastings thought fit to appoint to the post of *gouvernante* Munnee Begum—a person who, previous to her entrance into the seraglio of Meer Jaffier had been a dancing-girl, but who was now possessed of great wealth; the ostensible reason for the choice being "the awe" with which she was regarded by the nabob, and the improbability of her forming any plots against the English rulers. There were, of necessity, many affairs which eastern customs forbade to be transacted by a woman; and the coadjutor chosen for her was Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar, who, because he inherited neither the ability nor the guile of his father, would, Hastings alleged, prove a safe instrument of conferring favour on the latter, and inducing him to make every effort for the establishment of the guilt of Mohammed Reza Khan. The Hindoo, however, needed no incentive to stimulate his deep-rooted animosity against his Mussulman rival; yet, with all his ingenuity, he failed to establish the justice of the charges of embezzlement and monopoly† brought against the ex-dewan, or to prevent his acquittal, after prolonged examination before a committee, over which the governor presided. The innocence, and more than that, the excellent conduct, of Shitabroy, and the great exertions made by him to mitigate the sufferings of the people during the famine, were clearly proved at an early stage of the inquiry. A formal apology was made for the restraint to which he had been subjected; and a *sirpah*, or costly state

but not performed.—(*Hastings*, iii., 158.)——* A crore of rupees, according to the existing standard, amounted then to above a million sterling.

† The charge of oppressing the people, and applying the most cruel coercion to delinquent renters, was certainly not disproved. Dow, who was in Bengal during the early part of the administration of Mohammed Reza Khan, declares that, on the plea of their inability to fulfil their contracts being a pretence, many of the zemindars were bound to stakes and whipped with such unrelenting barbarity, that "not a few of them expired in agonies under the lash;" and many of the ryots, reduced to despair, fled the country.—(*Hindoostan*, i., cxxxvi.) These statements derive corroboration from the reasons given by the directors for ordering the trial of the dewan. In the same communication, allusion is made to the repeated accusations brought against the agents of English officials, "not barely for monopolising grain, but for compelling the poor ryots to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest."—(Letter to Bengal, 1771.) *See* Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India* for important information regarding the conduct of Mohammed Reza Khan during the famine.

dress, with jewels, and an elephant richly caparisoned, were presented, to adorn his triumphant return to Patna, to fill the office of roy-royan—the highest to which a native functionary could, by the recent regulations, be appointed. No small degree of humiliation was therefore blended with these marks of returning favour, which, even if unalloyed, would probably have arrived too late to repair past wrongs. Above a twelvemonth's detention in the uncongenial climate of Calcutta, aggravated by the workings of a proud spirit subjected to unmerited indignity, inflicted a mortal injury on the health of the brave chief, who died shortly after his acquittal. The appointment of roy-royan was, in testimony of his worth, transferred to his son Callian Sing, to whom the English, by the oddest assumption in the world, thought fit "to confirm the title of Maha Rajah."* But the recent changes, notwithstanding the diminution of expenditure with which they were attended, did not furnish ready money to cover the current outlay of the civil and military services of the presidency, which had risen to an enormous height; much less to meet the demands of the company at home. Hastings was deeply impressed with the exigencies of the case; and although the Court of Directors—however strongly they urged the adoption of measures to procure relief from the bond-debt by which their movements were fettered—uniformly stated, in the most forcible language, their desire for the merciful government of the people over whom they had assumed sway, and urged the adoption of an honest and straightforward policy on all occasions, yet their representative, on looking round him, and perceiving the difficulties attendant on the strict fulfilment of the various duties enjoined, thought it best, whatever else he slighted, to obey the leading injunction of getting money, comforting himself with the belief that his employers would gladly receive the fruits of his success, without caring to question the manner in which they had been acquired. In this resolution he was, no doubt, strengthened by the exceptional instance in which, deviating from their usual tone of instruction, they suggested the policy of taking a shameful advantage of the condition of the emperor, by withholding from him the annual subsidy of about £300,000, guaranteed by them in return for the perpetual grant of the dewannee.† So flagrant an inconsistency was quite enough to inspire Warren Hastings with a general distrust of the sincerity and good faith of his employers, and to incite him to grasp at immediate and unjust gains, rather than frankly set forth the actual position of affairs, and trust to the common sense and humanity of the company to give him time to develope the resources of the country, invigorate its wasted trade, cheer the drooping spirits of its industrious population; and, by these legitimate means, together with reformatory measures for the reduction of the illicit gains of European officials, to restore the commerce and revenue of Bengal to a healthy and flourishing condition.

But such a course of conduct required an amount of sturdy independence—or, better far, of stanch religious principle—rarely manifested by public men of any age or country. Warren Hastings, gifted as he was in many respects, had no pretensions of this nature. A long series of years spent in the company's service, had rendered their interest a primary consideration with him. Though lavish in his expenditure, he had, as has been before shown, no avarice in his composition. "He was far too enlightened a man to look upon a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon."‡ The love of power and fame burned strong within him; and in taking possession of the highest appointment in the gift of the E. I. Cy., he expressed his disgust at the possibility of the government of Bengal continuing "to be a mere chair for a triennial succession of indigent adventurers to sit and hatch private fortunes in;"§ and urged the advisability of being entrusted

* Letter from Bengal, Nov., 1773. The ancient title of Maha Rajah (the great king), borne by the highest Indian potentates before the Christian era, was not, it appears, usurped by Hindoos in modern times until the later Mogul emperors took upon themselves to confer titles, which their own usurpations had rendered unmeaning, and which by Hindoo laws could be obtained only by inheritance. Under the English, "Maha Rajahs" became very frequent; and Nuncomar held this title, which descended to his son Goordass. I have been unable to trace the origin of this celebrated man, or to find the authority upon which Macaulay speaks of him as the "head of the Brahmins of Bengal."—(*Essay on Hastings*, 36.)

† As early as Nov., 1768, the select committee, in a letter to Bengal, began to speculate on finding a plea for breaking faith with the emperor; remarking, among other contingencies—"If he flings himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, 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."—(Thornton's *British India*, ii., 37.)

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 10.

§ Gleig's *Life of Hastings*, i., 377.

with sufficient authority to carry into execution, without check or hindrance, the ambitious schemes which filled his mind, and to the fulfilment of which he was ready to devote his life. The constitution of the presidency was a subject of grave complaint with him; for, saving a certain prestige attached to the chair, and the single privilege of a casting vote, the governor had no superiority over any other member of the board, except the invidious description of exclusive authority, occasionally conferred by private communications, as in the case of Mohammed Reza Khan.

A change was at hand, but by no means such as Hastings desired; in the meanwhile, during the continuance of the old system, the majority of the councillors sided with him, and enabled him to pursue his own policy, despite the opposition and remonstrances offered by the minority on various occasions, especially with regard to his summary method of dealing with the emperor. The removal of this unfortunate prince from the immediate sphere of British protection, was asserted to be sufficient justification not only for the withdrawal of the yearly subsidy (to which the faith of the company had been unconditionally pledged),* but even for the repudiation of the arrears which Shah Alum had been previously assured were only temporarily kept back by reason of the pecuniary difficulties occasioned by the famine. Nor was this all: the emperor, while at the mercy of the arrogant Mahrattas, was compelled to sign *sunnuds*, or grants, making over to them Allahabad and Corah. The governor left by him in charge of these districts, knowing that the order for their relinquishment had been forcibly extorted, asked leave to place them under British protection. Hastings agreed with the Mogul officer in the impropriety of obeying a mandate issued under compulsion; but that same mandate was not the less set forth by him as conveying a formal renunciation, on the part of Shah Alum, of these districts, which were forthwith formally resumed in the name of the company; and as their distance from Calcutta rendered them too expensive possessions to be retained without an addition of military force quite disproportioned to the revenue derivable therefrom, they were openly sold to the man who had once before obtained them by treachery and murder, and who (p. 287), after his defeat by the English, had spared neither intrigue nor bribery for their regainment.† It was an act quite unworthy the representative of a great English association, to let the paltry sum of fifty lacs induce him to sacrifice the last remnants of dominion to which the unfortunate emperor had been taught to look as a refuge from the worst evils that could befall him, to the ambition of his faithless and ungrateful servant. Sir Robert Barker remonstrated earnestly against this procedure, which was arranged after repeated private conferences at Benares, held between Shuja Dowlah and Mr. Hastings, during nearly three weeks of close intercourse. He declared it to be a flagrant breach of the treaty of Allahabad of 1765, by which the dewannee of Bengal was granted to the company; and said that the emperor might, and probably would, if opportunity offered, bestow the sunnuds on a rival nation. Hastings treated the possibility with scorn; declaring, "the sword which gave us the dominion of Bengal, must be the instrument of its preservation:" if lost, he added—"the next proprietor will derive his right and possession from the same natural charter." Even had the imperial grants been worth no more than the parchment they were written on, the company would have been unjustifiable in withholding the purchase-money they had pledged themselves to give: but the truth was, the sunnuds had a real, though not very definite value, of which Hastings was fully aware, though he now chose to ridicule them as much as his predecessor Clive had exaggerated their importance; and for precisely the same reason—of temporary expediency.‡ It is difficult for the

* The very sunnuds which form the title-deeds of the company, distinctly set forth the annual payment of twenty-six lacs to the emperor, Shah Alum, as a first charge on the revenues of Bengal.

† Col. Smith attested that, in 1768, Shuja Dowlah came to him, expressed his desire to possess Allahabad and Corah, and "proffered four lacs of rupees in ready money, and to swear secrecy on the Koran, if he would aid in its accomplishment." The same officer bore witness, that the emperor sensibly felt the conduct of the vizier, and had declared, with emotion, that it seemed as if he "did not wish him to have an habitation of his own on the face of the earth."—(Auber's *India*, i., 191-'2.)

‡ In 1784, when arguing in favour of aiding, instead of oppressing the emperor, Hastings writes, that he demanded assistance from the English on the right of gratitude; asserting, "that when the French and Hyder earnestly solicited his grants of the Carnatic, and offered large sums to obtain them, he constantly and steadily refused them. We know, by undoubted evidence, that this is true." These firmauns had therefore a marketable value very different to that of "waste paper."—(*Life*, iii., 192.)

English reader to appreciate the feelings which, in the minds of the Indian population, lent a peculiar degree of legality to grants unquestionably issued by the Great Mogul. The powerful and arrogant ruler of Oude ventured not on assuming the style of a sovereign: he knew the temper of neighbouring communities, and possibly of his subjects, too well to attempt this innovation; and his successor earnestly solicited, and at length with difficulty obtained from Shah Alum the title of vizier, or first subject of an empire which had little more than nominal existence, while he was himself undisputed master of an independent state as large as Ireland.

The sale of Allahabad and Corah was only one portion of the treaty of Benares. The counterpart was an arrangement for the hire of the British force to Shuja Dowlah, in the novel and degrading character of mercenary troops; and this, notwithstanding the repeated orders of the directors to refrain from all participation in aggressive warfare, and the recent (July, 1772) and unanimous declaration of the council, when called upon to assist their ally against the invasions of the Mahrattas—"that no object or consideration should tempt or compel them to pass the political line which they had laid down for their operations with the vizier, which were to be defensive only;" adding, that "not a single sepoy was to pass the frontiers of his territories."*

The people against whom Hastings agreed to co-operate, in violation alike of the orders of his employers and the resolutions of his colleagues, were the Rohilla rulers of the country lying N.W. of Oude and E. of the Ganges. The establishment of this military colony had been, as we have seen, forcibly effected during the decline of the empire, partly by the retention of lands as hereditary property, which had been originally granted on the ordinary jaghire tenure, but chiefly by the aggressions of Ali Mohammed Khan,† the adventurous leader of an ever-increasing body of Afghans, whose title was avowedly that of the sword. Successive rulers of the Oude province—themselves usurpers of equally short standing—had made various attempts to subdue Rohilcund, and annex it to their own dominions, but without any permanent result. The country was, at the present time, divided into numerous petty principalities, under independent chiefs or sirdars, all of whom derived their origin from the same stock, being of one tribe—that of Ali Mohammed Khan. The very nature of their power rendered their union improbable for any other purpose except temporary coalition against an invading force; but in that event—if all were true to the common cause—they could, it was estimated, bring into the field 80,000 effective horse and foot. Still it was less their number than their bravery, dexterity with the sword, and skill in the use of war-rockets, that had heretofore enabled them to hold their ground against the imperial troops, the rulers of Oude, and their worst foes—the Mahrattas. Against the latter they had fought with relentless fury on the plains of Paniput; and though, for a time, the prudence of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla had averted the threatened vengeance, the danger was delayed, not dissipated. The open hostility displayed by his son, Zabita Khan, to Shah Alum, and the evident preparations made by him for war at Seharunpoor, were followed by the invasion of his territories by the imperial troops, under a brave commander named Nujeeb Khan, in conjunction with the Mahrattas; but the latter contrived to reap all the benefit of the enterprise.

Shuja Dowlah did not view without uneasiness the prospect of the subjugation of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas. To have a territory he had long coveted seized and occupied by the most dangerous people all India could furnish for neighbours, was a calamity to be averted at any hazard; and he gladly entered into an alliance with the Rohillas, in 1773, to which the English became a party, to make common cause against the invaders. The leading Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rehmet, whose territories formed the western boundary of Oude,‡ though compelled by dire necessity to consent to co-operate with the nabob-vizier, as the sole means of defence against an immediate and overpowering foe, was so distrustful of his ultimate designs, that he positively refused to take the field against the Mahrattas until

* Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 385.

† Ali Mohammed is said to have been the son of a Hindoo *aheer* or shepherd, adopted in infancy by a Rohilla chief, and treated in all respects as his own child.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 20.)

‡ The possessions of Hafiz Rehmet Khan joined the western limits of Oude, and were situated entirely on the north side of the Ganges, except Etawa and one or two straggling districts. Those of Zabita Khan commenced on the Jumna, about fourteen miles from Delhi, and were bounded by Sirhind on the west; and those of Ahmed Khan Bungush, bordered on the Corah country—Furruckabad being the capital.—(Auber's *India*, vol. i., 189.)

assured by Sir Robert Barker, on the faith of the English, that no ungenerous advantage should be taken of his absence from his own frontier by their mutual ally. This temporary and precarious confederacy of powers, strong only if heartily united, did not prevent the hostile force from crossing the Ganges and committing great ravages in Rohilcund; but their withdrawal was at length purchased by a bond for forty lacs, given by Hafiz Rehmet, on behalf of himself and his fellow-chiefs, to Shuja Dowlah, who became guarantee for the gradual payment of the money to the Mahrattas. The succeeding events are very confusedly, and even contradictorily, related by different writers. The native, and apparently least inconsistent version, is given in the narrative of the son of Hafiz Rehmet, who states that the Mahratta leaders, Holcar and Sindia, subsequently negotiated with his father to join them against Shuja Dowlah, offering, as an inducement, to surrender to him the bond given on his behalf, and a share of such conquests as might be made in Oude. The Rohilla chief, whom all authorities concur in describing as of upright and honourable character, refused to listen to this proposition, and warned his ally of the intended attack, which, however, the Mahrattas were prevented by intestine strife from carrying into execution. The ever-treacherous and ungrateful vizier, relieved from this danger, immediately demanded the payment of the bond which he held simply as a guarantee against loss, for the benefit, not of the Mahrattas, but of himself and the English; and he had the art to persuade the latter people that the deed in question had actually been drawn up for the express purpose of providing for the expenses incurred in resisting the common foe. Hafiz Rehmet, however disgusted by this shameless demand, was not in a condition to offer effectual resistance, having lost many of his bravest commanders in the recent hostilities. He therefore forwarded his own share of the required sum, and entreated his fellow-chiefs to follow his example; but they refused to submit to such extortion; and after many ineffectual attempts at compromise, he reluctantly prepared for the inevitable conflict, observing, "that as he must die some time, he could not fall in a better cause."*

Shuja Dowlah, notwithstanding the pains he had taken to win over some of the minor sirdars or governors, the indefensible character of the country, and the vast numerical superiority of his own troops, was little disposed to confront, without extraneous assistance, the small but hardy Afghan bands, who were resolved to struggle, even unto death, in defence of their hearths and homes in the fair valleys of Rohilcund. There were soldiers in India whose steady disciplined valour might be depended upon when fighting as hired mercenaries against such combatants as these. A single English battalion was to native armies as the steel to the bamboo: with this addition they became all-powerful; without it, the death of a favourite leader, the outburst of a thunder-storm, a few wounded and ungovernable elephants, or a hundred other possible and probable contingencies, might change in an instant the shout of victory and the eager advance, into the yell of defeat and the headlong flight, amidst which even the commanders would lack presence of mind to issue any better orders than the very watchword of panic—chellao! chellao! (get on! get on!)† The deceitful representations made by Shuja Dowlah regarding the reason for which he had been intrusted with the Rohilla bond, was intended to give the English a plausible pretext to aid him in punishing an alleged breach of treaty. At the same time, he was too well acquainted with the wants and difficulties of the Calcutta presidency, and with the character of the governor, to feel any necessity for circumlocution in intimating his desire of seizing Rohilcund, and his readiness to pay a large sum for the assistance of a British force in the accomplishment of the projected usurpation.

Neither regard for the honour of his nation, nor the dignity of his own position as the representative of a great commercial body, nor even for the private reputation which he often declared "it had been the study of his life to maintain unblemished," withheld Hastings from receiving this proposition with favour, and even encouraging it by dwelling on the advantages to be derived by the projector from its execution. The result was the insertion of a clause in

* *Life of Hafiz Rehmet*, English abridgment, published by Oriental Translation Fund, pp. 112—113. Also Sir Robert Barker's evidence in 1781. Thornton's *British Empire in India*, ii., 44

† *Vide* Colonel Wilks' graphic narrative of the battles of Hyder Ali, especially of his defeat by the Mahrattas at Chercoolee, and flight to Seringapatam. —(*History of Mysore*, ii., 144.)

the treaty of Benares, by which the English governor agreed to furnish troops to assist the ruler of Oude in "the reduction" or expulsion of their late allies the Rohillas, for a gratuity of forty lacs of rupees, to be paid when the "extermination" should be completed, the vizier to bear the whole charge (computed at 210,000 rupees a month) of the British force employed in the expedition.*

In the spring of 1774, the second of the three brigades into which the Bengal army was divided—viz., that of Allahabad,† joined the forces of Shuja Dowlah, and the combined troops entered the Rohilla country. The English commander was possibly already prejudiced against Hastings, on account of the determination manifested by the latter to keep the military under the complete control of the civil authority; but this circumstance was not needed to deepen the natural disgust excited by being employed in an undertaking deservedly stigmatised as "infamous." The conduct of the nabob-vizier was, from first to last, as bad as cruelty, cowardice, and rapacity could make it. The Rohillas, astounded by the approach of English troops, anxiously strove to make terms of peace; but the demand of the invader for *two crore* of rupees, evinced his uncompromising resolve to proceed to extremities. Hafiz Rehmet took post near the city of Bareilly, with an army of 40,000 men. The English commenced the attack by a cannonade of two hours and a-half, the rapidity and persistance of which defeated the frequent attempts of the enemy to charge; at length, after Hafiz Rehmet‡ and one of his sons, with several chiefs of note, had been killed whilst rallying their dispirited followers, the rest turned and fled. Shuja Dowlah had heretofore remained a quiet spectator of the fight, surrounded by his cavalry and a large body of artillery; but the fortune of the day being decided, his troops made up for their past inactivity by pursuing, slaughtering, and pillaging the fugitives and the abandoned camp, "while the company's troops, in regular order in their ranks, most justly observed," (says their commander), "we have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit." Then followed a fearful destruction of villages, the whole country being overspread with flames for three days after the battle. Colonel Champion vainly besought Shuja Dowlah to give orders for the cessation of these atrocities; and he also appealed to Hastings§ to plead the cause of the unhappy family of Hafiz Rehmet; but the answer was, that such interference would probably aggravate the sufferings it was designed to alleviate: and this rebuff was accompanied by an intimation that it was the business of Colonel Champion to fight and not to diplomatise, and that it was especially incumbent on him to refrain from any line of conduct which should afford the nabob-vizier a pretext for refusing to pay the forty lacs—literally, the price of blood.

Thus sharply admonished, Colonel Champion was compelled to abide by the "great political maxim," till then utterly disregarded in Anglo-Indian policy,—"that no power which supports another as the mere second in a war, has the smallest right to assume a prominent place in the negotiations which are to conclude that war."‖

Shuja Dowlah was therefore suffered to finish the affair entirely to his own satisfaction; which he did by following up the slaughter of about 2,000 Rohillas on the field of battle, with the expulsion of 18,000

* Hastings avowed himself "glad of any occasion to employ the E. I. Cy's forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses" (*Life*, i., 359); and regrets being unable to derive "some advantage from the distractions of the Mahratta state."—(i., 397.)

† The Allahabad brigade, established by Clive, drew from Fort William no less than two million sterling in five years. The sum of 30,000 rupees per month, paid according to agreement by Shuja Dowlah, during that period, was scarcely felt as a relief, for the officers in command contrived to reap the chief benefit therefrom.—(Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 343.)

‡ The old warrior, conspicuous from his long white beard, stately bearing, and noble charger, when all was lost, was seen to gallop forward to perish (to our shame) on English bayonets.—(Heber, i., 434.)

§ Warren Hastings remarked, that Colonel Champion had little reason to express indignation regarding the destruction of the villages; and he quoted a letter written by this officer during the war with the vizier, in 1764, in which he declared, that according to his instructions he had been ravaging the enemy's country, and had "destroyed upwards of 1,000 villages." This barbarous system was unhappily employed, without scruple, by European commanders; and Clive especially, as a favourite measure, subsidised bands of Mahrattas for the express purpose of spreading devastation round the French settlements and encampments. Orme's work contains irrefragable testimony of the desolating hostilities of even Europeans, practised at the expense of the wretched peasantry, who beheld every art of a boasted civilisation employed in strife and bloodshed, and their fields not only ravaged by rival invaders with fire and the sword, but even the mounds reared with unwearied labour thrown down, and the waters let loose to destroy the cultivations previously irrigated with unavailing toil.

‖ *Life of Hastings*, i., 439.

of their countrymen, who, with their wives and children,* were driven forth to beg, steal, or starve. The Hindoo peasantry, who formed the mass of the population, were unfavourably affected by the change. It was at first attempted to show that they had experienced a great benefit by being delivered from the "grinding tyranny" of the Rohillas; but other and more trustworthy accounts, describe the case differently, and assert that these people, unlike their race in general, encouraged agriculture, while in another point they shared the Afghan characteristic—of freedom from any passion for the accumulation of wealth. The population over whom they had usurped sway, being left in the undisturbed possession of their religion and customs, were therefore probably better situated under the immediate sway of these independent chiefs, than beneath the delegated despotism of the Mogul emperors.† Their expulsion was, however, not quite complete; for one chief, Fyzoolla Khan, continued to resist the power of the usurper, and took post with the remains of the army on the skirts of the mountains near Pattir Ghur. After some ineffectual attempts to dislodge him, the vizier found his own troops becoming so discontented from arrears of pay, that he was glad to bring hostilities to a close, by entering into an agreement with Fyzoolla Khan, who agreed to surrender half the treasure which he had contrived to carry off, on condition of receiving a grant of Rampoor and certain dependent districts in Rohilcund, yielding a revenue of above £150,000 per annum.

This arrangement was, however, hurried to a conclusion more by a consideration of the failing health of the vizier, than even from the discontent of the troops. The cause of his rapid decline was ostensibly attributed to a cancerous disease; but the Mussulman historian of these times alludes to a current report—that it was the direct consequence of a wound inflicted by the hand of the daughter of Hafiz Rehmet, who, when the murderer of her father filled up the measure of his crimes by an attempt to dishonour her, stabbed him with a small dagger she had concealed for the purpose. The unhappy girl was immediately put to death; but the wound she had inflicted, though slight, proved mortal, the dagger having been previously poisoned by her mother. Such is the story told by Gholam Hussein and his translator. The former denies, the latter affirms, its truth, and adduces certain circumstances—such as the friendship of the author for the sons of Hafiz Rehmet, his alliance with the English, and other causes, for a desire to pass slightingly over so painful a matter.‡ This at least is certain,—that Shuja Dowlah, immediately after the accomplishment of his much-desired object, the possession of Rohilcund, was seized by mortal sickness, while yet strong in the full energy of middle life; that he lingered through many months of intense bodily anguish, and then died, leaving his usurped dominions to a youth whose addiction to the most hateful forms of sensuality rendered him an object of general contempt.

The Rohilla war was the last transaction of importance which marked the career of Hastings as governor under the old system. Among the other measures of this epoch, was one of a quite unexceptionable character—the removal of a tax on marriage. He likewise exerted himself vigorously for the suppression of gangs of thieves and plunderers, who, under the name of *decoits*, committed terrible ravages in Bengal. Troops of *senassies*, or religious mendicants, (the pilgrim-gipsies of Hindoostan), did great mischief under the cloak of fanatical zeal. The truth was, that during the late season of anarchy, crime of all descriptions had been greatly augmented; and many who had first laid violent hands on food, at the instigation of ravening hunger, continued as a trade what they had yielded to as a momentary temptation. The measures adopted for suppressing gang-robbery were, however, of a character so flagrantly unjust, that no Christian governor could be justified in adopting, far less in initiating them. Each convicted criminal was to be executed in his native village, of which every member was to pay a fine according to his substance; and the family of the transgressor were to become slaves of the state, to be disposed of at the discretion of government. These iniquitous regulations were enacted, notwithstanding the avowed knowledge of the presidency, that the custom of selling slaves was alike repugnant to the doctrines of the Koran and the Shastras. Moreover, it was at this very time found necessary to take measures to check the kidnapping of chil-

* Stated by Colonel Champion at 100,000 souls.

† Hafiz Rehmet is said to have been "an excellent sovereign" (Heber, i., 434), and Fyzoolla Khan "a liberal landlord."—(*Report on Rohilcund* 1808.)

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 268.

dren, and carrying them out of the country in Dutch and French vessels,—a practice which "had greatly increased since the establishment of the English government."*

Hastings Governor-general. — The great change in the constitution of the Bengal presidency, decreed by the Regulating Act of 1772–'3, was unwelcome intelligence to the governor, who justly considered the actual though ill-defined supremacy vested in the Calcutta presidency, with the high-sounding but empty title given to its head, poor compensation for having his movements fettered by four coadjutors, each one scarcely less powerful than himself. The erection of a Supreme Court of judicature, to be conducted by Englishmen after the national method, he knew to be an innovation likely to produce considerable dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives; and the result proved his surmise correct: but no small part of the blame attaches to the individuals of whom it was composed, their ignorance of the customs of the people they came to judge being aggravated by a haughty indifference to the deep-rooted and undeviating adherence to ceremonial observances and the rights of sex and caste, which form so prominent a feature in the manners of the whole native population, both Hindoo and Mohammedan. Hastings, indeed, consoled himself for the dangerous character of the new legal courts, because the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, his old schoolfellow at Westminster, was the best man that could have been chosen for the office "in all England."† Most authorities have formed a very different estimate of the same person; and Macaulay has not hesitated to declare, that "no other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower."‡

Towards the new councillors—General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis§—Hastings was not favourably disposed. They knew this, and came prepared to resent any semblance of disrespect. The occasion offered itself before they set foot in Calcutta: the salute from Fort William consisted of seventeen, instead of twenty-one, discharges; and the expected guard of honour did not await their landing. The governor-general understood the effect of these apparent trifles on the minds of the natives of all ranks, and had calculated the degree of respect absolutely necessary to be shown to his colleagues: so, at least, they reasoned; and within six days after their arrival in October, 1774, a struggle commenced, which rendered the council-chamber of Calcutta a scene of stormy debate for the space of four years.

Mr. Barwell, the fourth member nominated by the Regulating Act, was an experienced Indian official. He had not always been on good terms with Hastings; but he now steadily, though with little effect, adhered to him against the new-comers. Hastings himself possessed a remarkable degree of self-control,‖ and rarely suffered the violence of Clavering, the pertinacity of Monson—or, worse than all, the sharp tongue and ready pen of Francis—to drive him from the 'vantage ground of equanimity, or tempt him to lay aside the quiet tone of guarded cynicism, to which the eloquent enthusiasm of his earlier and purer life had long since given place.

The Benares treaty and the Rohilla war were the first subjects of discussion. On the plea of keeping faith with the political agent¶ placed by him at the court of Shuja Dowlah, Hastings refused to produce the correspondence; and this circumstance, combined with other manifestations of a desire to crush or evade inquiry into matters in which he was personally concerned, gave rise to many grave imputations on his character. The Rohilla war was deservedly denounced by the majority as a shameful expedient to raise money; but, unhappily, party feeling against Hastings alloyed their zeal, and ensured defeat by its own violence. In diplomacy, all three combined were no match for him, as they soon learned with bitter mortification. The clause in their instructions which directed examination to be made into past oppressions, was ample war-

* *Revenue Consultations* of April and May, 1774; and official letters from Bengal of this date, quoted in Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 432.

† *Life of Hastings*, i., 471.

‡ *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 50.

§ Pronounced very decidedly by Macaulay to be the author of the *Letters of Junius*.—(*Idem*, p. 30.) The strongest argument on the other side, is the steady denial of Francis himself, which he reiterated so late as 1817—that is, the year before his death, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

‖ In the council-chamber at Calcutta hangs a portrait of Hastings, bearing the legend—"*Mens æqua in arduis*;" and no better comment need be desired to accompany the semblance of the pale face, slight frame, singularly developed brow, penetrating eye, and thin, firmly-closed lips of the man of whom it has been said, "hatred itself could deny no title to glory—*except virtue*."—(Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 92.)

¶ The Mr. Middleton mentioned under such suspicious circumstances in the next page.

rant for the inquiries instituted by them into various complaints urged by natives of rank against the governor.* No doubt, many of these were well founded; for it is not likely that a person, so indifferent to the common rules of honesty and humanity in all matters of foreign policy, would be scrupulously just in his internal arrangements. But the most puzzling point in the quarrels of this epoch, is the repeated accusation brought against him of venality—urged with a degree of vehemence which may be illustrated by a single extract from the official records, in which the "gentlemen of the majority" (as Hastings sarcastically called them) complain, in plain terms, of the "formidable combination of reciprocal interest" which he had established, "by accepting unwarrantable advantages himself, and conniving at those which were received by the company's servants."† To this heavy charge is added:—"In the late proceedings of the revenue board, there is no species of peculation from which the honourable governor-general has thought it right to abstain."‡

It has been before stated, that Hastings was not avaricious—far from it: he had neither taste nor talent for the accumulation of wealth, and appears to have habitually mismanaged his pecuniary affairs. For that very reason, the high salary attached to his office proved insufficient to cover his ill-regulated expenditure: and this circumstance may account for his having availed himself of means to recruit his own exchequer, closely resembling in character those simultaneously employed by him on behalf of the company.

Many specific accusations were urged against him. Among others, the extraordinary appointment of Munnee Begum as guardian to the nabob, was now distinctly stated to have been purchased by her in the first instance, and subsequently retained by bribery; and it was alleged in corroboration, that in the examination of her receipts and disbursements, a large sum remained unaccounted for. She was placed under restraint, and on being closely questioned as to the cause of the defalcation, she pleaded having given three lacs of rupees to the governor-general and his immediate retainer, Mr. Middleton.§ The receipt of this sum was not denied; but Hastings indicated his own share in the transaction, by asserting that the lac-and-a-half taken by him had been used as "entertainment money," to cover the extraordinary outlay necessitated by his visit to Moorshedabad, over and above the charge of upwards of 30,000 rupees made by him on the Calcutta treasury for travelling expenses; together with a large additional sum for his companions and attendants.

This explanation is quite insufficient as regards the exaggerated scale of expenditure adopted by the governor-general during his absence from Calcutta; far less can it justify so large a deduction from the income of the nabob, immediately after his allowance had been cut down to the lowest point. The result of the investigation was the removal of Munnee Begum from office, and her supersession by Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar, by whom the accusation of collusion between the begum and the governor had been preferred. The appointment was the act of the majority, conferred—not, of course, for the sake of Goordass, who was deemed incapable of doing much good or harm—but as a strong mark of the feelings entertained by them to his father; although, at this very time, as Hastings savagely declared, "the old gentleman was in gaol, and in a fair way to be hanged."‖

* Among these was the ranee of Burdwan, the relict of the late rajah, Tillook Chund, whose ancestors had governed their rightful heritage as a zemindarree during the whole period of Mohammedan rule. The ranee complained that she had been set aside from the government during the minority of her son, a boy of nine years old, to make room for a corrupt agent. Another accusation brought against Hastings was that of unduly favouring his native steward, named Cantoo Baboo (a former servant of Clive's), who had been not only allowed to farm lands to the value of £150,000 per annum, but also to hold two government contracts, one in his own name, and the other in that of his son, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, amounting to a still higher sum.—(Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India*, p. 241.)

† The majority steadily refused even the customary presents or *nuzzurs* (of comparatively small value, offered by the natives of rank), as a dangerous practice; and commented severely on the reasons adduced by Hastings for receiving and paying them into the company's treasury, and by Barwell for receiving and retaining them.—(*Letter from Bengal*, October, 1774.)

‡ *Consultations of Bengal Council*, May, 1775.

§ Of the lac-and-a-half of rupees (which, by the usual standard, considerably exceeded £15,000 in value) no account was ever rendered, or defence set up, by Mr. Middleton.—(Mill's *India*, iii., 633.)

‖ The concentrated bitterness of this expression appears in a striking light when contrasted with the singular moderation of Hastings at the time of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, on the charges of wholesale plunder and sanguinary oppression. He then remarked on the little chance of capital punishment being inflicted, let the trial end how it would; giving as a reason—"On ne pend pas des gens qui ont un million dans leur poche."—(*Life*, i., 264.)

The means by which the most dangerous and deadly foe ever encountered by Hastings was dashed to the ground at the very moment when his hand was uplifted to strike, are of a nature which must ever leave some degree of uncertainty as to the degree of culpability attributable to the chief actors.*

The antecedent circumstances require to be rightly understood before any clear conception can be formed on a matter which created no ordinary degree of interest in the mind of the English public, and afforded to Burke a fitting theme for some of the most thrilling passages in his eloquent speeches, in the long subsequent impeachment of Hastings. It will be remembered that Nuncomar, previous to his appointment as naib-dewan to Meer Jaffier, had been detained at Calcutta by order of the directors, on the ground of being a dangerous intriguer, whose liberty might endanger the safety of the state; and this conclusion was arrived at mainly through evidence brought forward by Hastings, who conducted the examination, and was known to entertain a very unfavourable opinion of Nuncomar. At the period of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, the governor-general took great credit for the manner in which, notwithstanding his private feelings, he had entered freely into all the complaints brought forward by the Brahmin ex-dewan against his Mussulman successor. He even showed Nuncomar considerable personal attention until the termination of the affair, when the accusations not being established, were pronounced malicious and libellous. Nuncomar felt that he had been used as a mere tool; and, stung to the soul by the disgrace in which his ambitious schemes had terminated, he retired into temporary obscurity, and eagerly waited an opportunity of revenge.

The dissensions which took place in the council, speedily afforded the desired opportunity; and just four months after the establishment of the new government, Nuncomar presented a memorial to the council, which contained a formal statement of bribes, to a great extent, received by the governor-general from Mohammed Reza Khan, as the price of bringing the inquiry into his conduct to a favourable termination. Francis read the paper aloud: a stormy altercation followed. Hastings, for once, lost all temper; called his accuser the basest of mankind; indignantly denied the right of the councillors to sit in judgment on their superior; and, upon the request of Nuncomar to be heard in person being granted by the majority, he left the room, followed by Barwell. General Clavering took the vacant chair,—Nuncomar was called in, and, in addition to the previous charges, he alleged that two crore and a-half of rupees had been paid by Munnee Begum to Hastings, and that he had himself purchased his son's appointment, as her colleague in office, with another crore.

Hastings felt the ground giving way beneath his feet. The arrangement (to use the most lenient epithet) between him and Munnee Begum, regarding the "entertainment money," would, if other testimony were wanting, suffice to prove that he had not scrupled to obtain, in a more or less surreptitious manner, large sums in addition to the regular salary (£25,000 per annum), and allowances attached to his position of governor-general. The probability was a strong one, that the various and specific charges which the vindictive Brahmin was prepared to maintain at the hazard of his life, would contain at least sufficient truth to enable the adversaries of Hastings to triumph over him, by the ruin of the reputation he had, from early youth, spent laborious days and anxious nights in acquiring. To lose this was to lose all: he had no extraneous influence with the crown, the ministers, in parliament, or even with the company, sufficient to prop up his claims to the high position which credit for personal disinterestedness, still more than for great and varied talents, had obtained for him. With a mind depressed by gloomy apprehension, he prepared for the worst; and, to avoid the last disgrace of dismissal, placed in the hands of two confidential agents† in London his formal resignation, to be tendered to the directors in the event of a crisis arriving which should render this humiliating step of evident expediency. Meanwhile he met his foes with his usual undaunted mien, and carried the war into the enemy's country, by instituting proceedings in the Supreme Court against Nuncomar and two kinsmen, named Fowke, in

* One of the most moderate and unprejudiced authorities on this subject truly remarks, that "opinions may, indeed, differ as to the extent of Hastings' culpability; but he must be a warm partisan, indeed, who will go to the length of declaring that the hands of the governor-general were altogether clean."—(Thornton's *British India*, ii., 71.)

† Col. Macleane and Mr. Graham.

the company's service, for an alleged conspiracy to force a native, named Camul-oodeen, to write a petition reflecting falsely and injuriously on himself and certain of his adherents, including his banyan Cantoo Baboo, on whom he was known to have conferred undue privileges. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, after hearing the evidence adduced at an examination before the judges, placed on record their conviction that the charge was a fabrication, and had no foundation whatever in truth. Within a few days from this time a more serious offence was alleged against Nuncomar—he was arrested on a charge of forging a bond five years before, and thrown into the common gaol. The ostensible prosecutor was a native of inconsiderable station; but Hastings was then, and is still, considered to have been the real mover in the business. The majority manifested their convictions in the most conspicuous manner: they dispatched urgent and repeated messages to the judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be held to bail; but to no purpose. The assizes commenced; a true bill was found; Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey, and after a protracted examination, involving much contradictory swearing, was pronounced guilty by a jury of Englishmen, and condemned to death.

The animus of the whole affair could not be mistaken: all classes were infected by a fever of excitement; and Clavering, it is said, swore that Nuncomar should be rescued, even at the foot of the gallows. Impey behaved throughout the trial with overbearing violence, and not only refused to grant a reprieve until the pleasure of the home authorities should be known, but even censured the counsel of Nuncomar, in open court, for his laudable attempt to prevail on the foreman of the jury to join in recommending his client to mercy.* Hastings, who might, had he chosen, have set his character in the fairest light by procuring the respite of his accuser, remained perfectly quiescent, and thereby confirmed the general conviction that he dared not encounter the charges of Nuncomar.

The sufficiency of the evidence by which the act of forgery was established, is a question of secondary importance when compared with the palpable injustice of inflicting capital punishment for a venial offence on a person over whom the judges had but a very questionable claim to exercise any jurisdiction at all.† Forgery in India was the very easiest and commonest description of swindling—a practice which it was as needful, and quite as difficult, for men of business to be on their guard against in every-day life, as for a lounger in the streets of London to take care of the handkerchief in his great-coat pocket. The English law, which made it a capital offence, was just one of those the introduction of which into Bengal would have been most vehemently deprecated by Hastings, had he not been personally interested in its enforcement. The natives, both Mussulman and Hindoo, were astounded at the unprecedented severity of the sentence; many of them, doubtless, remembered the notorious forgery of Clive, and the fate of Omichund: and now an aged man, a Brahmin of high caste, was sentenced to a public and terrible doom for an act, a little more selfish in its immediate motive, but certainly far less dreadful in its effects. The offence which had not barred an Englishman's path to a peerage, was now to doom a Hindoo to the gallows. And yet not so; the ostensible reason deceived no one; and even the warmest partisans of Hastings could not but view Nuncomar rather as the determined opponent of the governor-general, about to pay with life the forfeit of defeat, than as a common felon, condemned to die for a petty crime. The Mussulmans were mostly disposed to view with exultation the fate of the inveterate foe of Mohammed Reza Khan; but the Hindoos waited in an agony of shame and doubt the dawn of the day which was to witness the

* Thornton's *British India*, ii., 84. Burke publicly accused Hastings of having "murdered Nuncomar, through the hands of Impey." Macaulay views the matter more leniently as regards Hastings; but deems the main point at issue quite clear to everyone, "idiots and biographers excepted," and considers any lingering doubt on the subject quite set aside by the strong language in which Impey was subsequently described by Hastings as the man "to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation."—(ii., 255.) But this evidence is not unexceptionable, since it is very possible that these words referred to the important decision of the judges, at a subsequent crisis in the career of Hastings, when his resignation was declared invalid, and Clavering reluctantly compelled to relinquish his claim to the position of governor-general.

† Inasmuch as Nuncomar was not a voluntary inhabitant of Calcutta at the time when the offence was said to have been committed, but a prisoner brought and detained there by constraint, under the circumstances referred to in the preceding page.

ignominious end of a Brahmin who, by their laws, could, for the darkest crime ever pictured by the imagination of man, only be punished with loss of caste. The fatal morning of the 5th of August arrived, and Nuncomar stepped into his palanquin with the dignified serenity so often displayed by his countrymen when brought face to face with a violent death, and was borne through countless multitudes, who beheld the melancholy procession with an amazement which swallowed up every other feeling. Calmly mounting the scaffold, the old man sent a last message to the three councillors who would, he knew, have saved him if possible, commending to their care his son, Rajah Goordass. He then gave the signal to the executioner. The drop fell, and a loud and terrible cry arose from the assembled populace, which immediately dispersed—hundreds of Hindoos rushing from the polluted spot to cleanse themselves in the sacred waters of the Hooghly.

The majority in council, thus publicly defeated, sympathised deeply with the fate of this victim to political strife; and the older English officials could not but remember for how many years Nuncomar had played a part, of selfish intrigue it is true, but still an important and conspicuous part in Anglo-Indian history; for his co-operation had been gained at a time when governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, paid assiduous homage to native functionaries.* The feelings of Hastings may be conjectured from an expression which escaped him many years later, that he had never been the personal enemy of any man but Nuncomar,† "whom from my soul I detested even when I was compelled to countenance him." He likewise foresaw the effect the fate of his fallen foe would produce in the minds of the natives. To contest with a fortunate man, was, in their sight, especially in that of the Mohammedan population, like fighting against God himself—as futile, and, in some sort, as impious. As to the power of the majority in council, its prestige was gone for ever; although, how the right of making war and peace, levying taxes, and nominating officials, came to be vested in one set of men, and the exclusive irresponsible infliction of capital punishments in another, was a question quite beyond the comprehension of the Bengalees. The governor-general felt relieved from the danger of any more native appeals, pecuniary or otherwise;‡ and whilst the air was yet filled with weeping and lamentation, he sat down to write a long and critical letter to Dr. Johnson about the *Tour to the Hebrides*, Jones' *Persian Grammar*, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India. From this time he renounced all idea of resigning his position, and repeatedly declared, in both official and private communications, that nothing short of death or recall should hinder him from seeing the result of the struggle with his colleagues. That result may be told in his own words—"his adversaries sickened, died, and fled,"§ leaving him

* Nuncomar was governor of Hooghly in 1756. He was induced by the English to take part with them against his master, Surajah Dowlah, whose orders of affording aid to the French when besieged in Chandernagore he disobeyed, to serve his secret allies, to whom on several occasions he rendered considerable service, and in so doing incurred the suspicions of the nabob, and was dismissed from office. His subsequent career has been shown in previous pages; its termination adds another name to the list of remarkable deaths which awaited the chief actors in the conspiracy that was carried into execution on the field of Plassy. At the division of spoil which took place in the house of the Seit brothers, nine persons were present. Of these, three (the Seits and Roy-dullub) were murdered by Meer Cossim Ali; the fourth (Clive) died by his own hand; the fifth (Meeran) perished by lightning; the sixth (Scrafton) was lost at sea; the seventh (Omichund) died an idiot; the eighth (Meer Jaffier) went to his grave groaning under every suffering which pecuniary difficulties, domestic sorrows, and bodily diseases, resulting from debauchery, could inflict. Of the death of Mr. Watts I have seen no record. Gassitee Begum, and several confederates not present on the occasion above referred to, were put to death at various times. Meer Cossim himself died poor and in obscurity.

† *Life*, iii., 338. This speech needs qualification; for Hastings, on his own showing, entertained for Francis, Clavering, and many minor functionaries, a feeling for which it would be difficult to find any other name than personal enmity. One gentleman, appointed by the majority to supersede a favourite nominee of his own as resident at Oude, he speaks of as "that wretch Bristowe;" and entreats his old friend Mr. Sulivan (the ancient opponent of Clive, and the chairman of the Court of Directors) to help rid him "from so unworthy an antagonist," declaring that he would not employ him, though his life itself should be the forfeit of refusal.—(ii., 336.)

‡ Francis, when examined before parliament in 1788, declared, that the effect of the execution of Nuncomar, defeated the inquiries entered into regarding the conduct of Hastings; "that it impressed a general terror on the natives with respect to preferring accusations against men in great power;" and that he and his coadjutors were unwilling to expose them to what appeared to him and his fellow-councillors, as well as to the Bengalees, a manifest danger.—(Mill, iii., 641.)

§ *Life of Hastings*, iii., 305.

the undisputed master of the field. The first to fail was Colonel Monson, who, after two months' sickness, fell a victim to the depressing influence of climate, and the wear and tear of faction. The casting vote of Hastings, joined to the undeviating support of Barwell, restored his complete ascendancy in council, which he exercised by reversing all the measures of his adversaries, displacing their nominees to make way for officials of his own appointment, and by reverting to his previous plans of conquest and dominion, of which the leading principle was the formation of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, especially of Oude and Berar, —a policy which, in skilful hands would, he foresaw, act as a powerful lever wherewith to raise England to a position of paramount authority in India. But once again his ambitious career was destined to receive a severe though temporary check. The accounts sent home by the Clavering party, furnished both the government and the directors of the E. I. Cy. with strong arguments for his immediate recall. With the proprietors he had been, and always continued to be, a special favourite, and they vehemently opposed the measure. Still there seemed so little chance of his continuance in office, save for a limited time, and on the most precarious and unsatisfactory tenure, that his agents and friends, after much discussion, thought themselves warranted in endeavouring to effect a compromise, by tendering his voluntary resignation in return for a private guarantee on the part of government for certain honours and advantages not clearly stated. The resignation was proffered and accepted, but it appears that the conditions annexed to it were not fulfilled; for the negotiators sent Hastings word, by the same ship that brought an order for the occupation of the chair by General Clavering (pending the arrival of the newly-appointed governor-general, Mr. Wheler), that they hoped he would not abide by the pledge given on his behalf, since the stipulations made at the same time had been already flagrantly violated.*

On receipt of this varied intelligence, Hastings was, or affected to be, at a loss how to act; but the violence of General Clavering in attempting the forcible assumption of the reins of government, afforded him an inducement or a pretext to repudiate the proceedings of his representatives in London, and declare that his instructions had been mistaken; that he had not, and would not resign. Clavering insisted that the resignation which had been tendered and accepted in England, could not be revoked in India: he therefore proceeded, with the support of Francis, to take the oaths of office, issue proclamations as governor-general, hold a council, and formally demand the surrender of the keys of the fort and the treasury. But Hastings had the advantage of that possession which an old adage pronounces to be "nine-tenths of the law:" he warned the officers of the garrison at Fort William, and of all the neighbouring stations, to obey no orders but his at their peril, and altogether assumed so daring an attitude, that his adversaries shrank from the alternative of civil war, and consented to abide by the decision of the judges. The notorious partiality of the chief justice left little doubt of the issue; but apart from any such bias, the decree was sufficiently well-grounded. The right of Clavering rested on the resignation of Hastings, and Hastings would not resign. In such a case the most reasonable course was to let things remain as they were, pending the decision of the home authorities. The defeated party, and especially Francis, behaved with unexpected moderation; but the victor, not contented with his triumph, strove to prevent Clavering from reassuming his place in the council, on the ground that it had been formally vacated, and could not be reoccupied except with the combined sanction of the ministers and directors. This absurd proposition Hastings maintained with all the special pleading of which he was an unrivalled master; but the judges could not, for very shame, support him, and Clavering was suffered to resume his former position. These proceedings occurred in June, 1777. They had a most injurious effect on the health of the high-principled but hasty-tempered general; so much so, that Hastings'

* *See* Letters of Macleane and Stewart.—(*Life*, ii., 95.) The "gross breach" of agreement so loudly complained of, was the investment of General Clavering with the order of the Bath. This same "red ribbon" created as much spleen and envy among the English functionaries, as the privilege of carrying a fish on their banners did among the ancient Mogul nobility; and a strange evidence of the consequence, attributed to the intriguing nabob of Arcot at the English court, was afforded by the knightly insignia being sent to him, with authority to invest therewith General Coote, and the royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay.—(Auber's *India*, i., 306.) The greatest wonder is, that the honest and plain-spoken general did not flatly refuse to receive the honour by the hand of one he so thoroughly despised.

prophecy that he would soon die of vexation, was realised in the following August.* Mr. Wheler, on his arrival in November, was compelled to content himself with the rank of a councillor, instead of the high office he had expected to fill. National difficulties fast following one another, engaged the whole attention of English politicians; and war with America, conjoined to the hostility of France, Spain, and Holland, with the armed neutrality of the Baltic, and growing discontent in Ireland, left the ministry† little inclination to begin reforms in India, which must commence with the removal of a man whose experience, energy, and self-reliance might be depended upon in the most perilous emergency for the defence of British interests in India; although, in less critical times, his aggressive policy necessitated an amount of counter-action quite inconsistent with the unchecked authority he so ardently desired to obtain, and which, for many reasons, it seemed advisable to vest in the governor-general. These considerations procured for Hastings a temporary confirmation in office after the expiration of the term originally fixed by the Regulating Act. In 1779, a new parliamentary decree announced that the £1,400,000 borrowed of the public, having been repaid by the company, and their bond-debt reduced to £1,500,000, they were authorised to declare a dividend of eight per cent. The raising of the dividend seems to have been an ill-omened measure; for once again it was followed by an increase of pecuniary distress, which not even the inventive brain and strong arm of the governor-general could find means to dissipate, although the departure of Francis freed him from the restraining presence of a severe and prejudiced, though public-spirited censor. Before their final separation, a partial and temporary reconciliation took place, effected under peculiar circumstances, through the mediation of Mr. Barwell, who, having amassed an ample fortune, returned to enjoy it in England in 1780. Unanimity in the council was indeed of the first necessity to meet a great and instant danger—namely, the alarming excitement occasioned among the native population by the persevering attempts of the Supreme Court to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the company's territory, and to exert a controlling power even over the council itself. Macaulay has drawn a picture of this period in language too vivid and graphic to be condensed, and which has a peculiar value as proceeding from the pen of one who himself filled the position of councillor in the Bengal presidency, in an expressly legal capacity. In enumerating the evils attending the new tribunal, he states that it had "collected round itself,"—

> "A banditti of bailiffs' followers compared with whom the retainers of the worst English spunging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives highly considered among their countrymen were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even suspected, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mohammedans, sanctuaries respected in the east by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver, and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah—who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of a Supreme Court." * * * "The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days."—(*Essay*, p. 49.)

The power of the Supreme Court continued to increase, until it seemed as if every other function of government would be swept away in the vortex created by its ever-growing circles. Not satisfied with treating with the utmost contempt the magistrates and judges of the highest respectability in the country, the "black agents," as the chief justice con-

* It was about this period that the news of the much-desired divorce arrived, which enabled the Baroness Imhoff to become Mrs. Hastings. The Mussulman chronicler, in relating the splendid festivities with which the marriage was celebrated, asserts that the governor-general, vexed at the absence of Clavering, went himself to his house, and at length brought him in triumph to pay homage to the bride. The fatigue and excitement, perhaps, accelerated a crisis, for the general died a few days later.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 477.)

† The dissolution of the Rockingham ministry, by the sudden death of its chief, in 1782, was one of the circumstances which prevented Hastings' recall.

temptuously termed them,* he at length fairly ventured upon a distinct assumption of dominant authority in Bengal, by summoning the governor-general and council individually to defend themselves against a suit for trespass committed by them in their official capacity. Hastings could bear much from his "respectable friend, Sir Elijah Impey;" but there were limits even to his tolerance; and Francis, who had long vehemently remonstrated against the tyranny of the Supreme Court, willingly shared the responsibility of releasing various persons wrongfully imprisoned by the judges, and of preparing to resist the outrageous proceedings of the sheriff's officers, if necessary, by the sword. But before matters had proceeded to the last extremity, a compromise was effected between the governor-general and chief justice, by means of an offer which the former had clearly no right to make, and the latter no shadow of excuse for accepting. It will be remembered, that before the Regulating Act came into operation in India, a court of appeal had been projected, under the title of *Sudder Dewannee Adawlut*, to consist of the governor-general and council in person; but this arrangement had not been carried out, because the intended members feared to find their decisions set aside by the overweening authority assumed by the "king's judges," as the officers of the Supreme Court delighted to style themselves, in contradistinction to the company's servants. It was precisely this independence (in itself so just and necessary, though misused in unworthy and indiscreet hands) that Hastings desired to destroy; and he did so, for the time at least, most effectually, by offering Impey, in addition to the office already held by him, that of chief justice of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, with a salary and fixed emoluments amounting to nearly £8,000 a-year, to be held during the pleasure of the governor-general and council. Francis and Wheler united in opposing this arrangement, and stated, in plain terms, that the idea of establishing peace upon the ground of adverse claims still unrelaxed, and which nothing even appeared to reconcile but the lucrative office given to the chief justice, could be maintained only upon suppositions highly dishonourable to the public justice and to the executive administration of Bengal. This view of the case was perfectly just. Even as far as the rival functionaries (executive and judicial) were concerned, it could produce only a temporary pacification, while its worst effect was—as a parliamentary committee afterwards affirmed—that it gave the governor-general an ascendancy by which he was "enabled to do things, under the name and appearance of a legal court, which he would not presume to do in his own person."† The measure was carried by Hastings and Coote,‡ in defiance of Francis and Wheler; and the chief justice entered on his double functions, and the receipt of his double salary, with much alacrity, but considerably diminished arrogance, and continued to give undeviating allegiance to his patron, until news arrived of an act of parliament, passed in 1782, for the limitation of the powers of the Supreme Court of judicature; accompanied by the recall of Impey, to answer before the House of Commons the charge of having "accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III."

The ascendancy of Hastings afforded some relief to the natives against wanton outrage, and the subsequent restraint laid on Anglo-Indian jurisdiction, contributed to their further relief. But the terrible prestige given by the unwarrantable proceedings of these times could not easily pass away. Moreover, even when its first terrors had been set aside, the labyrinth of innumerable and inexplicable forms, aggravated by the difficulties of a foreign language, in which a native found himself surrounded when brought within the mysterious circle of an English court of law, was calculated to deepen rather than remove the prejudices of persons who might be impelled by suffering to seek relief from present injury or redress for past wrongs, by a course of litigation which experience could scarcely fail to prove so tardy and expensive in its progress, as frequently to neutralise the benefit of an upright and unprejudiced decision. I can speak from personal experience of the fear entertained, by both Mussulmans and Hindoos, of being by any hook or handle involved in the harassing intricacies of a lawsuit; and, for a long period after, many natives from the interior habitually fixed their abodes on the safe side of the Mahratta ditch—the boundary of chancery and other civil branches of the Supreme Court.

The uncompromising opposition of Francis

* Letter of Impey to Lord Weymouth.—(Mill.)

† Report of Committee, 1781.

‡ Sir E. Coote, who had taken the place of Barwell, seconded Hastings, though with doubt and hesitation.

to the scheme of Hastings, together with differences on points of foreign policy, terminated in the renewal, and even increase, of former ill-feeling. The governor-general recorded, in an official minute, his disbelief in the "promises of candour" made by his opponent, and declared his public, like his private conduct, "void of truth and honour." Francis, whose health and spirits had been for some time visibly failing, and who, in the words of his opponent, had lost all self-control, and needed to be dealt with like "a passionate woman,"* could ill bear this unmerited taunt. After the council had risen, he placed a challenge in the hands of Hastings. It had been expected, and was immediately accepted. The example had been previously given by General Clavering (the commander-in-chief) and Mr. Barwell; and now the governor-general of India and the senior councillor, with remarkable disregard for the interests of their employers at a very critical period (not to speak of higher principles, which were quite out of the question), proceeded to edify an assemblage of women and children, by fighting a duel, as the Mussulman chronicler has it, "according to the established custom of the nation."† At the first exchange of shots, Francis fell, severely but not mortally wounded. He recovered slowly, and resumed his seat at the council board; until, wearied with the unequal contest, he threw up his position and returned to England at the close of 1782, leaving to Hastings the undisputed supremacy. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition. After the departure of his unbending colleague, he sided almost invariably with the governor-general, who spared no efforts to conciliate him by every possible means, especially by "providing handsomely for all his friends."‡ Yet, however great the triumph of Hastings, and undisguised his delight at the successful termination of a six years' conflict, abundant cause for anxiety remained, on every side, to lower the exulting tone he might have otherwise assumed. The ministers of the crown and the directors of the company suffered his retention of the highest office in India simply as a measure of temporary expediency; and even his stanch friends, the proprietors, failed not to give occasional and qualified censure to the unscrupulous deeds of the man on whose abilities and experience they relied for the fulfilment of those financial expectations which he had made it his great object to realise. But the very uncertainty of his position tended to encourage his innate propensity for temporising measures, and induced him to purchase golden opinions from his fellow-officials by conniving at innumerable illicit proceedings, for the interest of individuals, to the manifest injury of the revenues of the company and the prosperity of the provinces. Reforms are generally most unpopular where most needed; and Hastings, after forming plans for a large reduction of expenditure, set them aside until, as he remarked, he should be more certain of his own fate; "for I will not," he adds, "create enemies in order to ease the burdens of my successors."§ This very natural feeling, though somewhat inconsistent with the excessive zeal expressed by the writer for the pecuniary interests of the company, is quite in accordance with the unscrupulous manner in which he dealt with native princes—treating their rights and claims as valid or invalid, as substantial or mere empty-seeming, just as it suited his immediate object.‖ Such habitual double-dealing, however convenient the weapons it might afford for an immediate emergency, could not fail to render his publicly-recorded opinions a tissue of the most flagrant contradictions; and it tended materially to produce the evils which he endeavoured to prove had resulted solely from the opposition made to his measures by the ex-majority. Those evils are thus enumerated by his own pen:—"An exhausted treasury; an accumulating debt; a system charged with expensive establishments, and precluded, by the multitude of dependents and the curse of patron-

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.

† *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 518.

‡ Wheler's support was not, however, quite undeviating; and his despotic chief complained of his attachment to "the lees of Mr. Francis, and his practice of *a strange policy* of hearing whatever any man has to say, and especially against public measures."—(*Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.)

§ *Idem*, iii., 31.

‖ He himself acknowledged how little he allowed an "expression dictated by the impulse of present emergency," to impose upon him "the obligation of a fixed principle." And one of his ablest and not least partial advocates since expressly admitted that his determination to hold "his post and his purposes" in defiance of the directors, led him "to devise arguments and assign motives intended to meet the exigency of the moment, and, therefore, sometimes as much at variance with themselves as were the arguments of those by whom he was so vehemently and invariably opposed."—(Professor Wilson's Note on Mill's *India*, iv., 30.)

age, from reformation; a government debilitated by the various habits of inveterate licentiousness; a country oppressed by private rapacity, and deprived of its vital resources by the enormous quantities of current specie annually exported in the remittance of private fortunes, in supplies sent to China, Fort St. George, to Bombay, and lately to the army at Surat, and by an impoverished commerce; the support of Bombay, with all its new conquests; the charge of preserving Fort St. George, and recovering the Carnatic from the hands of a victorious enemy; the entire maintenance of both presidencies; and lastly, a war, either actual or depending, in every quarter and with every power of Hindostan."*

Before proceeding to describe the manner in which Hastings, now alone at the helm, steered his way through this troubled sea of dangers and difficulties, and likewise through personal trials of his own seeking, it is necessary to narrate, as briefly as possible, the leading events which, since his promotion to the station of governor-general in 1772, had taken place in the minor or sister presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

Bombay, 1772 to 1780.—The possession of the little island of Salsette and the fort of Bassein had long been earnestly coveted by the E. I. Cy., and in 1768, they strongly urged on their Indian representatives the additional security to Bombay to be derived from the annexation of these places; which, however, they desired to see effected "rather by purchase than war." Under the strong government of Madhoo Rao, the latter experiment would have been sufficiently hazardous; and the result of negotiations opened in 1772, clearly proved the small chance that existed of a voluntary surrender of territories no less valued by the one party than desired by the other. The death of the Mahratta peishwa produced dissensions in the state which, by destroying unity of interest even in Poona itself, offered to the English a prospect of obtaining, in the character of mediators or partisans, the concessions vainly sought for by more legitimate means. Madhoo Rao, always patriotic and unselfish, had diligently striven to avert the calamities by which his early death was likely to be attended. Perceiving his end approaching, he caused his uncle Ragoba to be released from confinement, and in the most affecting and impressive manner entreated him to guard and guide the person and counsels of his brother and successor Narrain Rao, a youth of seventeen. Ragoba appeared kindly disposed to the nephew thus committed to his charge, and the new peishwa was formally invested by the pageant-rajah with the insignia of office. But before long, dissensions arose between the chief ministers of Narrain (Sukaram Bappoo, Nana Furnuvees, and others, appointed by Madhoo Rao) and Ragoba, the result of which was his confinement to certain apartments in the palace. While smarting under the check thus given to his ill-regulated ambition, Ragoba, stimulated by the evil counsels of his tale-bearing wife, Anundee Bye, was induced to gratify the jealous hatred entertained by her against Gopika Bye, the mother of Madhoo and Narrain, by giving a written sanction for the seizure of the young peishwa, which she wickedly converted into an order for his assassination, by changing the word *dhurawè* (to seize) into *marawè* (to kill.) A domestic, who had been publicly flogged by order of the destined victim, was a chief mover in the plot, which was carried out by working on the discontent of a body of unpaid infantry. They had been extremely turbulent during the afternoon of the 30th of August, 1773, and in the night the ringleader, Somer Sing, entered the palace by an unfinished doorway newly opened to make an entrance distinct from that of the portion inhabited by Ragoba. Narrain Rao, on starting from sleep, fled, pursued by Somer Sing, to his uncle's apartments, and flung himself into his arms for protection. Ragoba interfered, but Somer Sing exclaimed—"I have not gone so far to ensure my own destruction; let him go, or you shall die with him." Ragoba was too deeply compromised to give way to remorse: he disengaged himself from the grasp of his nephew, and got out on the terrace. Narrain Rao strove to follow him, but was seized by the leg and flung to the ground by the vengeful servant before named. At this moment one of the personal attendants of the peishwa entered, unarmed, and flew to his rescue; but his fidelity cost him his life, for both master and servant were dispatched by the swords of the assassins.† The unfortunate Narrain Rao appears to have manifested a degree of indecision and timidity, on this trying occasion, remarkable in one of his caste and nation; but these failings were probably not radical defects, but rather incidental

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 329.

† Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 249.

to an unformed character.* A searching investigation was instituted into the affair by Ram Shastree, the celebrated judge, whose integrity and ability had reflected so much honour on the administration of his beloved disciple Madhoo Rao. To him Ragoba confessed his partial participation in the crime, and asked what atonement he could make. "The sacrifice of your own life," replied the uncompromising judge; "for neither you nor your government can prosper; and, for my own part, I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Poona whilst you preside there."† He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village, from whence he witnessed the fulfilment of his prediction; for Ragoba's "ill-luck" became proverbial, and communicated itself, in a greater or less degree, to every enterprise in which he was concerned. At the onset, the total absence of a rival claimant enabled him to obtain, without difficulty, the confirmation of the rajah of Sattara to his assumption of the rank of peishwa; but his title was subsequently rendered invalid by the posthumous birth of a son, the rightful heir to Narrain Rao. Considerable doubt was thrown upon the legitimacy of the child by the means adopted by the ministers (Nana Furnavees, Sukaram Bappoo, and others), to provide a male substitute, in the event of their influence being endangered by the birth of a girl; but, as the case happened, the manœuvre only served to endanger their own cause, and afford Ragoba a pretext for resisting the claims of the son of his murdered nephew, who was proclaimed peishwa when only forty days old. The English authorities appear to have been quite misled by the representations which accompanied his appeal for their assistance; and even when compelled to recognise the utter futility of attempting to establish his supremacy in defiance of the general feeling of the Mahratta nation, they seem never to have rightly understood the nature of his claims, or the basis on which they rested. The cession of Bassein and Salsette, with the payment of a large sum of money, formed the leading stipulations on the part of the Bombay authorities; but as Ragoba was very unwilling to consent to any sacrifice of territory, they took advantage of the plea afforded by an inclination manifested by the Portuguese to regain their ancient possessions, to forcibly occupy them with British troops, protesting, nevertheless, that they held them only on behalf of Ragoba, until he should himself settle the arrangements of the pending treaty. The part taken by Sindia and Holcar, in siding with the ministers, left him no choice but to comply with the demands of the English; and, in return for his concessions,‡ 2,500 men were landed at Cambay, under Colonel Keating, in the early part of the year 1775, to aid his own mob-like assemblage of about 20,000 men. The campaign was successful, though attended with considerable loss of life;§ but preparations for the renewal of hostilities, at the close of the monsoon, were suddenly arrested by the interference of the Bengal presidency. The Bombay authorities were sharply reprimanded for disregarding the recent regu-

* Madhoo Rao, whose generous nature rose superior to the unworthy considerations which induced the Mogul emperors to treat their near relatives as dangerous rivals, and confine them from infancy to state prisons, delighted in cherishing and drawing public attention to the good qualities of his intended successor. The Mahrattas relate, that the brothers were witnessing an elephant-fight from a small hill in the environs of Poona, when one of the animals becoming excited, rushed furiously towards the spot where they were seated. The companions and attendants of the peishwa, forgetting all courtly etiquette, took to their heels, and Narrain jumped up to run off with the rest. "Brother," said Madhoo Rao, "what will the ukbars [*native newspapers*] say of you?" The boy instantly resumed his seat, and retained it until the danger, which became imminent, had been averted by the bravery of a bystander, who, drawing his dagger, sprang in front of the peishwa and turned the animal aside by wounding it in the trunk.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 251.)

† *History of Mahrattas*, ii., 249. An interesting feature in the intercourse of Madhoo Rao and Ram Shastree, is related by Duff. The peishwa devoted himself, at one period, to the practice of "Jhep" or religious meditation, to a degree which interfered with his public duties. Ram Shastree told him, that if he were inclined to revert to the condition of devout and austere poverty, which by the Hindoo doctrine was the especial duty of a Brahmin, he would gladly do the same; but if, on the contrary, Madhoo intended to follow the example of his predecessors, and retain the position of an earthly potentate, the duties incumbent on the assumed office ought to be his first consideration. "The musnud, or a life of self-denial in the holy city of Benares,—which you will," said the honest Mentor; "I will abide with you in either station." Happily for Maharashtra, Madhoo Rao remained its ruler, and Ram Shastree its leading judge,—an unimpeachable one, for he had no thirst for power, and all his habits were consistent with his characteristic rule—to keep nothing more in his house than sufficed for the day's consumption.

‡ Ragoba, or Rugonath Rao, having no other funds, deposited with the company, jewels valued at upwards of six lacs. These gems were, about twenty-eight years later, freely presented to Bajee Rao on his restoration to the office of peishwa, in 1813.

§ In the small detachment of Colonel Keating 222 persons perished, including eleven officers.

lations, which placed the control in matters of foreign policy in the hands of the governor-general and the supreme council; and, besides being blamed for insubordination, they were informed that an envoy (Colonel Upton) would be sent direct from Bengal to conclude a treaty of peace. This latter proceeding could not fail to irritate the Bombay officials, and to lower their authority, and, indeed, that of the English in general, in the eyes of the Mahratta ministers, than whom no men living were better able to appreciate the weakness arising from divided counsels. The consequence was, that after a negotiation conducted, on the part of the Mahrattas, with more than characteristic procrastination, Nana Furnavees and the ministers of the infant peishwa, concluded a treaty at Poorunder, by which Colonel Upton promised that the English should relinquish the cause of Ragoba, and guarantee the disbandment of his army on certain stipulations quite contrary to the views of that individual. Of Salsette Island they were to retain possession, but to relinquish certain cessions in Guzerat, made by the Mahratta chief Futteh Sing Guicowar. No sooner had this humiliating agreement been entered into than the home despatches arrived, highly applauding the conduct of the Bombay authorities, and bidding them, in any and every case, retain all their late acquisitions, especially Bassein, if it were included in the number; which was not the case. The mandate came late, but its effects were soon manifested in a partial breach of faith, by continued though guarded favour shown to Ragoba, and a decided inclination to break with the Poona ministry. Nana Furnavees, a politician of much ability and more cunning, strove to prevent the renewal of hostilities, by affecting to encourage the pretensions of a French adventurer, named St. Lubin, who, after imposing upon the Madras government in the character of an agent of the court of Versailles, had returned to France, and by exaggerated representations of the influence acquired by him at Poona, had induced the minister of marine to intrust him with a sort of clandestine commission, as an experiment for ascertaining if any footing might be gained (the port of Choul being especially desired.)

No one had less inclination to suffer the introduction of French power into Maharashtra than Nana Furnavees; and by the little favour shown to the avowed agent of another European state (Austria), then at Poona, it seems that he considered St. Lubin as a mere impostor, and encouraged him simply as a means of alarming the English government by an affected alliance with France. These proceedings served, on the contrary, to incite immediate operations before the anticipated arrival of French auxiliaries at Poona. Even Hastings was dissatisfied with the treaty of Poorunder; and notwithstanding the censure bestowed on the previous "unwarrantable" interference of the local authorities, they were now directed "to assist in tranquillising the dissensions of the Mahratta state." Ostensibly for the promotion of this object, Colonel Leslie was dispatched, with a strong detachment, to march across the centre of India, from Bengal to the western coast. The Bombay presidency, delighted with this indirect admission of the advisability of their former measures, determined not to wait the arrival of reinforcements, but to make war at once, upon the strength of their own resources; and Mr. Carnac, who had the lead in council, was himself placed at the head of a committee, to aid in the direction of military operations. In fact, despite the oddity of making war under the superintendence of civilians, the infirm health and inexperience in Indian warfare of Colonel Egerton, the officer on whom the command devolved by right of seniority, rendered such a step of absolute necessity to the carrying out, with any prospect of success, the wild plan of advancing with a force (including a few straggling horse under Ragoba) of less than 4,500 men, to attack the ministerial party in their own capital. So bold a design imperatively needed rapidity in execution; yet, after crossing the Ghaut (mountain-pass), the army, without any reason for such ill-timed tardiness, advanced only eight miles in eleven days. The enemy had fully prepared for their reception; and the deliberate progress of the English was but slightly opposed, until, at about sixteen miles from Poona, they found themselves face to face with the Mahratta host. Mr. Carnac and Colonel Cockburn (who had taken the lead, in consequence of the sickness of Colonel Egerton) seem to have been panic-struck by the imminent danger which they had wantonly incurred, and they immediately issued orders for a silent midnight retreat. In vain the junior officers and Ragoba, whose military experience was treated with undeserved contempt, urged that, from the

well-known tactics of the enemy, such an attempt, made in defiance of clouds of trained cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. And so the event proved; for the first retrograde movement of the English gave the signal for attack to the whole hostile force. The bravery and skill of Captain Hartley, the officer in command of the rear-guard,* together with his extraordinary influence with the native troops, conduced materially to save the invading army from total destruction. After several furious charges, the enemy desisted, without having made a serious impression on any part of the line. But the loss of 300 men, including fifteen officers, had so completely dispirited the military leaders, that they now, in continued opposition to the arguments and entreaties of Hartley and others, declared advance and retreat alike impossible, and that nothing remained but to make peace with the Mahrattas on any terms,—in other words, to confess themselves caught in their own trap, and consent to such a ransom as their captors might dictate. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba to his foes, the ministers; but he, aware of the ungenerous intention, made private terms of surrender with Sindia. The almost independent power of this chief, and the jealousy existing between him and the Poona authorities, enabled the English, by a direct application to him, to obtain more favourable terms than might otherwise have been conceded; but despite the moderation of the victors, the Convention of Wurgaum formed a fitting ending to one of the few disgraceful campaigns recorded in the annals of the Anglo-Indian army. Every point in dispute was yielded; all acquisitions made since the death of Madhoo Rao (of course including Salsette) were to be relinquished, as also the revenue raised by the company in Broach,† and even in Surat, which the Mahrattas had never possessed. Hostages (Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart) were left with Sindia for the performance of the treaty: nevertheless, the first act of the committee by whom the whole affair had been so terribly mismanaged, on descending the Ghaut in safety, was to countermand the order dispatched in agreement with the recent convention forbidding the advance of the troops from Bengal.‡

The presidency were indignant beyond measure at this discreditable conclusion of their attempt to show Calcutta what Bombay could do. Hastings was, on his part, no less irritated by a series of rashly-planned and ill-executed measures, which nothing but "success, that grand apology for statesmen's blunders,"§ could excuse. His own long-cherished hopes of taking advantage of the dissensions of the Mahratta state proved equally fruitless. A mistaken idea of the connexion of Moodajee Bhonslay, the ruler of Berar, with the house of Sevajee, led Hastings to stimulate Moodajee to assert his supposed claim to the raj, or sovereignty, upon the death of Ram Rajah in 1777, and the appointment, under the name of Shao Maharaj, of a distant relative, adopted as his son, and heir to his gilded captivity by the deceased prince. The effort proved fruitless, for Moodajee retained a lively recollection of kindness received from the grandfather of the infant peishwa, and despite the promptings of ambition, was reluctant to interfere with the power of that family. These kindly feelings, one of the Hindoo guardians of the child (either Nana Furnavees or Sukaram Bappoo) had taken pains to cherish, by placing his infant charge in the arms of young Raghoo, the son of Moodajee, and styling him the protector of the peishwa. Hastings himself remarks that acts of this description establish in the minds of the Mahrattas "obligations of the most solemn kind," and afford "evidence of a generous principle, so little known in our political system."‖ The powerful minister, Nana Furnavees, was, however, actuated by less generous principles, his chief object being to use the little peishwa as an instrument for his own aggrandisement and that of his family, to whom he designed to transmit his paramount authority over the puppet minister of a puppet rajah. These designs were not likely to escape the notice of his colleagues in office, and dissensions arose, of which Sindia took full advantage

* Sindia loudly extolled the conduct of the rear-guard, which he compared "to a red wall, no sooner beat down than it was built up again."—(Duff.)

† A petty Mogul nabob held Broach, in subordination to the Mahrattas until 1772, when it was captured by a British force under General Wedderburne, who was killed in the assault.

‡ The hostages were, nevertheless, generously released by Sindia, who did not even demand the parole of Lieutenant Stewart not to fight against him, but, on the contrary, said—"Resume your place in the army; your sword is your subsistence."—(Wilks.)

§ Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 379.

‖ *Life of Hastings*, ii., 361.

for the establishment and increase of his own power, by interfering as much as possible in the garb of a mediator.* Under the pressure of external hostilities, internal disputes invariably gave way to co-operation for mutual defence; and such was the immediate effect produced by the repudiation by the governor-general of the Convention of Wurgaum, which he declared invalid, inasmuch as the English committee had far exceeded the powers vested in them. This was actually the case; and Mr. Farmer had informed Sindia that they had no power to enter on any treaty without the sanction of the supreme government. The Mahratta chief treated this excuse as a mere pretence to avoid giving an inconvenient pledge, and scornfully asked, if their authority was so limited, by whose order they had ventured to break the treaty concluded by Colonel Upton? The question was unanswerable; the danger imminent; and Mr. Carnac, consoling himself with the idea that if, after what had passed, the Mahrattas were duped, the fault was their own, dispatched a plenipotentiary to the camp of Sindia for the avowed purpose of concluding a treaty, which he confirmed by every outward mark of good faith, under a *mental reservation* of the invalidity of the whole transaction.

On their return to Bombay, Mr. Carnac, Colonel Egerton, and Colonel Cockburn (a brave and steady soldier, but totally unfit for so arduous a command), were dismissed the service, and the recall of Colonel Leslie was only prevented by his death of fever. The offence of the latter officer was the slowness of his march from Bengal, and his mistaken policy in allowing some Rajpoot allies of the Mahrattas to engage him in petty hostilities, and hinder the accomplishment of his main object—namely, speedy arrival at the seat of war. General Goddard was chosen by Hastings for the command, and his progress was altogether as speedy and fortunate as that of his predecessor had been slow and unsatisfactory. After receiving great kindness, bestowed under circumstances of much doubt and difficulty by the Afghan ruler of Bhopal,† Goddard marched boldly on, manifested his good sense by cordial co-operation with the Bombay government, carried out their plan of attacking Guzerat (notwithstanding the almost independent authority with which he was invested), and having, by extraordinary expedition, avoided the snares laid to interrupt his progress, crossed the Taptee on the 1st of January, 1780, and before the end of the month, carried by storm Ahmedabad, the great but decayed capital of the province. The famous fortress of Gwalior‡ was captured on the night of the 3rd of August, by a force of 2,400 men, sent direct from Bengal by Hastings; and the year terminated with the conquest of Bassein by Goddard. But these successes were counterbalanced by disasters in other quarters, which rendered the English anxious to conclude a speedy peace with the Mahrattas on almost any terms. The aspect of affairs was indeed alarming; for, at this period, Hyder Ali and the Nizam had merged, for the moment, their mutual animosities,

* Sukaram Bappoo, the chief rival of Nana Furnavees, at length became his victim, and was secretly removed from one fortress to another, till he perished miserably under bodily suffering created rather by the effects of unwholesome food and harsh treatment, than the slight infirmities of a green old age. Among his various prisons was that of Pertabgurh, on the western side of which lay an abyss formed by 4,000 feet of rugged rock. From the eastern side the spot was plainly visible where his Brahmin ancestor, 120 years before, won over by Sevajee, swore the treacherous, midnight oath to deliver up his master, Afzool Khan, to planned assassination.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 396.)

† This little principality, situated on the north-eastern bank of the Nerbudda, was formed by the usurpations of Dost Mohammed, an Afghan in the service of Aurungzebe. During the troubles that succeeded the death of the emperor, he assumed the title of nawab (*anglicé* nabob), and rallied round him bands of adherents whom he had invited from Bengal. His successors contrived to extend their sway, and, what was more difficult, to gain the good-will of the intractable Gonds, or people of Gondwarra, the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Bhopal territory, chiefly through the instrumentality of an able Hindoo minister, Bejee Ram, and a lady of remarkable ability, who for more than half a century greatly influenced, if she did not control, the councils of the principality, under the name of Mahjee Sahiba, the "lady-mother," an appellation descriptive of her benevolent character only, for she was childless. Hindoos and Mohammedans agree in cherishing the memory of this beloved princess, and vie with one another in citing anecdotes illustrative of her judgment and integrity. She attained the age of eighty.—(Major Hough's *Bhopal Principality*.)

‡ Gwalior, the famous state-prison of Akber and Aurungzebe, had, upon the dismemberment of the Delhi empire, fallen into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. It was taken by Sindia in 1779, and captured, in turn, by the British troops under Major Popham, the scarped rock on which the citadel stood being ascended at daybreak by means of wooden ladders. Hastings had formed a very exaggerated idea of the power of the rana of Gohud, to whom he restored the fortress; but on discovering his mistake, he changed his policy, and sanctioned its recovery by Sindia, in 1784—conduct which formed an article in his impeachment.

and confederated with their sworn foes, the Poona ministers, for the express purpose of expelling the English and the nabob Mohammed Ali from the Carnatic. The causes which led to this alarming coalition of Hindoo and Mussulman powers, are closely interwoven with the history of the—

MADRAS PRESIDENCY FROM 1769 TO 1780. —The principles which guided the counsels of this government were so avowedly bad, that their ruinous consequences seem to have been the natural fruit of the tree they planted. In 1772, the presidency made war upon the poligars or chiefs of certain adjacent districts called the Marawars, not that they had any quarrel with them, but simply because the tyrannical nabob had "made them his enemies, and therefore," the Madras councillors add, "it is necessary they should be reduced. It is necessary, or it is good policy they should. We do not say it is altogether just, for justice and good policy are not often related."* Hostilities were commenced on the above not "altogether just" grounds, and they were carried on, to adopt the same smooth-tongued phraseology, in a not altogether merciful manner. The poligar of the greater Marawar (a boy of twelve years of age), was taken at the capture of his capital of Ramnadaporam, in April, 1772, after brave but unskilful resistance on the part of its native defendants (the tribe called Coleries by Orme.) The poligar of the lesser Marawar was slain after a treaty of peace had been actually concluded, owing to a misunderstanding between the English commander and the son of the nabob, Omdut-al-Omrah. The peasantry, as usual, remained passive during the siege of the various forts: they expected to be little affected by the change of one despot for another; but the grinding exactions of the new conqueror, which are said to have surpassed even those of Hyder Ali in the amount of misery inflicted, soon convinced them of their error; and on being turned out of their lands, many took up arms in sheer despair—the inverted plough being the general symbol of revolt. The English officer, Colonel Bonjour, who had been ordered to superintend the settlement of the country in the manner desired by Mohammed Ali, remonstrated forcibly against an object which, being in itself oppressive to the last degree, would require for its accomplishment "extremities of a most shocking nature."† For instance, the impossibility of seizing the armed and watchful foe, must, he said, be met by such reprisals as the complete destruction of the villages to which they belonged, the massacre of every man in them, and the imprisonment (probably to end in slavery) of the women and children; with other "severe examples of that kind."‡ Colonel Bonjour received an answer very similar to that given by Hastings to Colonel Champion in the case of the Rohillas, to the effect, that these things were the natural consequences of war, and that the worthy Mohammed Ali must not be affronted by impertinent interference. In fact, the majority of the Madras council, at this period, were the nabob's very humble and obedient servants, although some trouble was taken to conceal the fact from their "honourable masters" in Leadenhall-street. Subserviency of so manifestly degrading a character, could scarcely be the result of any but the most unworthy motives; and the simple truth appears to have been, that the leading English councillors entered upon the extension of the power of the Mohammedan nabob of Arcot, as a particularly safe and promising speculation, since if their efforts succeeded, great part of the profit would be their own; and in the event of failure, the expenses must be borne by the company. So early as 1769, three members of council held a large assignment of territorial revenue, which the Court of Directors subsequently discovered; and many official and private persons received from the nabob, bonds for the repayment of money lent and *not lent*, the true consideration given or promised being of a description which neither party cared to specify.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 100.

† Mill's *India*, iv., 103.

‡ Col. Wilks describes the sway of Hyder as one succession of experiments as to how far extortion could be practised on the farmer without diminishing cultivation. When his subjects claimed justice at his hands, he punished the offenders by a heavy fine, but pocketed the money himself, declaring that this appropriation was, by restraining oppression, nearly as good for the people, and a great deal better for the sovereign. Nevertheless, Wilks states that the misrule of Mohammed Ali "left at an humble distance all the oppression that had ever been practised under the iron government of Hyder."—(*Mysore*, ii., 103.) Swartz corroborates this statement by his remarks on the regularity and dispatch with which the government of Mysore was conducted. "Hyder's economical rule is to repair all damages without losing an instant, whereby all is kept in good condition, and with little expense. The Europeans in the Carnatic leave everything to go to ruin."—(*Idem*, p. 572.)

When Englishmen of a certain rank "could make open and undisguised offers of their services to become directors of the E. I. Cy.,"* and even stoop to occupy seats in the British parliament purchased with his funds, avowedly for the promotion of his interests, little cause for surprise remains that Anglo-Indian functionaries, placed for the time beyond the reach of that public opinion which with so many men stands in the stead of conscience, should, by degrees, lose all sense of shame, and scarcely take ordinary pains to conceal their venality. Even had they been more on their guard, the conduct of Mohammed Ali could scarcely have failed to provoke recriminations calculated to expose the whole nefarious system. His love of money, though it fell far short of his thirst for power, was still excessive: he never willingly parted with gold, but accumulated large hoards, giving bonds to his real and pretended creditors, until they themselves became alarmed at the enormous amount of private debts with which the revenues of Arcot were saddled. Meanwhile, the legitimate expenditure of government was narrowed within the smallest possible limits; the troops, as usual, were in arrears of pay, and the promises made to the E. I. Cy. remained unfulfilled. The booty obtained by the seizure of the Marawars had only served to whet the appetite of Mohammed Ali and the party of whom he was at once the tempter and the dupe. There was a neighbouring state better worth attacking—that of Tanjore, a Mahratta principality against which the nabob of Arcot had no shadow of claim, except that of having, by dint of superior strength, exacted from thence an occasional subsidy. Its late ruler, Pertap Sing, had, it is said, more than once purchased the mediation of the leading English officials by borrowing from them large sums of money at exorbitant interest: but his son and successor, Tuljajee, forsaking this shrewd policy, applied to the Dutch at Negapatam, and the Danes at Tranquebar, for the means wherewith to pay a heavy sum which he had been compelled to guarantee to the Arcot authorities as the price of peace, so late as 1771. Some small portion of this agreement remained unfulfilled, and it served to afford a sufficient pretext for the invasion of Tanjore. In fact, such a formality could only be necessary for the sake of preserving appearances with the company and the British public. George III. had, it was well known, been prepared, by wilful perversions of the truth, to take a generous and manly, but wholly mistaken and prejudiced view of all matters regarding Mohammed Ali, whom he had been induced to regard as an independent sovereign of high principle and ability, whose plans the English were, in gratitude and duty, bound to further to the uttermost. Existing disputes between the governments of Poona, Guzerat, and Berar, prevented the chiefs of the Mahratta confederation interfering to protect the rajah; therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity, hostile proceedings were commenced, and ground broken before Tanjore on the 20th of August; on the 6th of September a breach was effected; and on the following day, during the intense heat of noon, while the garrison were for the most part at rest, in expectation of an evening attack, the English troops were, with the least possible noise, marshalled for the assault. The stratagem was entirely successful; the fort was captured almost without loss, and the rajah and his family fell into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom his dominions were formally occupied. The indignation of the company was naturally roused by a procedure which lacked even the threadbare excuse of zeal for their service. Orders were issued (though somewhat tardily, owing to the disturbed state of affairs at home) for the restoration of the rajah of Tanjore; and Lord Pigot,† his proved friend, was sent out as governor, in 1775, for their enforcement. This act of justice was not carried through in a purely disinterested manner, for stipulations were made for the maintenance of an English garrison within the citadel, and the payment of tribute to the nabob. The latter clause failed to reconcile Mohammed Ali to the surrender of Tanjore: he even formed a plan for its forcible detention,‡ which was forestalled by the prompt

* *Vide* Wilks' *Mysore*, ii., 213; and Burke's admirable speech on the Carnatic debts, in which he affirmed that the nabob of Arcot had returned eight members to one British parliament.

† Lord Pigot went out as a writer to Madras in 1736; was promoted to the government in 1754 went home, in 1763, with an immense fortune; and successively obtained the rank of a baronet and of an Irish peer. A treaty with the rajah of Tanjore, in 1762, was one of his favourite measures, and he felt naturally annoyed by its shameless violation.

‡ *Vide* Wilks' *Mysore*, ii., 225. Mohammed Ali had secretly ordered a large amount of military stores from the Danish authorities at Tranquebar, but they arrived too late for the purpose designed. The Danes had no great reason to rejoice

and decisive measures of Lord Pigot, who proceeded in person, in the spring of 1776, to reinstate Tuljajee in his former dignity. The council took advantage of his absence to consider the delicate question of the pecuniary claims of individuals, especially those of Mr. Paul Benfield. The case of this individual may serve to illustrate the character of the nabob's debts, the majority of which were similar in kind, though less in degree, in proportion to the opportunities, audacity, and cunning of the parties concerned. Mr. Benfield was a junior servant of the company, with a salary of a few hundred pounds a-year, which, as all old Indians know, could leave little margin for extravagance; nevertheless, this clever adventurer, having in his own scheming brain a talent for money-making scarcely inferior to that vested in the fairy purse of Fortunatus, contrived not only to support a splendid establishment and equipages, unrivalled at Madras even in those days of luxury and ostentation, but also to obtain certain assignments on the revenues of Tanjore, and on the growing crops of that principality, to the enormous extent of £234,000, in return for £162,000 ostensibly lent to the nabob of Arcot, and £72,000 to individuals in Tanjore. Such was the leader of the party arrayed on the side of Mohammed Ali, who had actually signed bonds to the amount of nearly a million and a-half sterling, backed by assignments on the revenues of Tanjore; and the very nature of these claims caused them to be urged with peculiar acrimony and violence. In Calcutta, the character of the majority by whom Hastings was at this very time so fiercely opposed, was wholly different to that with which Pigot had to struggle. Clavering, Monson, and Francis might be reproached with party spirit, but in all pecuniary matters their reputation was unblemished, and their public proceedings were, consequently, free from the baneful and narrowing influence of self-interest. At Madras the case was wholly different; the majority consisted of men of deeply corrupt character, who, in return for accusations of venality in abetting the aggressions of the nabob, reciprocated the charge against all the upholders of the rajah, from the governor downwards.* The previous career of Lord Pigot did not facilitate the performance of the invidious task he had undertaken. Like Clive, he had formerly accumulated an immense fortune by questionable means, and had returned to root up abuses which, at an earlier stage, might have been nipped in the bud. Even his present visit to Tanjore, and the part played by him in the struggle for the appointment of a resident at that government, was far from being free from all suspicion of private ends and interests, either as regarded himself or his immediate retainers. But, however alike in their views and motives, the positions of Clive and Pigot were very different. The latter, instead of possessing supreme authority, was subordinate to a governor-general by no means inclined to afford cordial support to any reformatory measures, save of his own introduction; and Lord Pigot, trusting too much in his own strength, by a haughty and violent line of conduct,† soon brought matters to a crisis he was unprepared to meet. The imprisonment of Sir Robert Fletcher, with the attempted suspension of two of the leading members of council, was retaliated by his own arrest, performed in a very unsoldier-like style by the temporary commander-in-chief of the army, Colonel Stuart, with the aid of a coachman in the pay of Mr. Paul Benfield.‡ Having thus unceremoniously disposed of their chief, the majority proceeded to enact a series of legal, or rather illegal forms, and assumed the whole power of government.§ They did not long enjoy their triumph; for the home authorities, astonished and alarmed by such

in the transaction, for Hyder made them pay a fine of £14,000 sterling for furnishing his inveterate foe with warlike weapons; and Mohammed Ali, despite his desire to keep the affair quiet, liquidated but a small portion of the stipulated price. The whole matter came to light in 1801, when the E. I. Cy. took possession of the Carnatic, and on the production of the secret correspondence with the nabob, paid the Danish Cy. a balance of £42,304.—(Wilks, ii., 10.)

* The scale on which bribery was carried on, may be conjectured from the fact, that Admiral Pigot declared in the House of Commons, in 1778, that his brother, the late governor, had been offered a bribe, amounting to £600,000 sterling, only to defer for a time the reinstatement of the rajah of Tanjore.

† Swartz, commenting on the proceedings of which he was an eye-witness, remarks:—"Probably his intentions were laudable, but he began not with God."

‡ Col. Stuart was on terms of close intimacy with Lord Pigot; had breakfasted and dined with him on the day of the arrest, and was ostensibly on the way to sup with him, when the carriage of the governor, in which they were both seated, was, by the appointment of the colonel himself, surrounded and stopped by the troops.—(Mill, iv., 134.) The governor was dragged out, made a prisoner, and thrust into Benfield's chaise.—(*Vide* Abstract of Trial of Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, and Mackay. Murray; London, 1780.)

§ Hastings "persuaded his colleagues to acquiesce in the new arrangements."—(*Life*, ii., 106.)

strange excesses, recalled both the deposed governor and his opponents, that the whole matter might be brought to light. Before these orders reached India, Lord Pigot had sunk under the combined effects of mental suffering and imprisonment for nine months in an ungenial climate. His death terrified all parties into a compromise. The chief civil servants concerned in the affair returned to England; the four members of council paid the to them very trifling fine of £1,000 each, and the subordinates crept back into the service. Colonel Stuart was tried by a court-martial, and, unhappily for the company, acquitted.

The new governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, reached Madras in 1778, and applied himself, with much energy, to the improvement of his private fortune. The council cheerfully followed so pleasant an example; and unwonted tranquillity prevailed within the presidency, the predominant feature being wilful blindness to the storm gathering without. Yet even Mohammed Ali beheld with alarm that the utterly inconsistent, hesitating, yet grasping policy long persisted in, was about to issue in the conjoined hostilities of Hyder Ali, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, to each of whom distinct occasions for quarrel had been given; and to these dangers the fear of French invasion, owing to the outbreak of European war, was added. Hyder Ali, their most formidable foe, had been made such by their own misdoings. He had earnestly desired to keep the Mahrattas at bay by means of an alliance with the English, whose enmity he dreaded, fearing, above all things, the unseen resources of the E. I. Cy. The Madras government temporised with him for years, and he bore all manner of neglects and slights, waiting, in sullen silence, an opportunity of revenge. After the death of Madhoo Rao, he regained his previous conquests, and largely increased them. The little principality of Coorg,* and Gooty, the eagle's nest of Morari Rao, fell successively: the first, before a sudden invasion, most barbarously carried through; the other under peculiar circumstances of treachery.† The Mahratta chieftain soon perished under the influence of the insalubrious climate of a hill-fort, called Cabal Droog, aggravated by food of so unwholesome a character as to be almost poisonous. His family, being subjected only to the first of these evils, survived him fifteen years, and then perished in a general massacre of prisoners, ordered by Tippoo, in 1791.

At the close of the year 1770, Hyder contemplated with delight the fertile banks of the Kistna, newly become the northern boundary of the empire he had erected; but still unsatisfied with its extent (as he would probably have been had it comprised all India), he proceeded in person to besiege the fortress of Chittledroog,‡ which, amid the chances and changes of previous years, had fallen into the hands of a brave Hindoo

* Hyder entered Coorg in 1773. The rajah (Divaia) fled, and was afterwards captured; but the people hastily assembled on a woody hill, which was immediately surrounded by the enemy. Seating himself with much state, Hyder proclaimed a reward of five rupees for each head that should be brought to him. After receiving about 700, two were deposited on the heap of such singular beauty, that, looking earnestly at them, he ordered the decapitation to cease. The remaining Coorgs were not, however, disposed to submit tamely to the usurper notwithstanding the tribute paid to the finely-formed heads of their murdered countrymen; and when he proceeded to raise the assessment on produce from the ancient tenth to a sixth, they rose as one man, but were again reduced to submission by a sweeping massacre of nearly every individual of note.—(Wilks.)

† Gooty was almost impregnable under ordinary circumstances; but the number of refugees from the town, and the quantities of cattle driven into the citadel, had exhausted the reservoirs of water; and Morari Rao, after above three months' siege, was reluctantly compelled to treat for peace, which Hyder guaranteed on condition of receiving eight lacs of rupees in coin, or that amount in jewels, immediately, and a hostage for the subsequent payment of four more. The hostage, a brave but inexperienced youth, won by the praise bestowed on his chief and himself by the conqueror, imprudently boasted that nothing short of being reduced to three days' water would have induced Morari Rao to capitulate. Hyder forthwith resumed the blockade, which he maintained until the garrison, in an agony of thirst, consented to an unconditional surrender, and then such as escaped with life and liberty were robbed of every other possession; even the women being despoiled of their accustomed ornaments, for the exclusive benefit of the perfidious invader.

‡ The second siege of Chittledroog lasted three months, and was attended with immense loss of life. The garrison believed the place invested with supernatural strength as the site of a famous temple dedicated to the goddess Cali, so long as her rites were duly performed. Unlike Hindoo deities in general, Cali was supposed to delight in blood, and consequently her worshippers, despite the rashness of such a proceeding, regularly sallied forth, after performing their devotions, on every successive Monday morning during three months; and notwithstanding the warning to the besiegers, given by the loud blast of a horn as the signal for the outburst, and the foreknowledge of all except the exact point of attack, the Beders never once returned without carrying off the specific number of heads to be offered to their tutelary deity, upon whose shrine about 2,000 of these bloody trophies were found ranged in small pyramids after the fall of the place.--(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysore*, ii., 182.)

poligar or chief. The native garrison defended the place with the fearless zeal of fanaticism, but were betrayed by a corps of Mohammedan mercenaries, whom Hyder found means to corrupt through the medium of their spiritual instructor, a hermit of reputed sanctity, who resided unmolested on the plain below, near the hostile encampment. The natives of the surrounding territory (chiefly of the Beder tribe) had manifested unconquerable attachment to the fallen chief. In vain Hyder had seized all the visible property, and consumed all the provisions on which his practised pilferers could lay hands; neither these measures, nor the infliction of the most cruel punishments on every person engaged in the conveyance of supplies to the besieged, could deter men, women, and even children from sacrificing their lives, in continued succession, in the attempt to support the garrison. Hyder at length determined to sweep off the whole remainder of the population, whose fidelity to their besieged countrymen had alone prevented their following the general example of flight to the woods, or other provinces. About 20,000 were carried away to populate the island of Seringapatam; and from the boys of a certain age, Hyder formed a regular military establishment of captive converts, in imitation of the Turkish janissaries (new soldiers.) These regiments, under the name of the "Chelah"* battalions, were extensively employed by Tippoo Sultan. The reduction of the small Patan state of Kurpa and several minor places, next engaged the attention of the Mysorean. One of these expeditions nearly cost him his life, by rousing the vengeance of a party of Afghan captives, who having overpowered their guards in the dead of night, rushed to his tent, and the foremost having succeeded in effecting an entrance, aimed a deadly blow at the rich coverlid which wrapped what he took to be the body of the sleeping despot. But Hyder himself had escaped to the protection of the nearest corps. On first hearing the uproar he guessed its cause; for it was a portion of his earthly punishment that, sleeping or waking, the dagger of the assassin was never absent from his thoughts. Despite the burden of advancing years, his mental and physical energies were wholly unimpaired. Springing from his couch, he performed the favourite feat of the nursery hero, Jack the Giant-killer, by stealthily laying his long pillow in the place of his own body. Then cutting a passage through the side of the tent, he effected a safe and unsuspected retreat. The wretched Afghans were slain or disarmed; those taken alive were reserved for various cruel deaths, such as having their hands and feet struck off, or being dragged round the camp tied to the feet of elephants, until, and even long after, life had left their mangled bodies.

Such was the barbarous character of the foe whom the English had so long braved with impunity, that, from the sheer force of habit, they continued to treat him with contemptuous superiority, even after the unpromising state of their own affairs, in various quarters, rendered it obviously advisable to adopt a conciliatory policy. The renewal of European war, would, it was probable, prove the signal for an attempt, on the part of the French, to regain their lost possessions in India, by the co-operation of some of the more powerful native states. It was notorious that St. Lubin and other adventurers, had essayed to ingratiate themselves as representatives of their nation, with the Mahrattas and also with Hyder. But both these powers were bent on avoiding any intimate connexion with European states, whose tendency to become supreme they justly dreaded, though they were ever desirous to purchase, at a high rate, the services of foreigners to discipline their troops. Hyder especially dreaded the effect of French influence, and would certainly have had no dealings with that government, save as a counterpoise to the English and Mohammed Ali, whom he cordially detested. Affairs were in a very precarious condition, when intelligence of the renewal of war in Europe reached Bengal (July, 1778); and, though somewhat premature in character, Hastings thought the information sufficiently authentic to warrant the immediate seizure of the whole of the French settlements before reinforcements should arrive from England, or time be given for the adoption of any concerted plan of defence. Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatam and Karical, surrendered without resistance. Pondicherry

* Chelah was a softened name for slave; first employed by Akber, who disliked the harsh term, but not the odious thing denoted. Slavery has, however, habitually assumed a milder form in the East than the West Indies, under Hindoo and Mohammedan, than under Christian masters; and the bondsmen of the palace, even beneath the sway of Hyder, had so much the air of "children of the house," that the good missionary, Swartz, praises the care evinced for orphans, in total ignorance that Hyder's protection had been purchased by the severance of every natural tie of family, country, and creed.

was captured after a combined attack by sea and land. The French squadron, under M. Tronjolly, was worsted by the English admiral Sir Edward Vernon, and quitted the coast by night; but the garrison, under M. Bellecombe, held out bravely, and availed themselves of every advantage derivable from the strong defences, which had been restored since their destruction in the course of the last war. A breach having been effected, and a combined assault planned by the troops under Sir Hector Munro, in conjunction with the marines and seamen, further resistance became hopeless; the place capitulated, and its fortifications were razed to the ground. The fortress and port of Mahé alone remained to the French. The territory in which they were situated (on the Malabar coast), beside being included in the recent conquests of Hyder, was the depôt for the military stores which he obtained from the Mauritius; he was therefore extremely anxious for its retention by its French possessors, and dispatched a vakeel (ambassador or envoy) to Madras, threatening the invasion of Arcot in the event of any hostile attempt on Mahé. The fortress was nevertheless besieged and taken in March, 1779, although the colours of Mysore were hoisted on the walls with those of the French, and its troops assisted in the defence. The presidency were not without misgivings regarding the hazard incurred by these multiplied provocations, and Sir Thomas Rumbold made an effort to discover the intentions of Hyder, by dispatching to his court the missionary Swartz, the only ambassador he would consent to receive. "Send me the Christian," said Hyder; "he will not deceive me."* The reward of the envoy was to be some bricks and mortar, to build a church, from the stores at Tanjore.† These had been already promised for service rendered to government in his capacity of a linguist, but withheld from time to time. Hyder, who had ever been distinguished by discrimination of character, fully appreciated the singlemindedness and unaffected piety of his visitor, with whom he held frequent intercourse,‡ and suffered him to convey religious instruction to the European soldiers in his service, and to hold unrestricted communication, not only with them, but also with the native troops, through the medium of the Persian, Tamul, Mahratta, and Hindoostanee languages. Swartz refused to accept any gift from Hyder, even for his church, and on taking leave, stated with earnestness, that a desire for the prevention of war was the sole motive that had induced him to undertake a political mission, which, under the circumstances, he considered as in nowise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace. "Very well, very well," said Hyder; "if the English offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."

Swartz returned to Madras and related the verbal assurance, which qualified the written communication of which he was the bearer, wherein the various grievances sustained by the Mysorean state, as well as by Hyder personally, from the time of the breach of faith regarding Trichinopoly in 1754, down to the recent offence of attempting to march an army, without even asking his sanction, through his recently acquired territory of Cudapah to that of Bassalut Jung at Adoni, were enumerated; with the ominous conclusion—"I have not yet taken revenge; it is no matter."

* Swartz had exerted his great personal influence very successfully for the peaceful and equitable settlement of Tanjore. Hyder had probably heard much in his favour; and his own opinion, formed from subsequent observation, was forcibly shown by the order issued in the Carnatic war, "to permit the venerable Father Swartz to pass unmolested and show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government."

† Private resources Swartz had none; little help could be expected from the Europeans of Madras, who, he says sorrowfully, could contribute 10,000 pagodas for a playhouse, "but to build a prayhouse people had no money." The immorality of nominal Christians, he considered the most serious obstacle to the conversion of the heathen; especially in the case of the rajah of Tanjore.—(Wilks, ii., 569.)

‡ Perhaps two more opposite characters never engaged in familiar converse than when the vindictive, ambitious, and merciless Hyder sat and talked with the gentle, self-denying, peace-loving missionary, in one of the stately halls of the palace of Seringapatam, overlooking gardens adorned with fountains, cypress groves, trees grafted so as to bear two kinds of fruit, and every refinement that luxury could suggest. Hyder appears to have made no attempt to disguise his barbarous system of administration; for Swartz speaks with horror of the dreadful tortures inflicted on the collectors of revenue if they failed, under any circumstances, to collect the stated revenue. "Although Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, yet the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people, with whips, stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike,—gentlemen, horsekeepers, tax-gatherers, and his own sons;" but they are not dismissed, but continued in office; for Hyder, adds Swartz, "seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are void of all principles of honour."

The authorities, immersed in the deadly stupor of indolence and venality, conducted themselves as if wholly indifferent to the threat thus significantly conveyed. Swartz found that he had been a mere tool, and that Hyder had appreciated more justly than himself the selfish duplicity of Sir Thomas Rumbold and his colleagues. Still persevering in the insulting affectation of a desire to preserve amity, they actually sent to the magnificent court of Mysore—to a sovereign enriched with the spoil of principalities and provinces—a private person of no note as ambassador (Mr. Gray), bearing with him an ill-made English saddle (hogskin to a Mussulman!) and a rifle which loaded at the breech. The presents were declined as unworthy the giver or intended receiver; neither would Hyder grant a private audience to the envoy; but on learning, through one of his nobles, the desire of the presidency to form an alliance with him, he sent word that he had at one period earnestly and repeatedly solicited it without effect, but was now strong enough to stand alone.

The most alarming part of this defiant message is said to have been withheld by Sir Thomas Rumbold,* whose policy was at the time directed to carrying off an immense fortune safe to England. Taking leave of the council, he congratulated them on the prospect of peace at a moment when every nerve ought to have been strained to prepare for defence against invasion, and took his departure in time to avoid the receipt of the recall then on its way to India.† Among the political errors urged against him was the offence given to Nizam Ali, by compelling his brother and subject, Bassalut Jung, to make over the Guntoor Circar to the company in 1779, instead of suffering him to enjoy it for life, as agreed upon by the treaty of 1768; and then using this extorted concession as a means of gratifying the cupidity of Mohammed Ali, to whom this fine district was to be let in farm. Both the London directors and the Bengal authorities strove to assuage the anger of the Nizam at conduct which he was both able and willing to resent; but the Madras officials persisted in justifying their conduct in this respect, and also in endeavouring to repudiate the arrears of peshcush, or tribute, due for the other Circars, as warranted by their pecuniary necessities, and far less faulty in principle, than the breach of faith committed in withholding the tribute pledged to the emperor as a first charge upon the revenues of Bengal.

Hyder Ali had spies everywhere. He was perfectly aware of the ill-feeling existing between the controlling and subordinate governments, and made no secret of the hostile intentions and utter contempt he entertained towards the latter. The extraordinary apathy of the majority of the council, together with the violent measures used to stifle the representations of the few who advocated the adoption of immediate measures for the defence of the Carnatic, gave weight to his assertions that the time had arrived for all Indian powers to unite in expelling the one great European state which threatened to engulph every other. Now, in its moment of weakness, when the reins of authority were vested in incapable and selfish hands, a short and decisive struggle might, by the conjoined strength of Mohammedans and Hindoos, brought to bear against the common foe, be attended with such complete success as "to leave not a white face in the Carnatic." The confederacy advocated by Hyder was actually formed, and a plan laid down which, if all parties had carried out their pledge as he did his, might have gone far to realise the desired object. Mohammed Ali, for once a true prophet, foretold the coming storm; but in vain. The presidency persisted in declaring that the dark clouds which they could not deny overshadowed the political horizon, would pass away or be dissipated by the precautions of the Bengal council;—days, weeks, months elapsed, at a time when even hours of continued peace were of incalculable importance, without any attempts for reinforcing weak garrisons in important positions, or for making arrangements for the provisioning of troops, notwithstanding the obvious necessity of the latter measure in all cases of threatened invasion, especially by a foe whose desolating and destructive mode of warfare was proverbial. Yet the very man who had once before dictated terms at the gates of Madras, was treated as a mere braggart, even after he had actually crossed the frontier, and was approaching, with his two sons, at the head of above 80,000 men, supported by a large train of artillery and a considerable body of

* *Vide* Captain James Munro's *Coromandel Coast*, p. 130. Dr. Moodie's MSS., in library of E. I. Cy.

† A criminal prosecution was commenced against him in 1782, in the House of Commons, but adjourned from time to time, and eventually dropped.

Europeans (chiefly French), constituting, without doubt, the best-disciplined army ever marshalled by a native Indian power. At length the burning of Conjeveram, the largest village in the Carnatic (sixty miles from Fort St. George, and thirty-five from Arcot), and the testimony of numerous terrified and bleeding fugitives, closely followed by the sight of the much-dreaded predatory horse of the foe, prowling about amid the garden-houses round Mount St. Thomas, changed doubts, sneers, and cavils into unspeakable dismay, which the tidings of every successive hour tended to increase. Hyder pursued his favourite policy of creating a desert about the places he desired to conquer. Round Fort St. George he drew a line of merciless desolation, extending from thirty to thirty-five miles inland, burning every town and village to the ground, and inflicting indiscriminate mutilation on every individual who ventured to linger near the ashes. The wretched peasantry, victims of the quarrels of usurping powers, whose actions they could neither understand nor influence, were sacrificed by thousands by fire or the sword, while multitudes, doomed to more protracted suffering, were driven off in a whirlwind of cavalry into exile or slavery, frequently to both united;—the father torn from his virgin daughter; the husband from the wife; the mother borne away in the torrent, unable so much as to snatch her shrieking infant from the trampling hoofs of the snorting horses. Yes! Hyder was indeed at hand: dense clouds of smoke, mingled with flame, were the sure harbingers of his approach. The country-people fled, wild with terror, to Madras; and no less than 300,000 were suffered to take up their abode in the black town in the space of three days.

The assembling of the troops was evidently of the first importance. There was no lack of men or ammunition; but a grievous deficiency of discipline, and general discontent, engendered by the severe suffering inflicted by the non-payment of arrears.* A strong and united effort, by the local authorities, to relieve their wants and inspire confidence, was, however, all that was needed to restore their wonted efficiency; but so far from any decisive measures being taken, delays and disputes arose; for the commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Munro, could not be spared to take the head of the army, because his vote alone insured the supremacy in council of his own opinions and those of the president, Mr. Whitehill. Lord Macleod,† who had recently arrived from England with a highland regiment 1,000 strong, was desired to assume the command, but he positively refused to accept the responsibility of carrying out the hazardous plan devised by Munro, of uniting the main body with that absent in the Guntoor Circar, under Colonel Baillie, at the distant site of Conjeveram, and strongly urged the adoption of the more reasonable course suggested by the minority, of marshalling the forces with the least possible delay on St. Thomas' Mount. Munro, wedded to his project, determined to take the field in person, and actually proposed and carried that he should appoint a nominee to occupy his seat in council so long as it continued vacant. The opposition members indignantly reprobated this arrangement; and one of them (Mr. Sadleir) so provoked the majority, that they decreed his suspension, which was followed up by a challenge from Sir Hector.

The subsequent conduct of the campaign corresponded with this inauspicious commencement. In the very face of the enemy, when from Cape Comorin to the Kistna all was plunder, confusion, and bloodshed, the civil and military authorities continued to quarrel with each other. Munro persisted in attempting the junction of the troops in the centre of a country occupied by an enemy. He marched to Conjeveram with the main body, which comprised 5,209 men, of whom 2,481 were European infantry and 294 artillery, and there awaited the arrival of Colonel Baillie, whose force consisted of about 150 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys. Hyder was at the time engaged in besieging Arcot; but his invariable policy—from which the English general might have

* The force of the nabob alone, in 1776, was stated by Col. Matthews, before a Parl. Committee, to amount to 35,000 effective men. That of the presidency comprehended about 30,000; but even the English forces were on the brink of mutiny for want of pay. In 1777, a regiment completely equipped for service, and stationed a few miles from Hyder's frontier, seized Captain Campbell and their other officers, and were only brought to release them by the interference of Col. James, the commandant of Trichinopoly, who made himself personally responsible for the utmost extent of arrears he could provide funds to meet. The European officers and native troops under Colonel Fullarton, were, at a subsequent period, twelve months in arrear, and obtained their very food on credit.

† Lord Macleod afterwards quitted India, in consequence of Col. Stuart being placed over him.

learned a useful lesson—of directing his chief energies to the most prominent danger, induced him to send the flower of the army, under Tippoo, to intercept the detachment under Baillie, which was accomplished at a spot about fifteen miles distant from Conjeveram.

After a severe conflict of several hours, Baillie succeeded in repelling his assailants, but with so much loss, that he sent word to the general he could not join him unless reinforced in such a manner as to be capable of resisting the opposition of the enemy. He suggested that Munro himself should advance to the rescue; instead of which, the general thought fit again to divide his small army by sending forward a detachment under Colonel Fletcher, to strengthen that threatened by Tippoo.

The intelligence of Hyder regarding the plans and proceedings of the English, was as speedy and reliable as their information concerning him was tardy and misleading. His plot to surprise and destroy Colonel Fletcher on the march was, happily, neutralised by the discreet change of route ordered by that officer; and it is considered, that had the junction of the detachments been followed up, after a few hours' rest, by speedy movement, the conjoined troops might have made their way safely to Conjeveram. But needless delay gave time for Tippoo to fix cannon at a strong post on the road, and, worse still, for Hyder himself to advance in person and oppose their passage. The little band, both Europeans and sepoys, sustained furious and repeated assaults with extraordinary steadiness, inspired with the hope that Munro would take advantage of the opportunity to relieve them by attacking the foe in the rear. Hyder was not without apprehensions on this score, which were heightened by the representations of the French officers in his service, especially of Lally and Pimorin.* The fate of the day hung in suspense until two of the tumbrils blew up in the English lines, and at once deprived them of ammunition, and disabled their guns; they nevertheless maintained the contest for another hour and a-half. At the end of that time but 400 men remained, many of them wounded; yet they still rallied round their leader, desiring to cut their way through the hostile ranks or perish in the attempt. But Colonel Fletcher lay dead on the field of battle, and Colonel Baillie, willing to save the lives of his brave companions, and despairing of relief from head-quarters, held up his handkerchief as a flag of truce. An intimation of quarter being given, the English laid down their arms; but had no sooner done so than a fierce onslaught was made by the enemy, and the whole of them would have been slain in cold blood, including even the native women and children who had accompanied the detachment, but for the interference of the French mercenaries. Baillie was brought, stiff with wounds, into the presence of his barbarous conqueror, and eventually perished in the prison of Seringapatam. About 200 Europeans were taken, of whom fifty were officers.† They were destined to linger long years in a captivity more terrible than death.

When tidings of this disaster reached Conjeveram, Munro threw his heavy guns and stores which could not be removed, into a tank, and retreated from that place to Chingleput, where he hoped to procure a supply of rice for the army; but being disappointed by the conjoined effect of Hyder's alertness and his own want of precautionary measures, he retreated to Madras. Here general consternation and alarm prevailed, aggravated by the utter want of provisions, military stores, or funds even to pay the troops, European or native; the latter, in the service of Mohammed Ali, deserted in whole regiments simply for that reason. The state of things seemed hopeless, when the vigorous measures of the supreme government at Bengal gave a new turn to affairs. The unfaltering courage and clear perceptions of Hastings were never exerted more advantageously than at this crisis. He had already instituted a negotiation with the Nizam for the restoration of the Guntoor Circar, the chief bone of contention; and he maintained a correspondence with the Mahratta ruler of Berar, Moodajee Bhonslay, which had the effect of rendering that chief unwilling to cooperate actively with his countrymen against the English, though he did not care openly to refuse joining the general confederacy. But these measures were manifestly insufficient to meet the present crisis. Hyder had followed up his success at Conjeveram by the siege and capture of Arcot. Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other bul-

* Lally was the commander of a small body of European mercenaries who had successively served Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung, before entering the service of Hyder. Pimorin was a French officer.

† Of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed, thirty-four wounded, and sixteen surrendered unhurt.

warks of the Carnatic, were wretchedly provisioned and closely blockaded; while the numerous forts under the direct control of the nabob, Mohammed Ali, were, for the most part, surrendered without a blow, from the various and often concurrent causes of disgust at an incapable and extortionate master, corruption, and despondency. Such was the news brought to Calcutta by a swift-sailing ship, flying before the south-west monsoon. In twenty-four hours the governor-general's course was taken. Supplies of every description—of men, money, and provisions—were gathered in, and dispatched under the charge of the veteran general Sir Eyre Coote, whose very name was a host, and to whom the sole conduct of the war was to be entrusted; for Hastings, rightly deeming the emergency a justification for exerting the utmost stretch of authority, took upon himself to suspend Mr. Whitehill, the venal and incapable governor of Fort St. George.

On reaching Madras, Coote found at his disposal a force numbering altogether 7,000 men, of whom only 1,700 were Europeans. Despite the manifest disparity of numbers, he earnestly desired to bring Hyder to a regular engagement, believing that the danger to be incurred by such a proceeding would fall far short of that resulting from the waste of resources and dispiriting effects of the harassing hostilities carried on by his opponent in a country already desolated. The wary Mysorean well knew the foe with whom he had now to cope, and neither taunts, threats, nor manœuvring, could induce him to risk a pitched battle. This very circumstance enabled the English to relieve Wandewash,* Permacoil, and other besieged places; but only for a time: the indefatigable foe marched off uninjured to blockade a different fortress, and Coote followed till his troops were well-nigh worn out.† At length a seeming evil procured the long-desired engagement; for Hyder, encouraged by the presence of a French fleet on the coast, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, close to the village called by Europeans Porto Novo, and strove to intercept and cut off the supplies of the English, who had recently been repulsed in an attack on the pagoda of Chillambrum. Coote advanced boldly, and having discovered a means of approach for a portion of the troops by a passage through a ridge of sand-hills, formed by Hyder for his own use, the general contrived, by a series of simple yet skilful and admirably executed movements, to marshal his forces in the face of several heavy batteries, and finally succeeded, after a close and severe contest, in forcing the line of the enemy and fairly putting them to flight.

At the commencement of the battle (about nine o'clock on the morning of the 1st July, 1781), Hyder took up his position on a little hill commanding the scene of action, and there he sat until four in the afternoon, cross-legged, on a low stool, watching every movement made by or against the English, and so enraged by the unexpected progress of affairs, as to become stupid with vexation. Fourteen years before, when defeated by Colonel Smith,‡ he had been observed by the English officers, with cool self-possession, issuing orders for a retreat, in the manner of one who could afford to wait and bide his day of triumph. But Hyder was an old man now; a pampered tyrant, accustomed to tread on the necks of his fellow-beings; and he believed the time at length arrived to triumph over the power of the people by whom he had been long braved with impunity. The cup of revenge was at his lips; was it to be flung to the ground almost untasted? Considerations of this nature shut out from view all thought of personal danger, and rendered him deaf to the arguments offered to induce him to quit a position rapidly becoming extremely perilous. The nobles in attendance were silenced by the obscene abuse, always lavishly bestowed by their imperious master when out of temper; their horses and servants had disappeared in the general flight before the advancing foe; but Hyder remained seated until a groom, who through long and faithful service was in some sort a privileged man, came forward, and

* Wandewash was most gallantly defended by Lieut. Flint, who, notwithstanding very deficient resources, and without a single artilleryman, not only held his ground during seventy-eight days of open trenches against the flower of Hyder's army, but raised a little corps of cavalry, and procured provisions for his garrison and supplies for the main army.

† When urged by the British commander to decide the fortune of war by a pitched battle, Hyder is said to have replied—"What! put my chargers, worth more than one hundred rupees each, in competition with your cannon-balls, that only cost a few pice (halfpence.) No, no: you shall hear of me often, but see me never. I will keep you marching until your legs are as big as your bellies, and your bellies the size of your legs; and then you shall fight when I choose, not when you please."

‡ At Trincomalee. in 1767. (*See* p. 318.)

drawing the legs of Hyder from under him, thrust his slippers on his feet, and with blunt fidelity prevailed on him to rise, saying, "we will beat them to-morrow; in the meanwhile mount your horse." Hyder complied, and was out of sight in a few moments, leaving the discomfited group, around his stool of repentance, to save themselves as they best could. Luckily for them, the English had no cavalry wherewith to carry on the pursuit. The victory was, however, fraught with important consequences. It induced the hostile force to fall back upon Arcot. Sir Eyre Coote followed, and encouraged by previous success, ventured to attack Hyder near Pollilоor, in a position which, besides great natural advantages, was held by the superstitious Mysorean in particular estimation as a lucky spot, being that on which he had cut off the detachment under Baillie in the previous year. The British troops became furious at the sight of the unburied remains of their fallen comrades; but insurmountable obstacles retarded their advance. They could not get at the enemy; two tumbrils broke (as on the previous occasion); and to make the confusion greater, Sir Hector Munro, having received a hasty rebuke from Coote, sullenly seated himself beneath the only tree in the plain, and refused to issue a single command. The loss of the English was about 500 killed, including some officers; and the action would probably have terminated in a defeat, had their wily adversary suspected the existence of the dissension and confusion which temporarily prevailed in an army characterised by united action and steady discipline. The campaign ended with the surprise of the Mysoreans at the pass of Sholingur, on the road to Vellore: their loss was estimated at 5,000 men; while that of the English fell short of 100.

Meanwhile, an important change had taken place at Madras in the nomination of Lord Macartney as governor and president of Fort St. George. The appointment of a man of acknowledged talent and strict integrity was, doubtless, a great step towards abolishing the systematic venality which had long disgraced the presidency; and the earnest and straightforward manner in which the new ruler applied himself to his arduous and invidious task, justified the expectations entertained on his behalf. But the difficulties which surrounded him were great beyond expectation. Disastrous news awaited his arrival in June, 1781. First, that the Carnatic, which Sir Thomas Rumbold had represented in a most peaceful and promising condition, was actually occupied by a ruthless foe; secondly, that the means of defence had been vainly sought for by men possessed of the local experience in which he was of necessity wholly deficient; and thirdly, that the increasing scarcity which prevailed through the Carnatic, threatened to terminate in a terrible famine. Macartney was called on to decide how best to meet these difficulties without clashing with the extraordinary powers vested in the brave and indefatigable, but peevish and exacting General Coote, and still more with the supreme authority wielded by the seemingly conciliatory, but really dictatorial and jealous Hastings.

Lord Macartney brought to India intelligence of war with Holland; and despite the objections of Coote, who desired to see the whole force concentrated for the reconquest of Arcot, the Dutch settlements were attacked; Sadras, Pulicat, and Negapatam successively taken; after which the troops of Hyder began to evacuate the forts which they had occupied in Tanjore. But these successes were soon followed by renewed disasters. A French fleet arrived on the Coromandel coast in January, 1782, and after intercepting several vessels bound to Madras with grain, landed 3,000 men at Porto Novo, where Tippoo speedily joined them with a large body of troops. An English and native detachment, about 2,000 strong, stationed in Tanjore, under Colonel Brathwaite, misled by a system of false information carried on by the spies of Hyder, were surprised by a conjoined force under Tippoo and Lally, and after maintaining a desperate resistance for six-and-twenty hours, against an enemy who outnumbered them twenty to one, were at length completely surrounded, and either slain or captured. The conclusion of a peace with the Mahrattas being officially announced at Madras in the month of June, gave an opportunity for opening a similar negotiation with Hyder. The terms on which it had been obtained were not, however, of a nature to induce so wary a politician to make important concessions. The English, he well knew, had purchased peace by the surrender of almost all they had been fighting for—that is, by reverting to the terms of the indignantly repudiated treaty of Poorunder; and even these conditions had been made through the instrumen-

tality of the formidable and intriguing Sindia.* But Hyder desired an interval of tranquillity in which to settle a plan of combined operations with the French admiral Suffrein; he therefore proceeded to treat with Sir Eyre Coote, who remained in suspense until the vakeel from Mysore was suddenly withdrawn, and the old general discovered that his whole stock of provisions had been consumed, while the troops were kept in a state of inactivity by the artifice of Hyder. The subsequent attempts of the English to force a battle were unavailing; and matters grew from bad to worse, until towards the close of the year, Coote, who had previously sustained a fit of apoplexy, now suffered a fresh seizure, which compelled him to resign the command to general Stuart, and retire to Bengal. Madras was by this time reduced to a terrible condition. The ravages of famine, after spreading over the whole Carnatic,† at length became felt in the presidency, and increased with alarming rapidity, until the number of deaths amounted to, and continued for several weeks, at from 1,200 to 1,500. The French appear to have been ignorant of the state of affairs; for they made no attempt to blockade the coast; and supplies from Bengal and the Northern Circars came in time to aid in preventing the scourge of pestilence from following the ravages of famine. Hyder Ali had ever been accurately informed regarding the condition of every leading English settlement, and would doubtless have not failed to take advantage of the condition of the capital of the presidency, but that his marvellous energies of mind and body, so long vouchsafed, so terribly misused, were fast failing. His health had been for some time declining, and, in November, symptoms appeared of a mortal disease described as peculiar to natives of high rank, and therefore called the raj-poora, or royal boil. He died at Chittore, in December, 1782,‡ leaving Tippoo§ to prosecute hostilities with the English. The defalcation of the Mahrattas had, it is said, led him to regret the confederacy he had formed, and even to regard it as the most impolitic act of his whole career. "I have committed a great error," he exclaimed with bitterness; "I have purchased a draught of seandee‖ (worth about a farthing) at the price of a lac of pagodas. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."¶ It would have been well for his successor had he profited by this dear-bought experience; but Tippoo, fierce, headstrong, and bigoted, was the last person in the world to gain wisdom on such easy terms. A leading characteristic of Hyder had been perfect toleration to every religious sect. Though quite capable of respecting the genuine piety of such a man as Swartz, he appears to have been himself devoid of any belief whatever; and alternately countenanced and joined in the ceremonial observances of the Mohammedans and Hindoos, and even the grossest forms of idolatry, superstition, and magical incantation performed by the latter, simply from motives of policy.

His cruelties, great and terrible as they were, resulted from the same cause, excepting only those prompted by his unbounded sensuality. Tippoo Sultan, on the contrary, had all the insatiable ferocity of the wild beast whose name he bore, when the fearful relish for human blood has once been acquired; and none of his victims could have suggested a more appropriate badge than the stripe of the royal tiger, which formed part of his insignia.** With him, the fiendish

* The price paid to Sindia was the surrender of the city of Broach and its dependencies. The arrangements referred to (commonly known as the *Treaty of Salbye*) were concluded in May, 1782.

† An eye-witness pathetically describes the manner in which the natives, "whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of our severest fasts—silent, patient, resigned without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint," perished in multitudes.—(Moodie's *Transactions*.)

‡ It is said that Hyder, like Hamilcar, swore his son to wage incessant war against the English; but the truth of this assertion is doubtful.

§ The age of Hyder is very differently stated. Wilks (the best general authority regarding Mysoor) states that he was seven years old in 1728, which would make him about sixty at the time of his death; but Mill and other writers unanimously speak of him as attaining a far more advanced age; and the careful and accurate Thornton describes him as little younger than Aurungzebe.

‖ Date wine, a cheap but very intoxicating liquor.

¶ *Mysoor*, ii., 373. Col. Wilks gives this strange confession on the authority of Poornea, the Hindoo minister, to whom it was addressed. Hyder, it must be recollected, had no ally on whom he could rely. The Mahrattas had forsaken him, and from the French he could only receive very partial aid, since he had predetermined, under no circumstances, to admit them in force to Mysoor.—(*Idem*, 374.) At a very critical period (March, 1782), Hyder resented the attempt of a French officer to take possession of Chillambrum, by turning him out of the fort, and the troops, having no bullocks, were actually compelled to drag their artillery back to Porto Novo!

** Tippoo Sultan is thought to have been named after a famous ascetic for whom Hyder Ali had a regard, and who had assumed this strange designation to signify sovereignty obtained over the tiger-like passions of the flesh.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 567.)

delight of inflicting pain and degradation, physical and moral, seems to have been an instinct developed even in early boyhood.

In vain the stern reprimands of his dreaded father were frequently sounded in his ears; in vain the repeated infliction of corporal punishment by the long whips, which Hyder declared to be better security for good government than all the reading and writing in the world;—Tippoo could never be restrained from indulging the vicious tendencies which subsequently found vent in the form of religious persecution. He persisted in inflicting the outward mark of Islam on such Christians as fell in his power,* and insulted the peaceful Hindoo subjects of his father by wantonly defiling their places of worship, and slaying the animals they hold most sacred, especially the sacred bulls, which he recommended to his associates as the best possible beef. Yet Tippoo, stanch Mussulman as he deemed himself, and sworn foe to idolatry, was not the less a slave to the gross superstitions of which the Brahminical creed of modern times is so largely composed; and, like Hyder himself, he rarely failed, in commencing a difficult and dangerous undertaking, to have the *jebbum*—a strange species of magical incantation—performed on his behalf by the Hindoos, simultaneously with the offering up of prayers for success in the mosques.† Add to these characteristics that of an irrepressible tendency for pilfering and lying, and we have, perhaps, about as detestable a person as can well be conceived. In activity in battle, he is said to have surpassed his father, and to have equalled him in personal daring; but in every other more needful capacity of a despotic ruler, he was immeasurably inferior. His uncontested succession was ensured by the manœuvres of two Brahmins, the chief ministers of Hyder,‡ who concealed the death of the sovereign as long as possible, in order to give his heir time to return from his post on the western frontier of Mysore, whither he had proceeded to repel the incursions of the English under Colonel Humberstone. Lord Macartney, on learning the late event, earnestly pressed the commander-in-chief (General Stuart) to take immediate advantage of the confusion likely to arise from a change of ruler. But here again the spirit of disunion, which prevailed to so remarkable an extent in the Madras presidency, forbade speedy and combined action. The general claimed to be allowed to exercise the same independent authority bestowed by the supreme government on Sir Eyre Coote, and the governor contended, as Hastings had done in Bengal, for the entire subordination of the military to the civil authority. The general, to vindicate his alleged right, took the course natural to an opiniated and narrow-minded man, of acting in direct opposition to the instructions given by the presidency; and during the remainder of this the first war with the new ruler of Mysore, the very spirit of discord ruled in the senate, the camp, and the field, neutralising every success, and aggravating every disaster. By the urgent solicitations of Hastings, Coote was again induced to return to the Carnatic; although, before his departure from thence, some serious disputes had taken place between him and Lord Macartney, notwithstanding the care evinced by the latter to act in the most conciliatory manner. But the ill-defined authority vested in the Supreme Council of Bengal, in conjunction with the personal misunderstanding which unhappily existed between Hastings and Macartney,§ tended to mingle personal feelings with public questions; and the dissensions between them increased in violence, until the governor-general took the resolve not only of delegating to Sir Eyre Coote the uncontrolled conduct of the war, but also, in the event of determined resistance at Fort St. George, of enforcing that measure by the deposition of the president. The death of Coote, four days after landing at Madras,‖

* When a youth, his father punished him severely for having inflicted circumcision on an English soldier, at a time when he was anxious to conciliate the good-will of the Madras presidency.

† The Jebbum, though purely a Hindoo ceremonial, was frequently resorted to by Mohammedans; one, of which the details are on record, is said to have cost Mohammed Ali £5,000, which he did not grudge, since *it killed Lord Pigot;* and another, after several failures, produced the death of Hyder himself.—(Wilks' *Mysore*, ii., 255.)

‡ The chief ministers, relatively speaking; for Hyder was himself the acting head of every department.

§ The spotless integrity of Lord Macartney was a standing reproach to Hastings, who in dealing with him completely lost his temper. Thus, in a communication dated 13th of April, 1783, he desires Lord Macartney to explain some misunderstanding which had arisen on an official subject, adding as a reason, "if you consider the estimation of a man [the governor-general of India writing to the head of a subordinate presidency!] so inconsiderable as I am deserving of attention."—(*Life*, ii., 63.)

‖ During the voyage, Coote was chased for two days and nights by a French ship of the line; and the agitation caused thereby accelerated his death.

perhaps prevented intestine strife; for Lord Macartney, though courteous and moderate, was by no means inclined to submit tamely to the lot of his predecessor, Lord Pigot. In all other respects the loss of the experienced general was a severe calamity. Despite the irritation and excitability consequent on ill-health, with other failings less excusable—such as extravagance as a commander, and covetousness in his private capacity—he possessed a degree of activity, precision, and experience far beyond any of his compeers; besides which, a frank soldierly manner, aided by the charm of old association, and his own strong attachment to the troops, rendered him beloved by the army in general, and especially by the native soldiers. Many a white-haired sepoy, in after times, loved to dwell on the service they had seen under "Coote Bahadur;" and offered, with glistening eye and faltering voice, a grateful tribute to his memory, while making a military salutation to the portrait of the veteran, suspended in the Madras exchange. The death of Coote was nearly simultaneous with the arrival of M. de Bussy. He had been long expected; but his plans had been twice disconcerted by the capture of the convoy destined to support him, by Admiral Kempenfelt, in December, 1781. A similar disaster occurred in April, 1782; and when, after much delay, he reached the Carnatic in the following June, he found a conjuncture of affairs awaiting him by no means favourable to his views. Hyder was dead, and Tippoo absent on an expedition for the recovery of Bednore, which had surrendered to an English force under General Matthews. This enterprise, which unforeseen circumstances alone rendered successful, had been undertaken for the express purpose of withdrawing the Mysoreans from Arcot. The object was accomplished, but the expected advantages were greatly lessened by the previous ill-advised destruction of the forts of Wandewash and Carangoli, which had been demolished by the for once united decision of Lord Macartney and General Stuart, although almost every military opinion, from that time to the present, has pronounced the measure premature, if not wholly inexpedient. Considerable pecuniary acquisitions were expected to be realised from the capture of Bednore; but these anticipations proved delusive,—whether owing to the large sums carried off by the native governor (himself the intended victim of Tippoo),* or whether from the peculation of English officers, is a disputed question. The place was only retained about three months, at the end of which time it was captured by Tippoo, who having (by his own account) discovered that the English officers, in violation of the terms of capitulation dictated by him, were carrying away treasure and jewels to a large amount, caused them all to be marched off in irons to different prisons, where they endured a rigorous and dreary captivity, terminated, in the case of Matthews and several others, by a cruel death.

Meanwhile Bussy, disappointed in the hope of joining the main body of the Mysorean army under Tippoo, concentrated his force at Cuddalore, which was subsequently invested by General Stuart. It was of evident importance to use the utmost expedition in order to forestal the large reinforcements expected from France, and which did eventually arrive. Nevertheless, Stuart, although compelled to some degree of obedience to the Madras government, contrived to neutralise their plans by marching at the rate of three miles a-day, and thus occupied forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, in reaching Cuddalore. The siege,† when commenced, proved long and sanguinary; and in an attack which took place on the 13th of June, 1783, the English lost upwards of 1,000 men. M. de Suffrein arrived shortly after, and landed a body of 2,400 men to strengthen the garrison; but Stuart had recklessly determined to carry out the commands of the presidency as literally as possible; and all the British troops entrusted to his charge, including a detachment under Colonel Fullarton, which had marched to his aid from Tanjore, would probably have been sacrificed to the spleen of one unprincipled man, but for the arrival of orders for the immediate cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the peace newly concluded between France and Eng-

* The governor was a chelah, or slave, named Sheik Ayaz, to whom Hyder had been so strongly attached, that he repeatedly declared he wished he had begotten him instead of Tippoo. The consequence was, Tippoo cordially hated Ayaz, and had arranged to put him to death; but the letter being intercepted, the intended victim hastened to make his escape.

† Bernadotte, afterwards Crown Prince of Sweden, was captured in a midnight sally made by the garrison. He was treated with great kindness by General Wangenheim, commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the English service; and in later life, when their relative positions were strangely altered, the general had ample reason to remember, with satisfaction, the compassion he had evinced towards the wounded sergeant.—(Wilks, ii., 442.)

land. This intelligence, at an equally opportune moment, reached the troops engaged in the defence of Mangalore, which, though a place of very inferior strength, had stood a siege of fifty-six days, the defence being directed by Colonel Campbell, the attack by Tippoo himself, who had proceeded thither with the main body after taking Bednore. The French envoy, Peveron, is accused of having kept back the intelligence he came to bring, in order to enable Tippoo to retain the aid of Cossigny (the French engineer), Lally, and Boudenot. The declaration could, at length, be no longer withheld. Cossigny quitted the Mysore army, and insisted on his companions withdrawing likewise. Tippoo was beyond measure enraged by what he considered nothing short of treacherous desertion; and his late allies, as the sole means of escaping unhurt by his resentment, were glad to avail themselves of the protection of the English. After some unsuccessful attempts to carry the place by his own unassisted strength, he agreed to an armistice, to extend over the coast of Malabar. One leading condition was the supply of a stated monthly allowance of provisions to Mangalore, sufficient for the use of the garrison without trenching on their previous stock. This stipulation was broken by his furnishing articles deficient in quantity and deleterious in quality: no salt was sent, and many of the sepoys, Colonel Wilks affirms, became actually blind, as well as affected by various other ailments, in consequence of being compelled to eat rice in its simple, undigestible state, without the addition of any of the usual condiments. The Madras government were extremely anxious to conclude a peace; and to this circumstance, as also to the want of union among those in command, may be attributed the supineness of General Macleod and the scruples which prevented his effective interposition for the succour of Mangalore, which, after nearly a nine months' siege, fell before its cruel and perfidious foe. Colonel Campbell died soon after, overwhelmed with fatigue and disappointment. Tippoo had succeeded in his immediate object of proving to the native Indian powers his sufficiency to effect that which had baffled the skill and discipline of his French auxiliaries: in every other respect he had little reason to congratulate himself on the conquest of an inconsiderable place, purchased by a long and costly siege, which, besides having hindered his attention to the affairs of his own dominions, had left the English free to gain considerable advantages in other quarters. The misconduct of General Stuart, in the expedition to Cuddalore, had filled the measure of his offences, and induced the governor and council to order his arrest and forcible embarkation for England.* After this decisive measure matters took a different and far more favourable turn.

The abilities of Mr. Sulivan, the resident at Tanjore, and of colonels Lang and Fullarton, had been successfully exerted in various ways. Caroor and Dindegul, Palgaut and Coimbatore, were captured; and Colonel Fullarton was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march on Seringapatam, when he received tidings of a treaty of peace concluded between Tippoo Sultan and the Madras government, on the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests. The so-called peace was, however, but a hollow truce, to which nothing but fear of the Mahrattas and the Nizam had driven the sultan. Throughout the whole of the negotiations he behaved in the most insulting manner to the British commissioners,† who had been inveigled to his court to be held up in the light of suitors for peace; and even when the treaty was concluded, the fulfilment of his pledge of restoring his captives to liberty, gave fresh occasion for resentment, by revealing the treatment to which they had been subjected. Hyder had shown little humanity in his dealings with English prisoners, whom he kept in irons, chained in pairs, because "they were unruly beasts, not to be kept quiet in any other way." But Tippoo Sultan far surpassed his father in barbarity, and the English learned, with horror and indignation, that many officers distinguished by rank, skill, or bravery, had been poisoned or assassinated in their dungeons; that others, especially the younger of these unfortunates, had suffered torture and ignominy of a revolting description; and that even the most fortunate among the captives had sustained close confinement in loathsome dens, their beds the damp ground; with food so miserably insufficient, as to give scope for the untiring fidelity and self-devotion of their native companions in affliction, to show itself by the frequent sacrifice of a portion of the scanty pittance

* One of the sons of Mohammed Ali expressed his view of the matter in broken English, by declaring "General Stuart catch one Lord [Pigot], one Lord [Macartney] catch General Stuart."

† Messrs. Sadleir, Staunton, and Hudleston.

allowed for their maintenance, in return for unremitting labour, to mend the fare of the European soldiers.*

The treaty entered into with Tippoo by the Madras authorities was transmitted to Bengal, and signed by the Supreme Council, on whom the full powers of government had devolved, owing to the absence of Mr. Hastings at Lucknow. On his return to Calcutta, Hastings found much fault with the treaty, especially because it made no mention of the nabob of Arcot. He drew up a new one, and peremptorily commanded the Madras authorities to forward it to Tippoo. Macartney positively refused compliance; Hastings could not compel it; and so the matter ended.

Close of Hastings' Administration.—Before the commencement of the war with Hyder, the financial condition of every one of the three presidencies had become seriously embarrassed. In August, 1780, the Supreme Council had been under the necessity of contracting a new debt, and when to this heavy burden on the Bengal revenues an additional one was added by the costly military operations required for the defence of the Carnatic, the governor-general felt compelled to announce to the directors the probability of a total suspension of the investment, unless the purchase-money were sent from England. Nothing short of the most absolute necessity could, however, induce Hastings to endanger his standing with the Court of Proprietors, by the execution of so unpopular a measure, while any source of supply remained available; yet such as there were had been already severely taxed. The nabob of Oude and the rajah of Benares were tributary princes. Viewed in this light, they were bound in all cases of difficulty to furnish assistance to the superior and protecting state. The degree of co-operation to be afforded was an open question, which Mr. Hastings, who now held undisputed sway in Bengal, thought fit to decide in person, and, with that intent, proceeded to the wealthy, populous, and venerated city of Benares. The rajah, Cheyte Sing, was the son and successor of Bulwunt Sing, whose alliance the English had courted during the war with Shuja Dowlah. The usurping nabobs of Oude had asserted the claim of the sword over the district of which Benares forms the capital, on the plea of its being a district dependent on their government. Bulwunt Sing made common cause with the English; and on the conclusion of peace, an article was expressly inserted to secure him from the vengeance and cupidity of the nabob-vizier. This proved increasingly difficult; until at length, in 1774, it was proposed by Mr. Hastings, as the sole mode of protecting the rajah, to insist on his being declared independent of Oude, and tributary to Bengal. A stated sum was fixed to be paid annually, and the Supreme Council unanimously decreed that no more demands of any kind should be made upon him on behalf of the company. Cheyte Sing forwarded the tribute to Patna with remarkable regularity; nevertheless, in 1778, the necessities of the presidency were considered to justify a demand for a heavy contribution (five lacs of rupees) to be furnished immediately. The rajah pleaded poverty, and asked for time; but troops were sent against him, and he was compelled to furnish the sum originally demanded, with a fine of £2,000 for military expenses. He had, unhappily, incurred the personal enmity of the governor-general, by courting Clavering and Francis during their brief day of power; and the offence was one Hastings was little disposed to let pass unpunished. In 1780, the system of exaction commenced against Cheyte Sing, was continued by a new demand of five lacs, from which he endeavoured to gain relief by arguments and supplications, enforced by a private offering of two lacs, which Mr. Hastings accepted, not as a part of the contribution, but as a distinct item, and then proceeded as before to exact the five lacs, with an additional mulct or fine of £10,000, for the trouble of compelling payment. In 1781, the unfortunate rajah was again importuned for supplies of money and troops; but this time unreasonable demands appear to have been made, simply with the object of provoking conduct which was to serve as a plea for the complete confiscation of his whole possessions. The amount now demanded was not to be less than fifty lacs, with a contingent of 1,000 men. The rajah be-

* Their exemplary conduct is the more deserving of admiration from the severe trials to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, as recorded in the pages of Wilks, Fullarton, and other military authorities. The mismanagement of the finances of the Carnatic had told fearfully on the condition of the army; even veteran sepoys, who had served under Clive, were but imperfectly, if at all provided for. Colonel Fullarton expressly states, that the natives under his command were nearly twelve months in arrear, and that many were driven to such extremities as to be compelled to sell their children into slavery to save themselves from starvation.—(*View of English Interests in India*, 1782 *to* 1784; pp. 98—201.)

haved with remarkable moderation: he doubtless guessed the views entertained by Hastings—either the seizure of his forts with their contents, or the sale of his dominions to the ruler of Oude; and he left no means untried to avert, by submission, evils which it was hopeless to combat by force. On the approach of the governor-general, he went to meet him with every demonstration of respect; and, in token of entire submission, laid his turban on the lap of the reserved and impassive Englishman, the last act of humiliation in a country, where, to be bareheaded, is considered unspeakable degradation. This conduct did not check, perhaps it accelerated the extreme measures adopted by Hastings, who asserted that besides falsely pleading poverty, the rajah was really plotting to become perfectly independent of the presidency; but to this charge his youth and inexperience afford the best contradiction, when viewed in conjunction with the unresisting manner in which he suffered the governor-general to take possession of Benares, though attended by a very slender escort, and even to go the length of arresting and confining him to his own palace. The two companies of sepoys placed on guard there, were not provided with ammunition, so little was any resistance anticipated on the part of this incipient rebel. The people were expected to witness, with indifference, the change of rulers. On the contrary, they were rendered desperate by an aggression which involved the downfall of one of their own race and religion, to be followed by the transfer of the sacred city and its fertile environs into the hands of aliens, who had no sympathies with their creed, and no interest in their welfare. Great crowds assembled round the palace and blocked up all the avenues; and before reinforcements with ammunition could arrive to support the sepoy guard, a furious attack had been made, in which the greater part perished. The rajah, so far from coming forth to head the mob, took advantage of the confusion to make his escape, and was let down the steep bank of the Ganges, by means of turbans tied together, into a boat which conveyed him to the opposite shore. The multitude rushed after him, leaving the palace to be occupied by the English troops. Had they at once proceeded in search of Hastings, no effective resistance could have been offered, since he had no protection beyond that of the thirty gentlemen of his party and fifty armed sepoys. Cheyte Sing had, however, no thought of organised operations against his persecutor, and he sent repeated apologies, and offers of the most complete submission, all of which were treated with contemptuous disregard. The numbers of the insurgents continued to increase; the building in which the English party had taken up their abode was blockaded, and the sole means of conveying intelligence to Bengal was by the subtlety of native messengers, who, taking advantage of the custom of laying aside in travelling their large golden earrings, because tempting to thieves, placed on this occasion not the ordinary quill or roll of blank paper in the orifice, but dispatches from Hastings to the commanders of British troops to come to his rescue. Before these orders could be executed, affairs assumed a still more menacing aspect. A slight skirmish, brought on by a premature attack made by an English officer, at the head of a small body of men, on Ramnagur, a fortified palace beyond the river, terminated in the death of the leader, and many of his followers by the hands of the people of Benares. The survivors retreated; and Hastings, alarmed for his own safety, fled by night to the fortress of Chunar, leaving the wounded sepoys behind. The excitement spread for hundreds of miles; the husbandman quitted the field, the manufacturer his loom, and rallied round Cheyte Sing; the oppressed population of Oude rose against the misgovernment of Asuf Dowlah and his English allies; and even Bahar seemed ripe for revolt. The rajah at length assumed a haughty and defiant tone; but the absence of skill or discipline rendered the tumultuary force thus voluntarily assembled utterly incapable of taking the field against a European army, and the troops, under Major Popham, were everywhere victorious. The fastnesses of the rajah were stormed, his adherents, to the number of 30,000, forsook his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations, while their late ruler quitted the country for perpetual exile. Benares was annexed to the British dominions. To save appearances, a relation of the banished ruler was appointed rajah, but, like the nabob of Bengal, he became a mere stipendiary, removable at the pleasure of the presidency. This tyrannical procedure completely failed in promoting the avowed object of Hastings—the attainment of a large sum of ready money; for, notwithstanding the indignities used in searching even the

persons as well as the wardrobes of the mother, wife, and other females of the family of Cheyte Sing (in violation of the articles of capitulation), the booty realised was not only unexpectedly small (£250,000 to £300,000), but was wholly appropriated as prize-money by the army.* Thus the immediate effect of the expedition was to enhance the difficulties it was intended to relieve, by the expenses attendant on putting down a revolt wantonly provoked; and so far from meeting the approbation of the company, the conduct pursued towards the rajah was denounced as "improper, unwarrantable, and highly impolitic." Nevertheless, the war into which Cheyte Sing had been driven was held to justify his expulsion from Benares; and the positive declaration of Hastings, that an order for the reinstatement of the rajah would be regarded by him as the signal for his own instant resignation of office, probably prevented any step being taken to make amends for past wrongs.

The next expedient adopted to fill the empty treasury of Calcutta, was more successful in its results, but, if possible, more discreditable in character. Asuf-ad-Dowlah, the successor of Shuja Dowlah, was a young man, not devoid of a certain description of ability† and kindly feeling; but his better qualities were neutralised by an amount of indolence and sensuality, which rendered him a political nobody in the sight of the presidency, and a severe scourge to his subjects by reason of the extortions and cruelty perpetrated in his name by unworthy favourites. Already sundry concessions (such as the Benares tribute) had been extorted from him, which Hastings would never have so much as proposed to his father; and these, together with general misgovernment and extravagance, had reduced the treasury of Oude to a condition which left its master little to fear from the rapacity of his neighbours. Continued drought had heightened his distress, by diminishing the power of the people to meet the heavy taxation demanded from them; and he found himself unable to pay any portion of the arrears of his own mutinous troops, much less to maintain the costly detachment and the long train of officials, civil as well as military, forced upon him by the English.

In an evil hour he sought counsel with the governor-general at Chunar, pleaded poverty, and gave as one, among many reasons for inability to fulfil the heavy conditions into which he had been led to enter, the large proportion of his father's wealth bequeathed to his mother and grandmother. These princesses had been uniformly treated by Shuja Dowlah with the highest consideration and respect: his wife, especially, had won his entire confidence by repeated evidences of energetic and devoted affection. During his lifetime the chief direction of his pecuniary affairs had been entrusted to her management, and, after his death, the two ladies remained in possession of certain extensive jaghires, with other property, to a large extent; not for their exclusive use, but for the maintenance of the rest of his family and those of preceding nabobs, amounting (including female retainers of all kinds) to about 2,000 persons. The profligate prince had early coveted the inheritance of his relatives, and he continued to exact contributions from them, until his mother, wearied and alarmed by his importunities and injurious treatment, consented to surrender an additional sum of thirty lacs, on condition of his signing a formal pledge, guaranteed by the Supreme Council of Bengal, that she should be permitted to enjoy her jaghires and effects exempt from further persecution. This covenant, effected through the mediation of Bristowe, the English resident at Lucknow, was approved of and confirmed by the majority then dominant in Calcutta. Hastings disapproved, but being in the minority, could offer no effective opposition. In 1781, when his authority became again (for a time) supreme, he scrupled not to set aside all former promises by empowering the nabob

* Hastings would seem to have outwitted himself in this matter. The wife of Cheyte Sing was a person of high character, much-beloved and esteemed, and safety and respect for her person, together with those of the other ladies of the family of the ill-fated rajah, were among the express terms of capitulation. Yet Hastings was unmanly enough to question the "expediency of the promised indulgence to the ranee," and to suggest that she would "contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable portion of the booty, by being suffered to retire without examination." The intimation did not pass unheeded. The defenceless ladies were subjected to the insulting search of four females, but with what effect does not appear; and their persons were further insulted by the licentious people and followers of the camp. But the officers and soldiery maintained that Hastings had expressly made over to them the whole profits of this nefarious transaction, and would not so much as lend a portion to government. The share of the commander-in-chief was £36,000.—(Mill, Moodie, &c.)

† *Vide* the charming stanzas translated by Heber.

to take possession of the jaghires of both princesses, as a means of paying his debts to the company; and, as a further assistance, the English troops, whose maintenance pressed heavily on the Oude revenues, were to be withdrawn. Mr. Hastings asserted, in justification of his conduct, that the begums had evinced an inclination to take part with Cheyte Sing; but the accusation is improbable in itself, and unsupported by any reliable evidence: their other alleged fault — of embarrassing the government of the nabob—was contradicted by the statements repeatedly forwarded by the English resident, of the persecutions endured by them at the hands of the local authorities. Asuf-ad-Dowlah (who, ever since the covenant signed in 1775, had been repeatedly violating it in different ways) was at first delighted at having his refractory relatives deprived of the protection to which they had constantly appealed; but on quitting Chunar, and regaining his own dominions, he began to consider the matter in a different light. Unsupported by the plausible reasoning of Hastings, the proposed plan of despoiling his mother and grandmother appeared fraught with ignominy; and Mr. Middleton (who had been recently restored to the position of British resident) described, in the strongest terms, the almost unconquerable repugnance evinced by the nabob towards the violent measures agreed on at Chunar. He was peremptorily informed, that in the event of his continued refusal, the seizure of the jaghires and personal property of the begums would be accomplished by the English without his co-operation. The weak and vacillating prince, fearful of the effect such an assumption of authority by foreigners might produce on the minds of his subjects, reluctantly consented to accompany the expedition sent to attack the princesses in their own territory, in the commencement of the year 1782. The town and castle of Fyzabad (the second place in Oude) were occupied without bloodshed, the avenues of the palace blocked up, and the begums given to understand that no severities would be spared to compel the complete surrender of their property. But here a serious obstacle presented itself. Even Middleton doubted what description of coercion could be effectually adopted, without offering an offence of the most unpardonable description to the whole native population; for the ladies were hedged in by every protection which rank, station, and character could confer, to enhance the force of opinion which, on all such occasions, is in the east so strong and invariable, "that no man, either by himself or his troops, can enter the walls of a zenana, scarcely in the case of acting against an open enemy, much less the ally of a son acting against his own mother."* In this dilemma it was deemed advisable to work upon the fears and sympathies of the begums in the persons of their chief servants, two eunuchs, who had long been entrusted with the entire management of their affairs. There is, perhaps, no page in Anglo-Indian history so deeply humiliating to our national feelings, as that which records the barbarities inflicted on these aged men, during a period of nearly twelve months. Certainly no other instance can be found equally illustrative of the false varnish which Hastings habitually strove to spread over his worst actions, than the fact that, after directing the mode of dealing with the eunuchs—by rigorous confinement in irons, total deprivation of food, and, lastly, by direct torture;† after inciting the indirect persecution of the princesses and the immense circle of dependants left to their charge by the nabob-vizier, by cutting off their supplies of food and necessaries;‡—after quarrelling with and dismiss-

* Middleton's defence. *Vide* House of Commons Papers, March, 1781; and Mill's *India*, vol. iv.

† The account of these disgraceful proceedings is very fragmentary, but amply sufficient to warrant the assertions made in the text. Three principal facts are on record. The first is a letter from Middleton to the English officer on guard, dated January, 1782, desiring that the eunuchs should "be put in irons, kept from all food," &c. The second is a letter from the same officer to the president, pleading the sickly condition of his prisoners as a reason for temporarily removing their chains, and allowing them to take a little exercise in the fresh air. This was refused, and the captives were removed to Lucknow. The third communication, addressed still by one company's servant to another, is a direct order for the admission of torturers to "inflict corporal punishment" on two aged prisoners accused of excessive fidelity to their mistresses; and lest the feelings of a British officer should rise against the atrocities about to be inflicted, an express injunction was added, that the executioners were to have "free access to the prisoners, and to be permitted to do with them whatever they thought proper."—(*Idem.*)

‡ The women of the zenana were at various times on the eve of perishing for want; and on one occasion the pangs of hunger so completely overpowered the ordinary restraints of custom, that they burst in a body from the palace and begged for food in the public bazaar, but were driven back with blows by the sepoys in the service of the E. I. Cy.—(Dr. Moodie's *Transactions*, p. 455.) Major Gilpin, the commandant of the guard, humanely advanced 10,000 rupees for the relief of these unfortunates.

ing his favourite *employé* Middleton, for having been backward in conducting a business from which a gaoler of Newgate prison might turn with disgust,—he, nevertheless, when it became advisable to adopt lenient measures (since no further payments could be extorted by cruelty), had the consummate hypocrisy to remove the guard from the palace of the begums, and release the eunuchs, on the express understanding that their sufferings had proceeded from the nabob and his ministers, but their release from his own compassionate interference. The previous ill-feeling justly entertained by the princesses and their adherents against Asuf-ad-Dowlah, probably lent some countenance to this untruth; and the commanding officer by whom the eunuchs were set at liberty, described, in glowing terms, the lively gratitude expressed by them towards their supposed liberator. "The enlargement of the prisoners, their quivering lips and tears of joy, formed," writes this officer, "a truly affecting scene." He adds a remark, which could scarcely fail to sting the pride, if not the conscience, of one so susceptible of censure in disguise—"If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will, at the last trump, be translated to the happiest regions in heaven."* In the benefits to be derived from the recent despoliation, Hastings hoped to share largely, for he expected that the E. I. Cy., in gratitude for an accession of £600,000 to their exhausted treasury, would cheerfully assent to his appropriation of the additional sum of £100,000, which he had actually obtained bonds for from Asuf-ad-Dowlah at Chunar. An extortion like this, committed at a time when the excessive poverty and heavy debts of the nabob-vizier, the clamours of his unpaid troops, and the sufferings of the mass of the people, were held forth in extenuation of the oppression of his mother and grandmother, together with other acts of tyrannous aggression, needs no comment. The directors positively refused to permit his detention of the money, and, moreover, commanded that a rigorous investigation should be instituted into the charges of disaffection brought against the begums; and that, in the event of their innocence being proved, restitution should be made. Hastings strongly deprecated this equitable measure. He urged that the evidence offered under such circumstances would be sure to be favourable to persons whose cause should be so manifestly upheld by the company; and supported his views on the subject by many characteristic arguments, such as its being unsuitable to the majesty of justice to challenge complaint. A compromise was effected; the nabob, at his own urgent desire, was permitted to restore the jaghires wrested from his relatives; while the ladies, on their part, thankful for even this scanty justice, "made a *voluntary* concession of a large portion of their respective shares" of the newly-restored rents.†

This transaction is the last of any importance in the administration of Warren Hastings.‡ Various causes appeared to have concurred to render him as anxious to resign as he had once been to retain his post. The absence of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, and his own failing health, had doubtless their share in rendering him weary of a task, the difficulties of which had been lately increased by a change in the council-board calculated to destroy the despotic power essential to the policy of a ruler, whose measures, however cleverly planned and boldly executed, were rarely of a character to bear impartial, much less hostile criticism. Beside these reasons, his opponents suggested that of recent private extortions from the nabob-vizier; and it cannot be forgotten, that although he pleaded urgent necessity as an inducement for the directors to suffer him to appropriate the bonds obtained at Chunar, yet, about three years later, he was enabled, notwithstanding his habitual extravagance, to bring home a fortune avowedly not far short of £100,000, apart from the costly jewels exhibited by Mrs. Hastings, and the well-furnished private purse which there are grounds for believing her to have possessed.

The prolonged administration of Hastings, his winning manner, and conversance with native languages, together with the imposing effect of the state by which he had, from motives of policy, thought fit to surround himself, made a deep impression on the minds of the Indian population. I have myself met with ballads, similar to those alluded to by Heber and Macaulay, which commemorate the swift steeds and richly caparisoned elephants of "Sahib Hushting; they likewise record his victory over Nuncomar who refused to do him homage.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 458.

† Letter of Hastings to council, 1784. They gave rich gifts to Mrs. Hastings, in the form of chairs and couches of exquisitely carved ivory, &c.

‡ Except a heavy exaction from Fyzoolla Khan.

The Indian version of the story makes, however, no mention of the accusation of forgery, but resembles rather the scripture story of Haman and Mordecai, with a different ending. The Bengalees possibly never understood the real and lasting injury done them by Hastings, in fastening round their necks the chains of monopoly, despite the opposition of his colleagues, and contrary to the orders of the company. Once fully in operation, the profits of exclusive trade in salt and opium* became so large, that its renunciation could spring only from philanthropy of the purest kind, or policy of the broadest and most liberal character. With his countrymen in India, Warren Hastings was in general popular. It had been his unceasing effort to purchase golden opinions; and one of the leading accusations brought against him by the directors, was the wilful increase of governmental expenses by the creation of supernumerary offices to provide for adherents, or to encourage those already in place by augmented salaries. His own admissions prove, that attachment to his person, and unquestioning obedience to his commands, were the first requisites for subordinates; and the quiet perseverance with which he watched his opportunity of rewarding a service, or revenging a "personal hurt," is not the least remarkable feature in his character.

He quitted India in February, 1785. Notwithstanding the unwarrantable measures adopted by him to raise the revenues and lessen the debts of the company, he failed to accomplish these objects, and, on the contrary, left them burdened with an additional debt of twelve-and-a-half million, and a revenue which (including the provision of an European investment) was not equal to the ordinary expenses of the combined settlements.† Doubtless, great allowance must be made for the heavy drain occasioned by the pressing wants of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, and decided commendation awarded for the energetic steps taken to avert the ruin in which the Mahratta war and the invasion of Hyder threatened to involve these possessions: but it is equally true, that the double-faced and grasping policy of the governor-general tended to neutralise the benefit of his courage and decision, and, as in the case of Lord Pigot, fomented, instead of allaying, the evils of dissension and venality, which were more destructive to the interests of the E. I. Cy. than any external opposition.

Had Hastings resolved to abide by the conviction which led him on one occasion to exclaim, that he "wished it might be made felony to break a treaty," the consequences would have been most beneficial both to India and to England, and would, at the same time, have saved him long years of humiliation and anxiety. He little thought that the Rohilla war, the sale of Allahabad and Oude, and the persecution of the begums, would rise in judgment against him on his return to his native land,—bar his path to titles and offices of state, and compel him to sit down in the comparatively humble position which had formed the object of his boyish ambition, as master of Daylesford, the ancient estate of his family.

But Francis, now a member of parliament, had not been idle in publishing the evil deeds which he had witnessed without power to prevent; and Burke, whose hatred of oppression equalled his sympathy for suffering, brought forward the impeachment as a question which every philanthropist, everyone interested in the honour of England or the welfare of India, was bound to treat as of vital importance. Political motives, of an exceptionable character, on the part of the ministers, favoured the promoters of the trial; and after many tedious preliminaries, Warren Hastings appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and knelt before the tribunal of his country, in presence of one of the most remarkable assemblages ever convened in the great hall of William Rufus. Of the brilliant aristocracies of rank, talent, wealth, and beauty, of which England then boasted, few members were absent. The queen and princesses had come to witness the impeachment of a subject known to

* The 12th article of impeachment against Hastings set forth, "that he granted to Stephen Sulivan, son of Lawrence Sulivan, chairman of the Court of Directors, a contract for four years for the provision of opium; that in order to pay for the opium so provided, he borrowed large sums at an interest of eight per cent., at a time when he declared the drug could not be exported with profit; and yet he sent it to China, which was an act of additional criminality, *as he knew that the importation of opium was prohibited by the Chinese.*" Sulivan sold the contract to a Mr. Benn for £40,000; Benn to a Mr. Young for £60,000; and the latter reaped a large profit.—(Mill.)

† A comparison of the receipts and disbursements of the year ending April, 1786, exhibited a deficit of about £1,300,000. The arrears of the army amounted to two million; and "the troops at Madras and Bombay were in a state of utter destitution, and some of them in open mutiny." The ascertained Bengal debt alone was about four million sterling.

have enjoyed no ordinary share of royal favour, and to listen to the charges urged against him by the thrilling eloquence of Burke, the solid reasoning of Fox, and the exciting declamation of Sheridan. The trial commenced with a strong feeling on the part of the public against the accused; but it dragged on, like most state proceedings, until people ceased to care how it ended. At length, after seven years spent in law proceedings of a most tedious character, the wrongs inflicted in a distant clime, and at a distant period, became almost a matter of indifference: a sort of sympathy, such as is often felt for acknowledged criminals, took the place of lively indignation; and when the inquiry ended in the acquittal of Hastings, he was generally believed to have been sufficiently punished by the insuperable obstacles which his peculiar position had imposed to prevent his selection for any public office, and by the ruinous condition to which his finances had been reduced by the costly expenses, legitimate and illegitimate, of the painful ordeal through which he had passed. The law charges alone exceeded £76,000. Probably still larger sums were expended in various kinds of secret service—"in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts;"* beside £12,000 spent in purchasing, and £48,000 in adorning, Daylesford: so that Hastings, when finally dismissed, turned from the bar of the House of Lords an absolute pauper—worse than that—an insolvent debtor. The company came to his relief with an annuity of £4,000 a-year, and a loan of £50,000, nearly half of which was converted into a gift; and they continued to aid him at intervals, in his ever-recurring difficulties, up to the period of his death, in 1818, aged eighty-six.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—The government of Lord Macartney terminated in Madras about the same time as that of Mr. Hastings in Bengal; and a high testimony to the ability and unsullied integrity† of the former gentleman, was afforded by the offer of the position of governor-general, which he declined accepting, unless accompanied by a British peerage. This concession was refused, on the ground that, if granted, it would convey to the public an impression that a premium was necessary to induce persons of consideration in England to fill the highest office in India, and the appointment was consequently conferred on Lord Cornwallis. To him was entrusted the charge of carrying into execution some important alterations contemplated by the act of parliament passed in 1784; and by means of an express provision in the act of 1786, the powers of commander-in-chief were united in his person with that of the greatly enlarged authority of governor-general.‡ He arrived in Calcutta in the autumn of 1786, and immediately commenced a series of salutary and much-needed reforms, both as regarded the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of council,§ who had temporarily presided over the affairs of government, had successfully exerted himself to diminish the waste of the public finances connived at by his predecessor; and Lord Cornwallis set about the same task with a steadiness of principle and singleness of motive to which both English officials and Indian subjects had been long unaccustomed. The two great measures which distinguish his internal policy, are the establishment of a fixed land-rent throughout Bengal, in exact accordance with the opinions of Francis; and the formation of a

* Macaulay's *Essay on Hastings*, p. 100.

† Lord Macartney, on taking possession of the office of president of Madras, made a formal statement of his property, and on quitting office presented to the company a precise account of the increase effected during the interval. The E. I. Cy. met him in the same frank and generous spirit by the gift of an annuity of £1,500. It is to be regretted that he lent the sanction of example to the vice of duelling, then frightfully prevalent, by a meeting with a member of council (Mr. Sadleir) with whom a misunderstanding had arisen in the course of official duty. On his return to England he was challenged by General Stuart, and slightly wounded. The seconds interfered, and the contest terminated, though Stuart declared himself unsatisfied.

‡ The establishment of a Board of Control, with other important measures, respectively advocated by Fox or Pitt, will be noticed in a subsequent section.

§ Mr. Wheler was dead. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson went to India, in 1766, as purser in a vessel commanded by his uncle, contrived to ingratiate himself with the nabob of Arcot, and returned to England as his agent. After a strange series of adventures, which it is not necessary to follow in detail, he rose to the position of acting governor-general, in which capacity he obtained for the company the valuable settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, by an arrangement with the King of Queda. His brief administration was likewise marked by a duel with Major Brown (on the Bengal establishment.) The Court of Directors, tired of witnessing the peace of their territories endangered by such proceedings, unanimously affixed the penalty of dismissal from the company's service to any person who should send a challenge on account of matters arising out of the discharge of their official duties.—(Auber's *British India*, ii., 39.)

judicial system to protect property. The necessity of coming to some speedy settlement regarding the collection of territorial revenue, whether under the denomination of a rent or a tax, is the best apology for the necessarily imperfect character of the system framed at this period on the sound principle of giving a proprietary right in the soil; but even a brief statement of the different views taken by the advocates of the zemindarree settlement, and of the opposite arguments of those who consider the right in the soil vested in the ryots or cultivators, would mar the continuity of the narrative.

The foreign policy of the governor-general was characterised by the novel feature of the reduction of the rate of tribute demanded from a dependent prince. Asuf-ad-Dowlah pleaded, that in violation of repeated treaties, a sum averaging eighty-four lacs per annum had been exacted for the company during the nine preceding years; and his arguments appeared so forcible, that Lord Cornwallis consented to reduce this sum to fifty lacs per annum, which he declared sufficient to cover the "real expenses" involved in the defence of Oude. Negligent, profuse, and voluptuous in the extreme, the nabob-vizier was wholly dependent on foreign aid to secure the services of his own troops or the submission of his own subjects; he had therefore no alternative but to make the best terms possible with the English, and might well deem himself fortunate in finding the chief authority vested in a ruler whose actions were dictated by loftier motives than temporary expediency; and influenced by more worthy considerations than the strength or weakness of those with whom he had to deal. The extreme dissatisfaction openly expressed by Englishmen in India, regarding the peace of 1784, and the insulting conduct of Tippoo, led the Mahrattas and the Nizam to believe that the E. I. Cy would gladly take part with them in a struggle against one whose power and arrogance were alarmingly on the increase; but their overtures were met by an explicit declaration, that the supreme government (in accordance with the recent commands of the British parliament) had resolved on taking no part in any confederacy framed for purposes of aggression. Tippoo and the Mahrattas therefore went to war on their own resources, and continued hostile operations for about a year, until the former was glad to make peace, on not very favourable terms, in order to turn his undivided attention to a portion of the territories usurped by his father, and enact a new series of barbarities on the miserable inhabitants of the coast of Malabar. The first measure by which this barbarian signalised his accession to despotic sway, was the deportation of upwards of 30,000 native Christians from Canara. The memory of the deeds of Cardinal Menezes, and other stanch supporters of the "Holy Inquisition," had not passed away; and Tippoo affirmed, that it was the narrative of the intolerance exercised by the "Portuguese Nazarenes" which caused "the rage of Islam to boil in his breast,"* and induced him to vent his wrath upon the present innocent generation, by sweeping off the whole of both sexes and every age into slavery, and compelling them to observe and receive the external rites of the Moslem creed. Of these unfortunates, not one-third are believed to have survived the first year of exile and degradation. The brave mountaineers of Coorg drew upon themselves the same fate by the constant struggles for liberty, to which they were incited by the odious tyranny of the usurper. Tippoo at length dealt with them in the manner in which a ferocious and half-crazed despot of early times did with another section of the Indian population.† The dominant class in Coorg had assembled together on a hilly, wooded tract, apart from the lower order of the peasantry (a distinct and apparently aboriginal race.) Tippoo surrounded the main body, as if enclosing game for a grand circular hunt; beat up the woods as if dislodging wild beasts; and finally closed in upon about 70,000 persons, who were driven off, like a herd of cattle, to Seringapatam, and "honoured with the distinction of Islam,"‡ on the very day selected by their persecutor to assume sovereign, or rather imperial sway, by taking the proud title of Padsha, and causing his own name to be prayed for in public in place of that of the Mogul Shah Alum, as was still customary in the mosques all over India.

The Guntoor Circar, to which the English had become entitled upon the death of Bassalut Jung, in 1782, by virtue of the

* Wilks' *History of Mysore*, ii., 530.

† Mohammed Toghlak. *See* page 75.

‡ Tippoo, in his celebrated production, the *Sultaun-u-Towareekh*, or King of Histories, expresses great detestation for the immorality of the Coorgs, who, he truly affirmed, systematically pursued a most extraordinary system of polygandria, by giving to several brothers one and the same woman to wife.

treaty of 1768, was obtained from Nizam Ali in 1788. The cession was expedited by a recent quarrel between him and Tippoo Sultan, which rendered the renewal of the treaty of 1768 peculiarly desirable to the former, inasmuch as it contained a proviso that, in the event of his requiring assistance, a British contingent of infantry and artillery should march to support him against any power not in alliance with the E. I. Cy.; the exceptions being the Mahrattas, the nabobs of Arcot and Oude, and the rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore. The Nizam would fain have interpreted the revived agreement as warranting a united attack on Mysore; but his schemes were positively rejected by Lord Cornwallis, on account of the recent engagement entered into with that state, which was still professedly at peace with the English. Yet it was evident to every power in India, that the sultan only waited a favourable opportunity to renew hostilities. The insulting caricatures of many of the company's servants, held up to mockery and coarse jesting on the walls of the houses of Seringapatam, might have been an idle effusion of popular feeling; but the wretched captives still pining in loathsome dungeons, in violation of the promised general release of prisoners, and the enrolment of a number of English children as domestic slaves to the faithless tyrant, afforded, in conjunction with various rancorous expressions, unmistakeable indications of his deadly hatred towards the whole nation.* The inroad of the Mysoreans on the territory of the rajah of Travancore, brought matters to an issue. The rajah, when menaced by invasion from his formidable neighbour, appealed to the E. I. Cy. for their promised protection, and an express communication was made to Tippoo, that an attack on the lines of defence formed on the Travancore frontier, would be regarded as a declaration of war with the English. The lines referred to, constructed in 1775, consisted of a broad and deep ditch, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and a good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking one another. They extended a distance of thirty miles (from the island of Vaipeen to the Anamalaiah range), but were more imposing than effectual, as it was hardly possible to defend so great an extent. Tippoo approached this barrier in December, 1789, and proceeded to erect batteries. An unsuspected passage round the right flank of the lines, enabled him to introduce a body of troops within the wall, and he led them onward, hoping to force open the nearest gate, and admit the rest of the army. The attempt proved, not merely unsuccessful, but fatal to the majority of the assailants. They were compelled to retreat in confusion, and, in the general scramble across the ditch, Tippoo himself was so severely bruised, as to limp occasionally during the remainder of his life. His palanquin fell into the hands of the enemy, the bearers having been trodden to death by their comrades; and his seals, rings, and personal ornaments remained to attest his presence, and contradict his reiterated denial of having borne any part in a humiliating catastrophe, which had materially deranged his plans. More than this, alarm at the probable consequence of a repulse, induced Tippoo to write, in terms of fulsome flattery, to the English authorities, assuring them that the late aggression was the unauthorised act of his troops. Lord Cornwallis treated these assertions with merited contempt, and hastened to secure the co-operation of the Nizam and the Mahratta ministers of Poona, to which he would gladly have added that of Sindia, had not the price demanded been the aid of British troops for aggressive warfare in Rajpootana, which was unhesitatingly refused. He proceeded to make vigorous preparations for a campaign, by assembling troops, collecting supplies, and meeting financial difficulties in an open and manly spirit. Further outlay for a European investment he completely stopped, as a ruinous drain on resources already insufficient to meet the heavy expenditure which must inevitably be incurred in the ensuing contest, the avowed object of which was to diminish materially the power of the sultan; for, as Lord Cornwallis truly declared, in a despatch to General Medows, if this despot were "suffered to retain his present importance, and to insult and bully all his neighbours, until the French should again be in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war." Meanwhile, Tippoo confirmed these convictions, and justified the intended procedure by a renewed attempt upon Travancore, and succeeded in razing the defences and spreading desolation over the country. The invasion of Mysore compelled him to return for its

* Col. Fullarton, writing in 1784, accuses Tippoo of having caused 200 English to be forcibly circumcised and enrolled in his service.—(*View*, 207.)

defence; and the system of intelligence established by his father, together with his own activity, enabled him to take advantage of the separation of the English army into three divisions, to attack them in detail, break through their chain of communication, and transfer hostilities to the Carnatic. These reverses were partially compensated by the success of a fourth detachment from Bombay in obtaining possession of the whole of Malabar. The second campaign was opened in February, 1791, by Cornwallis in person. Placing himself at the head of the army, he entered Mysore by the pass of Mooglee, and in the commencement of March, laid siege to the fortress of Bangalore. Though the troops had been little harassed by hostile operations, they were much enfeebled by the fatigues and privations of a tedious march; the cattle were worn to skeletons, and their supplies, both of food and ammunition, nearly exhausted. The arrival of a Mahratta reinforcement had been long and vainly expected; and affairs were in a most critical state, when the successful assault, first of the town, and subsequently of the citadel of Bangalore (carried by a bayonet charge), relieved the mind of the commander-in-chief from the gloomy prospect involved in the too probable event of defeat. Nevertheless, difficulties and dangers of no ordinary character remained to be combated. At the close of March the army moved from Bangalore northward, for the purpose of forming a junction with the auxiliary corps of cavalry expected from the Nizam. When, after being repeatedly misled by false information regarding the vicinity of the Hyderabad troops, the desired union was at length successfully effected, it proved a fresh source of trouble and disappointment; for the 10,000 light troops so anxiously awaited, instead of rendering good service in the field, were so ill-disciplined and untrustworthy, as to be incapable of conducting even a foraging expedition, and therefore did but augment the distress and anxiety they were sent to lessen.*

Though surrounded on every side by circumstances of the most depressing character, Cornwallis, with undaunted courage, made such preparations as the possession of Bangalore placed in his power for the siege of Seringapatam. An earnest desire to bring to a speedy close hostilities, the prolongation of which involved a grievous sacrifice of life and treasure, added to the alarming information constantly arriving in India regarding the progress of the French revolution, induced him to advance at once upon the capital of Mysore, despite the defective character of his resources. The troops marched, in May, to Arikera, about nine miles distant from Seringapatam, through a country which, in anticipation of their approach, had been reduced to the condition of a desert. Tippoo Sultan took up a strong position in their front, from whence he was driven by Lord Cornwallis—forced to action, defeated, and compelled to retreat and take refuge under the works of his capital, for the safety of which he now became seriously alarmed. Recognising too late the folly of wantonly provoking the vengeance of a powerful foe, he gave orders that the caricatures of the English should be carefully obliterated from all public places; at the same time taking the savage precaution of slaughtering, without distinction, such prisoners as he had privately detained, lest they should live to afford incontrovertible evidence of his breach of faith and diabolical cruelty.†

Lord Cornwallis was, however, quite unable to pursue his recent success. The deplorable condition of the army, in which smallpox was now raging, with diseases immediately resulting from insufficient food and excessive fatigue under incessant rains, compelled him to issue a reluctant order for retreat. It seemed madness to remain under such circumstances in such a position, still more to hazard further advance, on the chance of the long-delayed succour expected from the Mahrattas; and after destroying the battering train and other heavy equipments, which the loss of cattle‡ prevented them from carrying away, the English, in deep disappointment and depression, com-

* Their commander is said to have been influenced by intrigues carried on between the mother of Tippoo and the favourite wife of the Nizam. The former lady successfully deprecated the wrath excited by the gross insults lately offered by her son, in return to solicitations addressed by some female members of the family of Nizam Ali when in peril at Adoni.

† Twenty English youths, the survivors of the unhappy band whom Tippoo, with malicious wantonness, had caused to be trained and dressed like a troop of Hindoostanee dancing-girls, were first sacrificed to his awakened fears; but there were many other victims, including native state prisoners. A few Englishmen contrived to effect their escape, and one of them wrote an account of the treatment received.—(See *Captivity of James Scurry*; London, 1824.)

‡ Nearly 40,000 bullocks perished in this disastrous campaign.—(Mill's *India*, v., 396.)

menced their homeward march. Orders were dispatched to General Abercromby (governor of Bombay), who was advancing from the westward, to return to Malabar; and Lord Cornwallis, having completed these mortifying arrangements, was about six miles *en route* to Bangalore, when a party of horse unexpectedly rode in upon the baggage flank. They were taken for enemies, but proved to be forerunners of the despaired-of Mahratta force, under Hurri Punt and Purseram Bhow. In answer to the eager interrogatories poured in upon them on all sides, they replied that numerous messengers had been regularly sent, at different times, with accounts of their approach; every one of whom had been cut off by the unsleeping vigilance of the light troops of the enemy. Their tardy arrival was in some measure accounted for by the time spent by them in co-operation with a detachment from Bombay under Captain Little, in the siege of Darwar, one of the great barriers of Tippoo's northern frontier. The place held out against the unskilful and dilatory operations of the assailants for twenty-nine weeks, when the arrival of news of the capture of Bangalore induced its surrender, which was followed by the easy conquest of all the possessions of the sultan north of the Toombuddra.

The Mahrattas now declared themselves unable to keep the field, unless the English could give them pecuniary support; and Lord Cornwallis, unable to dispense with their aid, was compelled to advance them a loan of twelve lacs of rupees, to obtain which he took the bold measure of ordering the Madras authorities to coin the bullion sent out for the China trade into rupees, and forward it without delay. The ample supplies of draught cattle and provisions, together with the innumerable miscellaneous contents of the bazaar of a Mahratta army,* afforded a most welcome relief to men half-famished and wretchedly equipped. Still the advanced season, and the return of General Abercromby, compelled the continuance of the retreat to Bangalore; which was followed up by the occupation of Oossoor, Rayacottah, and other forts, whereby communication between the presidency and the Carnatic, through the Policade Pass, was laid open. By this route a convoy reached the camp from Madras, comprising 100 elephants laden with treasure, marching two abreast; 6,000 bullocks with rice; 100 carts with arrack; and several hundred coolies with other supplies.

The war was viewed by the British parliament as the inevitable consequence of the cruelty and aggression of Tippoo. The energetic measures of Lord Cornwallis were warmly applauded, and reinforcements of troops, with specie to the amount of £500,000, sent to assist his operations. Comprehensive arrangements were made for provisioning the troops, by taking advantage of the extensive resources and experience of the *Brinjarries*,† or travelling corn-merchants, who form a distinct caste, and enjoy, even among the least civilised native states, an immunity for life and property, based on the great services rendered by these neutral traders to all parties indiscriminately, from a very remote period. Measures were likewise adopted for the introduction of a more efficient system of intelligence. The general campaign which opened under these auspicious circumstances, was attended with complete success. The intermediate operations were marked by the capture of the hill-forts of Nundydroog, Savendroog, and Ootradroog. All three were situated on lofty granite rocks, and deemed well-nigh inaccessible—especially Savendroog (*the rock of death*); and so implicit was the confidence placed by Tippoo in the strength of its natural and artificial defences, that he received with joy the tidings of the assault, making sure that the malaria for which the neighbouring jungle had acquired a fearful celebrity, would fight against the English, and slay one-half, leaving the other to fall by the sword. But the very character of the place diminished the watchfulness of its garrison, and tempted them to witness with

* The Mahrattas commenced by asking exorbitant prices for their goods; but when compelled by the diminished purses of the purchasers to reduce their demands or stop the sale, they took the former alternative; but still continued to realise immense profits, since their whole stock-in-trade had been accumulated by plunder. Their bazaar is described by Col. Wilks as comprising every imaginable article, from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the secondhand garment of a Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver earring of a poor plundered village maiden; from oxen, sheep, and poultry, to the dried salt-fish of the Concan. The tables of the moneychangers, overspread with the coins of every country of the east, were not wanting in this motley assemblage; and among the various trades carried on with remarkable activity, was that of a tanner, so that the English officers were enabled to obtain, by means of ambulatory tan-pits, what their own Indian capitals could not then produce, except as European imports—excellent sword-belts.—(*Mysore*, iii., 158-'9.)

† A Persian compound, designating their office.

contemptuous indifference the early approaches of the besiegers, who, after a series of Herculean labours (in which the utmost exertions of human strength and skill, were aided in an extraordinary manner by the force and sagacity of some admirably-trained elephants), at length succeeded in effecting a practicable breach in what formed the lower wall of the rock, although it rose 1,500 feet from a base of above eight miles in circumference. Lord Cornwallis and General Medows stood watching with intense anxiety the progress of the assault, which commenced an hour before noon on the 21st December, 1791. The band of the 52nd regiment played "Britons, strike home;" and the troops mounted with a steady gallantry which completely unnerved the native forces assembled to defend the breach. A hand-to-hand encounter with men who had already overcome such tremendous obstacles, was sufficient to alarm the servants of a more popular master than Tippoo, and they fled in disorder, tumbling over one another in their eager ascent of the steep and narrow path which led to the citadel. The pursuers followed with all speed; but the majority of the fugitives had effected their entrance, when a sergeant of the 71st regiment shot, at a distance, the soldier who was closing the first gate. All the other barriers the English passed together with the enemy, of whom about 100 were slain, while many others perished among the precipitous rocks, in endeavouring to escape. This important enterprise, which the commander-in-chief had contemplated as the most doubtful operation of the war, was effected in twelve days from the first arrival of the troops. The casualties were not numerous, and the actual assault only lasted an hour, and involved the loss of no single life on the side of the besiegers. It was well-timed; for even so much as half-an-hour's delay would have sufficed to bring to the scene of action the Mysorean detachment, then fast approaching to aid their comrades.

The counter-hostilities of Tippoo were feebly conducted; but the irrepressible tendency of the Mahrattas for freebooting on their own account, led them again to derange the plans of Lord Cornwallis, by neglecting to support General Abercromby, and their misconduct facilitated the conquest of the fort of Coimbatore by the Mysoreans. The flagrant violation of the terms of surrender* (a besetting sin on the part of Tippoo), afforded a reason for rejecting his overtures for peace; and on the 1st of February, 1792, Lord Cornwallis, in conjunction with the Hyderabad and Poona armies, advanced to the attack of Seringapatam, under the walls of which the sultan, with his whole force, lay encamped. Aware of his inability to compete in the field with the formidable confederacy by which he was opposed, Tippoo hoped to be able to hold out against their combined efforts in his island-capital,† by keeping them at bay until the want of supplies, in an already exhausted country—or, in any case, the recurrence of the monsoon—should compel their retreat. The dilatory and unskilful tactics of the native troops would probably have contributed to realise these anticipations; but the English commander-in-chief correctly appreciated the danger of delay, and chose to incur the charge of rashness by attempting to surprise the tiger in his den, rather than waste strength and resources in the dispiriting operations of a tedious and precarious blockade. It was deemed inadvisable to await the arrival of expected reinforcements from Bombay, or even to divulge the plan of attack to the allies, who, on the night of the 6th, were astounded by the news that a handful of infantry, unsupported by cannon or cavalry, were on the march to attack the dense host of Tippoo, in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital; and that Lord Cornwallis, in person, commanded the division destined to penetrate the centre of the hostile force; having gone to fight, as they expressed it,‡ like a private soldier. The sultan had just finished his evening's repast when the alarm was given.§ He mounted, and beheld

* In detaining the garrison close prisoners, notwithstanding a proviso for their liberation. Bad faith was the notorious characteristic of Tippoo, who, says Col. Wilks, could not be made to appreciate the value of truth even as a convenience. Among his letters, translated by Col. Kirkpatrick, is one in which he desires the commander of an attack on a Mahratta fortress to promise anything until he got possession, and then to put every living thing—man, woman, child, dog, and cat—to the sword, except the chief, who was to be reserved for torture.

† Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Cauvery, which after separating to a distance of a mile and a-half, again unites about five miles below the point of division. A "bound hedge" of bamboo and other strong shrubs surrounded the capital, and Tippoo's encampment occupied an enclosure between this hedge and the river.

‡ There were two other columns, commanded by General Medows and Colonel Maxwell.

§ The Indians usually attack at midnight or daybreak.

by the light of the moon an extended column passing rapidly through his camp, driving before them a cloud of fugitives, and making directly for the main ford of the stream which lay between them and the capital. This movement threatened to cut off the retreat of Tippoo, who perceiving his danger, hastened across the ford in time to elude the grasp of his pursuers and take up a position on a commanding summit of the fort, from whence he continued to issue orders till the morning. His troops had already deserted by thousands. One band, 10,000 strong (the *Ahmedy Chelahs*, composed of the wretched Coorgs), wholly disappeared and escaped to their native woods, accompanied by their wives and children; and many of the *Assud Oollahees* (a similar description of corps) followed their example. A number of Europeans, forcibly detained in the service of Tippoo Sultan, likewise fled to the protection of the English, including an old Frenchman, named Blévette, who had chiefly constructed the six redoubts which offered the most formidable obstacles to the assailants. Two of these were captured and retained by English detachments, at the cost of much hard fighting. The night of the 7th afforded an interval of rest to both parties, and time to ascertain the extent of their respective losses. That of the British was stated at 535 men, including killed, wounded, and missing; that of the enemy at 23,000, of whom 4,000 had fallen in the actual contest. On the following morning operations were commenced against the strong triangular-shaped, water-washed fort, in which the sultan had taken refuge. His gorgeously furnished garden-palace was turned into an hospital for the wounded English, and the magnificent cypress groves, and other valuable trees, cut down to afford materials for the siege. General Abercromby arrived in safety with the Bombay army, having perfected a line of communication with the Malabar coast; the Brinjarries maintained such abundance in the camp of Cornwallis as had not been known since the commencement of the war; and the soldiers, stimulated by the hope of speedily liberating, with their own hands, the survivors of their murdered countrymen, worked with unflagging energy at the breaching batteries. Tippoo, seriously alarmed, made overtures for peace, and after much delay, occasioned by his treacherous and unstable policy, and his unceasing efforts to gain time, was at length compelled to sign a preliminary treaty, the terms of which involved the cession of half his territories to the allies, and the payment of about three million and a-half sterling. Two of his sons, boys of eight and ten years of age, were delivered up to Lord Cornwallis, as hostages for the confirmation and fulfilment of the agreement; but despite this guarantee, Tippoo showed evident signs of an inclination to renew hostilities, on finding that the English insisted on his relinquishment of Coorg, the rajah of which principality he had hoped to seize and exhibit as a terrible instance of vengeance. Lord Cornwallis, who appears to have acted throughout the war with equal energy and moderation, endeavoured to conciliate him by the surrender of Bangalore—a fortress and district which, in a military point of view, far surpassed Coorg in value; but on the latter point he took decided ground, justly deeming it a clear duty to reward the good service rendered by the rajah, by preserving him from the clutches of his relentless foe. Preparations for a renewed siege at length brought matters to an issue. The previous arrangements were formally confirmed by Tippoo on the 19th of March, and the treaty delivered to Lord Cornwallis and the allies by the royal hostages.

The total territorial revenue of the sultan, according to the admitted schedule, averaged from about two-and-a-half to three million sterling, one-half of which was now made over to the allies, to be divided by them in equal portions, according to the original terms of the confederation. By the addition now made to their possessions, the boundary of the Mahrattas was again extended to the river Toombuddra. The allotment of the Nizam reached from the Kistna beyond the Pennar, and included the forts of Gunjecotah and Cuddapah, and the province of Kurpa. The British obtained Malabar and Coorg, the province of Dindegul (a valuable accession to their southern territory), together with Baramahl and the Lower Ghauts, which formed an iron boundary for Coromandel. The Anglo-Indian army were ill-pleased with this termination of the war. They had set their hearts on nothing less than the storming of Seringapatam; and when, in consequence of Tippoo's overtures for peace, orders were given to desist from further operations, they became, says an officer who was present, "dejected to a degree not to be described, and could with difficulty be restrained from

continuing their work." Their dissatisfaction was increased by the miserable artifice of Tippoo, who, desirous of assuming before his own troops a defiant attitude, although really a suitor for peace, gave secret orders to fire on the English soldiery, both with cannon and musketry. Under such circumstances, it needed all the weight of the public and private character of Lord Cornwallis, to enforce the admirable precept with which the general orders to the victorious troops concluded,—"that moderation in success is no less expected from brave men than gallantry in action." In acknowledgment of their excellent conduct, a donation, equal to twelve months' batta, was awarded them, out of the money exacted from the sultan. The disinterestedness of the commander-in-chief and of General Medows was displayed in their refusal to accept any portion of this sum, or of the prize-money. Their cordial co-operation and perfect confidence in each other's zeal and integrity, had been conspicuous throughout the war, forming a pleasing contrast to the divided counsels and personal quarrels which had, of late years, diminished the efficiency of the military and civil services of the officers of the company. This unanimity enabled Lord Cornwallis to take full advantage of the influence he possessed over the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Their mutual distrust, combined with the respect inspired by the English commander-in-chief, led them to entrust to him the sole control of the late operations. These were no sooner terminated by the treaty of Seringapatam, than occasions of quarrel reappeared among the allies. The Nizam, by far the weakest of the three powers, petitioned to be allowed to retain the services of a British detachment. His request was granted, greatly to the annoyance of the Mahrattas, whose discontent at finding him thus favoured, was aggravated by the refusal of Lord Cornwallis to suffer a similar stipendiary force to be permanently annexed to the army of the peishwa, or rather of his ambitious guardian, Nana Furnavees. In this case the concession must have provoked immediate hostilities with Mahadajee Sindia, since it was to oppose his large and formidable corps of regular artillery (under De Boigne* and other European officers), that the services of an English detachment were especially desired. Such a procedure would have been inconsistent with the pacific policy by which it was both the duty and inclination of Lord Cornwallis to abide; and Sindia was therefore suffered to retain, without interference on the part of the only enemy he feared, the dominant position which the time-serving policy of Hastings had first helped him to assume, as vicegerent of the Mogul empire. His power, before reaching its present height, had received a severe check, from the efforts of other ambitious chiefs to obtain possession of the person, and wield authority in the name, of the hapless Shah Alum,† who, from the time of the death of his brave general, Nujeef Khan, in 1782, had been tossed about, like a child's toy, from one usurper to another—a tool during their prosperity, a scape-goat in adversity. Sindia became paramount in 1785; but having engaged in war with Pertab Sing of Jeypoor, advantage was taken of his absence by Gholam Kadir Khan, the son of Zabita Khan, the Rohilla, to gain possession of Delhi in 1788. This he accomplished through the treachery of the *nazir* or chief eunuch, to whom the management of the imperial establishment was entrusted. The inmates of the palace were treated by the usurper with a degree of malicious barbarity which it is hardly possible to conceive any human being evincing towards his unoffending fellow-creatures, unless actually possessed by an evil spirit. After cruelties of all descriptions had been practised to extort from the members and retainers of the imperial family every article of value which still remained in their possession, Gholam Kadir continued to withhold from them even the necessaries of life, so that several ladies perished of hunger; and others, maddened by suffering, committed suicide. The royal children‡ were compelled to

* De Boigne was a Savoyard by birth, and had been an ensign in the service of the E. I. Cy.

† Among the few who faithfully adhered to the cause of Shah Alum, was the widow of the notorious Sumroo, who had entered the imperial service, or rather that of Nujeef Khan, after quitting Oude, and married the daughter of an impoverished Mogul noble. The "Begum Sumroo" received Christian baptism, at the request of her husband. After his death, in 1778, she was suffered to retain the jaghire granted to him for the support of five battalions of disciplined sepoys and about 200 Europeans, chiefly artillerymen, whose movements she directed from her palanquin, even on the actual field of battle. An imprudent marriage with a German, named Vaissaux, for a time endangered her influence; but after his seizure by the mutinous troops, and death by his own hand, she regained her authority.

‡ The Shahzada, Prince Jewan Bukht, had taken refuge at Benares. Lord Cornwallis granted him a

perform the most humiliating offices; and when Shah Alum indignantly remonstrated against the atrocities he was compelled to witness, the Rohilla sprang upon him with the fury of a wild beast, flung the venerable monarch to the ground, knelt on his breast, and, with his dagger, pierced his eye-balls through and through. The return of Sindia terminated these horrible scenes. Gholam Kadir took to flight, but was captured by the Mahratta chief, who cut off his nose, ears, hands, and feet, and sent him in an iron cage to Shah Alum—a fearful example of retributive barbarity. He perished on the road, and his accomplice, the treacherous nazir, was trodden to death by an elephant. The condition of the imperial family, though ameliorated, remained barely tolerable during the supremacy of Sindia; for the stated allowance for the support of the emperor and his thirty children, though liberal in its nominal amount, was so irregularly paid, that the royal household often wanted the necessaries of life.

The arrogance of Mahadajee increased with his power;* and not only the Nizam and the Poona ministry headed by Nana Furnavees, but even the English, began to contemplate an approaching struggle as inevitable; when their apprehensions were unexpectedly removed by his death, of fever, in February, 1794, aged sixty-seven. He left no male issue, but bequeathed his extensive territorial possessions to his great-nephew and adopted son, Dowlut Rao, then a youth of fifteen.

The administration of Lord Cornwallis ended in the preceding year; its concluding feature being the capture, once again, of Pondicherry and all the French settlements in India, in consequence of the national declaration of war. The charter of the E. I. Cy. was at the same time (1793) renewed for a term of twenty years.† Arrangements were made for the relief of the financial difficulties of Mohammed Ali. The management of the revenues of the Carnatic, which had been temporarily assumed by Lord Cornwallis during the war, was partially restored to the nabob at its conclusion, and the payments to his creditors reduced from the twelve lacs of pagodas (conceded to them most improperly by the Board of Control in 1785), to somewhat more than six lacs. Attempts were likewise made, but with little success, to induce the profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah to adopt reformatory measures, to stay the ruin which seemed about to overwhelm the fair province, or rather kingdom, of Oude.

Administration of Sir John Shore.—This gentleman (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) had been many years in the service of the company, and was selected for the high post of governor-general,‡ expressly on account of the ability and perseverance which he had brought to bear on the intricate and little understood question of Indian revenue. His pacific disposition was likewise viewed as affording a guarantee for the fulfilment of the strict injunctions of the British parliament—to shun every description of aggressive warfare on behalf of the company, whether in the character of a principal or an ally. Upon the death of Mahadajee Sindia, preparations for hostilities against the Nizam were carried on by his young successor, Dowlut Rao Sindia, with the co-operation of the Poona authorities and all the leading Mahratta chieftains.§ The attempts of Sir John Shore at friendly mediation were treated with insulting indifference by the Mahrattas, so soon as they

yearly stipend of four lacs (promised, but not paid, by the vizier of Oude), which, after the death of the prince, was continued to his family by the E. I. Cy.

* What a blow would have been inflicted on the pride and bigotry of Aurungzebe, could it have been foretold that one of his dynasty would be compelled, by a Mahratta, to sign a decree forbidding the slaughter of kine throughout the Mogul dominions. Yet this was enforced by Sindia on Shah Alum.

† In the year ending April, 1793, the receipts of the company in India amounted to £8,225,628; the total expenses to £7,007 050: leaving a surplus of £1,218,578 clear gain. In the outgoings, were included the interest of Indian debts (the principal of which amounted to £7,971,665), and money supplied to Bencoolen and other distant settlements; making a drawback of £702,443. The debts in England, exclusive of the capital stock, were £10,983,518. The capital stock had been increased in 1789, from four to five million, on which sum a dividend of ten-and-a-half per cent. was now paid.

‡ General Medows had been offered the position on the expected resignation of Lord Cornwallis; but he declined it, declaring his intention of staying in India just long enough "to lead the storming party at Seringapatam, or until the war is over;" and no longer. He adds, that he had saved £40,000 out of the liberal appointments of the company, and should feel amply compensated if they pronounced "the labourer worthy of his hire."—(Auber's *India*, ii., 121.)

§ Tookajee Holcar and the rajah of Berar, with the representative of the Puar and other influential families, took the field; while the Guicowars from Guzerat, and others, sent detachments to join the general assembly of Mahrattas, gathered together for the last time under the nominal authority of the peishwa, Madhoo Rao II., who was himself completely controlled by Nana Furnavees.—(Duff, iii., 111.)

perceived his determination of preserving a strict neutrality. The Nizam advanced to Beder, where the enemy hastened to give him battle. After an indecisive action, he retreated by night to Kurdla, a small fort surrounded by hills. He was besieged, closely blockaded, and compelled to purchase peace by the most ignominious concessions, which, if carried out, would have completely crippled his resources, and left him at the mercy of his old foe, Nana Furnavees. But at this crisis the "Mahratta Machiavelli" overreached himself. The severity and excess of his precautionary measures wrought upon the high spirit of the young peishwa (then one-and-twenty years of age) with unexpected violence, and, in a moment of deep depression, caused by the indignity to which he was subjected, he flung himself from a terrace of the palace, and expired in the course of two days, after expressing a strong desire that his cousin, Bajee Rao, should succeed to the authority of which he had been defrauded.* This arrangement would have been generally popular; for Bajee Rao, then about twenty years of age, bore a high character for skill in manly and military exercises, and was besides deeply read in ancient Brahminical lore, and a studious follower of the intricate observances of caste. Beneath this fair surface lay, as Nana Furnavees truly declared, the weakness of his father Ragoba, and the wickedness of his mother Anundee Bye, as yet undeveloped.

The talents of Bajee Rao, even had they been likely to be used for good instead of for evil, would probably have been equally opposed to the views of the minister, who wanted a mere puppet to occupy the musnud on public occasions, and then return to his gilded prison. With this intent he caused the widow of the late Madhoo Rao II. (herself a mere child) to adopt an infant, whom he proclaimed peishwa. Sindia espoused the cause of Bajee Rao, and the dissensions which followed enabled Nizam Ali to procure a release from three-fourths of the cessions and payments stipulated for by the treaty of Kurdla.

The remaining events during the administration of Sir John Shore may be briefly noted. Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla ruler of Rampore and its dependent districts, died in 1794.† His eldest son, Mohammed Ali, succeeded to the government, but was seized and murdered by his younger brother, Gholam Mohammed Khan, who was in turn deposed by the conjoined troops of the English and the vizier. A jaghire of ten lacs of revenue was conferred on Ahmed Ali, the youthful son of the murdered ruler; provision was made for the maintenance of Gholam Mohammed, who came to reside at Benares, under the protection of the British government; and the treasures and remaining territory of the late Fyzoolla Khan, were delivered up to the wasteful and profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah.

Mohammed Ali, of Arcot, died in 1795, aged seventy-eight, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Omdut-al-Omrah. In the same year the English effected the complete reduction of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, and the Cape of Good Hope.‡ Asuf-ad-Dowlah died in 1797. A dispute concerning the succession arose between his brother Sadut Ali, and his alleged son Vizier Ali, a youth of seventeen, said to be of spurious descent.§ Sir John Shore eventually decided in favour of the former, with whom he entered into a new treaty, by which the fort of Allahabad was made over to the English, the annual subsidy increased to seventy-six lacs of rupees, twelve lacs guaranteed by the vizier as compensation money for the expenses incurred in the recent interference, and an annual pension of a lac and a-half of rupees settled on Vizier Ali, beside other arrangements regarding the support of the company's troops, deemed necessary for the defence of Oude.

In the beginning of 1798, the governor-general, who had been raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned his position on account of ill-health, and returned to England. Despite his high character as a financier, the pecuniary results of his four years' sway were disastrous, and the scourge of war was but temporarily delayed. Tippoo evidently waited an opportunity to renew hostilities; and the expensive preparations made to invade Mysore, in

* Bajee Rao had endeavoured to open a secret intercourse with Madhoo Rao, which being discovered by Nana Furnavees, drew severe reproaches and more strict surveillance on both cousins.—(Duff.)

† In this year the Calcutta bench, and orientalists in general, sustained a heavy loss in the death of the upright judge and distinguished scholar, Sir William Jones, aged forty-eight. He was the first president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Warren Hastings the patron, and Charles Wilkins a member.

‡ These conquests were mainly effected through the zeal of Lord Hobart, governor of Madras.

§ On inquiry, it appeared that the alleged children of Asuf-ad-Dowlah were all supposititious.

the event of his taking part with the Dutch, together with the requirements of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, obliged the supreme government, in 1796, to open the treasury for a loan bearing twelve per cent. interest. In the following year, increasing involvements compelled a considerable reduction in the investments—a step never taken, it will be recollected, except under the stern pressure of necessity.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MORNINGTON (MARQUIS WELLESLEY.)—An impending war with Mysore, intricate political relations based on the temporary interest of other native powers, an exhausted treasury, and an increasing debt,—such were the difficulties that awaited the successor of Lord Teignmouth. After some delay, the choice—happily for England and for India—fell upon a nobleman no less distinguished for decision of purpose than for deliberation and forethought in counsel, gifted with a mind alike capable of grasping the grandest plans, and of entering into the minute details so important to good government. Lord Mornington was but seven-and-thirty when he was selected for the arduous office of exercising almost irresponsible authority over British India; but he had been early called to play an important part in public life, and had, from circumstances, been led to regard Indian affairs with peculiar interest, even before his appointment as one of the six commissioners of the Board of Control, in 1793.* In this position he continued for the ensuing five years, attending sedulously to its duties, and availing himself to the utmost of the opportunities it afforded of becoming intimately acquainted with the condition of the E. I. Cy., the mode of government adopted in the three presidencies, and the position and history of neighbouring powers. The subject was, to the highest degree, attractive to a statesman who considered that "the majesty of Great Britain was her trade, and the throne of the commerce of the world the fittest object of her ambition." The able and indefatigable, but prejudiced historian of India, was probably but imperfectly acquainted with the character and antecedents of Lord Mornington, when he remarked that he came out as a war-governor: still less ground existed for the assertion, that his lordship had "possessed but little time for acquainting himself with the complicated affairs of India, when all his attention was attracted to a particular point."† The remarkable letter, addressed to Lord Melville from the Cape of Good Hope, in 1798,‡ abundantly attests the extraordinary amount of information already accumulated by the writer, as well as the profound and far-sighted views which he had been enabled to form therefrom. The mental qualifications of Lord Mornington were rendered generally attractive by the dignified and courteous bearing, and the sweet, yet powerful utterance

* The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) was descended from an ancient family, whose founders went over to Ireland with Strongbow, and held (on the tenure of bearing the royal standard "*quando opus fuerit*") the castle and manor of Dangan, in the county Meath, where the future governor-general of India was born in 1760. The name of his father fills an honoured place in the musical annals of England, as the composer of some of the finest chants and glees in the language: his mother, the Countess of Mornington, was highly gifted both in person and in intellect, and especially remarkable for force of character, which she retained unimpaired even to advanced age, and transmitted to at least three of her sons—the subject of this notice, "the Iron Duke," and Baron Cowley. The death of Lord Mornington, in 1781, arrested the college studies of his young successor, and called him when scarcely of age, to relinquish the classic pursuits by which he might else have become too exclusively engrossed, for the severer duties of public life. Close intimacy with the Cornwallis family, doubtless contributed to direct his attention to Indian affairs; and the influence of the Eton holidays regularly passed with Archbishop Cornwallis at Lambeth Palace, from 1771 to 1779, had probably its effect in producing, or at least strengthening the love of justice and high sense of honour for which the young lord became distinguished, as well as in implanting the deep and clear views of religion which formed the solace of his honoured age. His first care was the voluntary liquidation of his father's debts; the next, a most liberal provision for the education of his brothers and sisters, especially for that of Arthur, whose capacities he early appreciated. A brilliant career in the Irish House of Parliament, was speedily followed and surpassed by his success as an orator in the British House of Commons, where, strangely enough, his first speech was in reprobation of the conduct of Lord North in making Warren Hastings governor-general of India, after his unprincipled conduct regarding the Rohillas. The opinions delivered by him on the questions of war with the French republic, the disputes regarding the regency, the abolition of the Irish parliament, and Catholic emancipation, have their page in history; but none occupy a higher place in the memory of those who cherish the name of the Marquis Wellesley, than his unwavering and indignant denunciation of the slave-trade, which he declared to be an "abominable, infamous, and bloody traffic," the continuance of which it was a disgrace to Great Britain to sanction, even for an hour. (*Vide* Debate on motion of Mr. Dundas for *gradual* abolition, April, 1792.)

† Mill's *India*; edited by Prof. Wilson, vi., 73.

‡ *Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley*: edited by R. Montgomery Martin, i., 1—15. Murray: London, 1836.

which enhanced the effect of his rare eloquence. His small but perfectly symmetrical figure, formed a worthy model for the chisels of Bacon and Chantry; while the easel of Lawrence rendered the delicate but clearly defined outline of the nose and mouth, the soft, gazelle-like* eyes and dark arched brows, in contrast with the silver locks which clustered round his lofty forehead—scarcely less publicly known, in his own time, than the remarkable profile and eagle-eye of his younger brother.

On his arrival in Madras, in April, 1798, Lord Mornington was accompanied by his younger brother Henry, afterwards Lord Cowley, in the capacity of private secretary. The future duke, then Lt.-Col. Wellesley, with his regiment (the 33rd), had been already some months in India. After a brief stay at Madras (of which presidency Lord Clive, the son of the hero of Arcot, was appointed governor), Lord Mornington proceeded to Calcutta, and commenced a series of civil reforms; but his attention was speedily arrested by the intrigues of Tippoo and some French adventurers, who, though in themselves of small importance, might, he well knew, at any moment give place to, or acquire the rank of powerfully supported representatives of their nation. In fact, schemes to that effect were in process of development; though the success of the British by sea and land, the victories of Nelson on the Nile, and that of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith, in conjunction with Lord Mornington's own measures, eventually prevented Buonaparte from putting into execution his cherished plan of wresting from England her growing Indian empire. The republican general and his great adversaries, the brothers Wellesley, had a long series of diplomatic hostilities to wage in distant hemispheres, before the last fierce struggle which convulsed the European continent with the death-throes of the usurped authority of the citizen emperor! Their battle-fields and council-chambers, as yet, lay wide apart; but the letters of Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultan and to Zemaun Shah, the successor of the fierce Doorani conqueror of Paniput, who had threatened to renew the incursions of his grandsire in Hindoostan, served to convey an impression to the native princes that a European power did exist, eagerly waiting its opportunity to fight the English with their own weapons. So strongly impressed was Tippoo with this conviction, that he sent ambassadors to the French governor of the Mauritius (M. Malartic), with proposals for an offensive and defensive alliance against their mutual rival, offering to bear the whole expenses of the French auxiliary force to be sent to his assistance, and to furnish them with every accustomed allowance except wine and spirits, with which he declared himself entirely unprovided. The truth was, that Tippoo, in laudable conformity with the ordinance of his standard of action, the Koran, forbade his subjects to use any description of intoxicating plants or beverages; and, as far as possible, caused the white poppy and the hemp-plant to be destroyed even in private gardens. Those only who, like Colonel Tod and other travelled historians, have had the opportunity of searching out for themselves authentic records illustrative of the condition of the people of India at different epochs, can fully appreciate the political importance of this measure, and its probable effect in tending to stay the moral and physical degradation which the abuse of all intoxicating compounds never fails to produce, especially of that valuable medicine, but when misused, detestable drug, opium.

The offer of the sultan was warmly welcomed by the French governor, and a small detachment† of volunteers sent to Malabar, and received as an earnest of further assistance. Lord Mornington addressed repeated remonstrances to Tippoo respecting this notorious breach of faith; and received, in return, the same empty professions of good-will which had been previously made to Lord Cornwallis. There was but one course to be taken with a man who met all arguments regarding the hostile operations in which he was engaged by positive denial or wilful silence; and the governor-general, despite the exhausted treasury and financial involvements which even a peace-governor had been unable to avoid, now found himself compelled to prepare for the renewal of war. He proceeded to Madras, where, by infusing his own spirit into this heretofore venal and incapable presidency, he procured

* This expression may savour of exaggeration or affectation to persons unacquainted with Lord Wellesley. Those who have watched him while speaking on subjects which touched his feelings, will, on the contrary, consider the comparison a poor compliment to eyes gifted with the power of reflecting every varying phase of thought and feeling, but ever tender and gazelle-like in repose.

† About 150; composed of convicted criminals and the refuse of the rabble of the island.—(*Despatches.*)

the adoption of measures for the complete equipment of the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The conduct of Nizam Ali, the subahdar of the Deccan, afforded much ground for uneasiness. The refusal of Sir John Shore to suffer the English subsidiary detachment to fight against the Mahrattas, had induced him to raise a large corps, trained and officered by French adventurers, under the immediate superintendence of a M. Raymond, who was justly suspected of being in communication with Tippoo. Lord Mornington felt that the course of events might render this body a nucleus for all powers and persons jealous or envious of British supremacy. He therefore hastened to make overtures for a closer alliance with the Nizam; and on the 1st of September, a new treaty was concluded, by which the subsidiary detachment in his service was increased from two to six battalions, and the E. I. Cy. became pledged for his protection against any unjust demands on the part of the Mahrattas. The Nizam consented to the immediate disbandment of Raymond's corps, and the surrender of their officers as prisoners of war; but as he manifested some hesitation regarding the fulfilment of these stipulations, the French cantonments were unexpectedly surrounded by the whole English force, in conjunction with a body of the Hyderabad cavalry. The men, already disaffected,* upon a promise of continued employment and the payment of arrears, laid down their weapons; the officers were quietly arrested, and, in a few hours, 14,000 men, possessing a train of artillery and a well-supplied arsenal, were completely disarmed and disorganised. The private property and arrears due to the officers were carefully secured to them by the governor-general, and arrangements made for their honourable treatment and speedy transport to their own country.

The primary importance of neutralising the danger of French influence at the court of the Nizam, did not blind Lord Mornington to the advisability of avoiding hostilities with the Mahrattas. The supremacy of Nana Furnavees and his baby peishwa, had given place to that of Sindia and Bajee Rao, with whom Nana had become partially reconciled; and through his influence, a pledge of co-operation, in the event of a war with Mysore, was given by them, but apparently with the most treacherous intent.

These precautionary measures concluded, Lord Mornington felt himself in a position to bring matters to an issue. The "violent and faithless"† character of the sultan, rendered it necessary to take summary steps for the reduction of his power and arrogance, which had again become alarming. The abandonment of his French connexions was at first all that was desired; but the expense of military preparations having been incurred—the cession of the maritime province of Canara, with other territory and a large sum of money, the establishment of accredited residents on the part of the E. I. Cy. and their allies at his capital, and the expulsion of all Frenchmen from his service and dominions, were now demanded. Tippoo resorted to his old plan of evasion, hoping to procrastinate until the season for attacking Seringapatam should be past; and when hard driven, wrote a tardy consent to receive an English envoy to negotiate terms of more intimate alliance with that nation, while, at the same time, in his capacity of citizen and wearer of the red cap of liberty, he dispatched an embassy to the French Directory, soliciting speedy assistance "to attack and annihilate for ever our common enemies."‡

As on a previous occasion, his duplicity was met by a declaration of war; and on the 5th of March, the British force, under General (afterwards Lord) Harris, and that of the Nizam under his son Meer Alum, entered the Mysore territory, with the intent of marching directly upon the capital. Lord Mornington truly declared, "that an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, never took the field in India."§ The very abundance of the equipments of the invaders formed, in some sort, an im-

* M. Raymond, a man of considerable talent, died a few months before these events, and a struggle for ascendancy had induced disunion among the troops, who, it may be added, were avowed red republicans.

† Words of Lord Cornwallis.

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, v., 15.

§ The army assembled at Vellore exceeded 20,000 men, including 2,635 cavalry, and 4,381 Europeans; to which was added the 6,500 men serving with the Nizam, and a large body of Hyderabad cavalry. The army of the western coast, assembled at Cananore, under General Stuart, amounted to 6,420 men, of whom, 1,617 were Europeans; while a third corps, under Colonels Read and Brown, from the southern districts of the Carnatic, at once threatened the enemy in flank, and secured abundance of provisions to the main body of the invaders. A British fleet, under Admiral Rainier, lay off the coast.

pediment to their speedy progress; and this circumstance, together with the cumbrous baggage of the Nizam's troops, and the innumerable camp followers, tended to produce so much confusion, that the forces were repeatedly compelled to halt, and destroy a part of the mass of stores with which they were encumbered; until at length, the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores, became sufficiently considerable to excite alarm. Nearly the whole of the draught and carriage bullocks, comprising upwards of 60,000, died in the march to Seringapatam, although it was scarcely retarded a day by the opposition of the enemy. In the meantime, General Stuart, with the force from Bombay, had crossed the western frontier, and been attacked on the 6th of March, by the sultan with a superior force, near Periapatam. After a brisk action, in which the rajah of Coorg effectively seconded the English general by personal bravery and commissariat supplies,* Tippoo, being worsted, drew off his army, and hastened to meet the main body of the enemy under General Harris. This he accomplished near Malavelly, on the Madoor river, but was again defeated with heavy loss. His subsequent attempts to impede or harass the progress of the invaders, were frustrated by their unexpected changes of route; and he learned with dismay, that the battering train, with the last of the army, had actually crossed the Cauvery fifteen miles east of Seringapatam, while he was yet at a distance, keeping guard in an opposite direction,—an indubitable proof how greatly his system of intelligence fell short of that maintained by his father. Deeply disappointed, he summoned his chief officers to his presence. "We have arrived," he said, "at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die with you," was the unanimous reply; and the assembly separated, after a tearful farewell, having resolved to intercept the expected passage of the English across the stream to the island on which Seringapatam is situated, and make death or victory the issue of a single battle. The equipments of the sultan were in order, and his troops well placed to contest the fords; but the advancing foe did not approach them, but took up a position on the south-western side of the fort, on the 5th of April, exactly one month after crossing the Mysore frontier, having advanced at the rate of not seven miles a-day on hostile ground, and not five from the commencement of the march. The consequence of this unexpected tardiness, and of great loss of stores, was, that despite the extraordinary supplies assembled by the governor-general, it was ascertained, on the 18th of April, that but eighteen days' provision for the fighting men, at half allowance, remained in store.† The siege was of necessity carried on with the utmost diligence. The sultan made overtures for peace, but rejected the terms of the preliminary treaty now proposed—namely, the surrender of his remaining maritime territories, and of half his entire dominions, with the payment of two crore of sicca rupees, and the total renunciation of French auxiliaries. Every hour's delay rendered the position of the allies more critical; and on the 28th, when the sultan renewed his proposals for a conference, he was informed that no ambassadors would be received unless accompanied by four of his sons and four of his generals (including Seyed Ghofar) as hostages, with a crore of rupees, in token of sincerity.

No answer was returned. Tippoo's hereditary aversion to the English had been raised to the highest pitch by the representatives of the French adventurers about his person. Naturally sanguine, he had buoyed himself up with expectations of the arrival of succours direct from France, from Egypt,

* The rajah of Coorg had collected 6,360,000 lbs. of rice, and 560,000 lbs. of grain, for the use of the troops; and his whole conduct during the present war, warranted praise equal to that awarded him on the previous occasion, of having been "the only ally who had performed all his obligations with fidelity, efficiency, and honour."—(*Mysore*, iii., 247.) It is no disparagement to the acknowledged merits and peculiarly chivalrous character of the rajah, to add, that he had the deepest wrongs, both as regarded family and national relationship, to avenge upon the usurping dynasty. The reduction of Coorg had been at first effected by Hyder, through treacherous interference, during a contested succession. Of the two families, one was destroyed; the representative of the other (Veer Rajunder) escaped from the hands of Tippoo, and upon the outbreak of the previous war, hastened to join the English. Notwithstanding the ruthless manner in which the population and resources of his country had been treated, he was able, by his intelligence and activity, to aid materially the operations of the Bombay army. Mill, who is little inclined to bestow praise on Indian princes, speaks of him as possessing a remarkable "enlargement of mind, and displaying a generosity and a heroism worthy of a more civilised state of society."—(v., 453.) Col. Wilks narrates many actions which confirm this testimony. So, also, does Major Dirom's *Narrative*.

† There must have been, also, much disgraceful jobbery, the effects of which were happily neutralised by a public tender of 1,200 bullock-loads of rice.

or from the Mauritius; and when at length the progress of the siege drew from him a sincere attempt at negotiation, his haughty spirit could not brook the humiliating conditions named as the price of peace, and he suffered hostilities to proceed, comforting himself with the idea that Seringapatam was almost invincible; that the failure of supplies would probably even now compel the enemy to withdraw; and that, at the worst, "it was better to die like a soldier, than to live a miserable dependent on the infidels, in the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs." Despite the manliness of Tippoo's words, his deeds evinced a strange mixture of indecision and childish credulity. For years he had shown himself the bigoted and relentless persecutor of his Hindoo subjects; and so effectual had been his measures, that only two Brahminical temples remained open throughout his dominions. Yet now, those very Brahmins, whom he had compelled to violate the first rules of their creed, by fleshing their weapons on the bodies of sacred animals, were entreated to put up prayers on his behalf, and the *jebbum** was performed at great cost by the orders of a Mussulman sovereign, to whom all kinds of magical incantation were professedly forbidden, and who simultaneously put up earnest and reiterated prayers in the mosque, requesting thereto the fervent *amen* of his attendants. Then he betook himself to the astrologers, and from them received statements calculated to deepen the depression by which his mind was rapidly becoming unhinged. The evident progress of affairs might well furnish them with a clue to decypher the predictions of the stars, and a set of diagrams were gravely exhibited as warranting the conclusion, that so long as Mars should remain within a particular circle, the fort would hold out: he would touch the limit on the last day of the lunar month, the 4th of May; then it would be advisable to offer the oblations prescribed by law to deprecate an expected calamity. It is possible that the true movers in this singular scene may have been certain faithful servants of Tippoo Sultan, who, as the danger increased, beheld with grief his accustomed energy give place to a sort of despairing fatalism, alternating with bursts of forced gaiety, which were echoed back by the parasites by whom he had become exclusively surrounded. Seyed Ghofar was one of the most zealous and able of the Mysorean commanders. Although wounded at an early period of the siege, he did not relax his exertions for the defence of the capital, or his efforts to awaken its master to action, despite the despairing exclamation—"He is surrounded by boys and flatterers, who will not even let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it." On the 3rd of May, a practicable breach (100 feet wide) was effected. On the morning of the 4th, the sultan offered the oblation before arranged; and after an attempt to ascertain the aspect of his destiny by the reflection of his own face in a jar of oil, returned to his accustomed station on the fortifications. Seyed Ghofar, seeing the trenches unusually crowded, sent word that the attack was about to commence; but the courtiers persuaded their infatuated lord that the enemy would never dare the attempt by daylight; and he replied, that it was doubtless right to be on the alert, although the assault would certainly not be made except under cover of night.

Excited by such mistaken security, the brave officer hastened towards the sultan. "I will go," said he, "and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded: I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment." The arrival of a party of pioneers, to cut off the approach of the foe by the southern rampart, induced him to delay his intention for the purpose of first giving them their instructions; and, while thus engaged, a cannon-ball struck him lifeless to the ground, and saved him from witnessing the realisation of his worst anticipations.

Tippoo was about commencing his noonday repast, when he learned with dismay the fate of his brave servant. The meal was scarcely ended before tidings were brought of the actual assault, and he hastened to the breach along the northern rampart.

The leader of the storming party was Major-general Baird, who had, at his own request, been deputed to head the attack on the fortress, within whose walls he had been immured in irons for three years and a-half.† The hope of releasing captives treacherously detained, and of preventing such faithless outrages for the future, would, apart from less commendable feelings, have been suffi-

* *See* previous p. 357.

† Baird was taken prisoner with the survivors of Col. Baillie's detachment, and not released until 1784.

cient to excite to the utmost a less ardent temperament. Mounting the parapet of the breach, in view of both armies he drew his sword, and, in a voice which thrilled through every heart, called to the columns into which the assaulting force* had been divided, "to follow him and prove themselves worthy the name of British soldiers." A forlorn hope, composed of a sergeant and twelve men, led the van of either column, followed by two subaltern detachments, and were met on the slope of the breach by a small but resolute body of Mysoreans. Nearly the whole of the first combatants perished, but their place was rapidly supplied by the forces led by Baird; and in six minutes after the energetic call to arms, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach. This important step accomplished, much danger and difficulty remained; for the traverses, especially along the northern rampart, were stronger than had been expected, and the sultan in person animated the exertions of his defenders. After much hard fighting, the British columns overcame all intermediate obstacles, and menaced Tippoo and his supporters both in front and rear. The confusion then became complete: the Mysoreans fled in various directions; some through a gateway in the rampart opening on the palace, some over the fortifications, and others by a water-gate leading to the river. The sultan, after long fighting on foot, being slightly wounded, was seen to mount his horse, but what he had next done, no one knew. It was conjectured that he had taken refuge within the palace; and the chief persons admitted to his confidence during the last few perilous days, alleged that obscure hints had escaped him of an intention to follow the ancient Indian custom, by putting to death the females of his family, destroying certain private papers, and then sallying forth to perish on the swords of his foes. According to instructions previously framed, Major Allan was deputed to proceed to the palace with a flag of truce, and offer protection to Tippoo and every one in it, on the proviso of immediate and unconditional surrender. The major laid aside his sword, in evidence of his peaceable intentions, and prevailed upon the attendants to conduct him and two brother officers to the presence of the two eldest sons of Tippoo, from whom he with difficulty obtained warrant for the occupation of the palace, within which many hundred armed men were assembled; while, without the walls, a large body of troops were drawn up, with General Baird at their head. The fierce excitement of a hard-won field had been increased by the horrible and only too well authenticated information of the massacre of about thirteen Europeans taken during the siege;† yet the torrent of execration and invective was hushed in deep silence when the sons of the hated despot passed through the ranks as prisoners, on their way to the British camp. The royal apartments were searched, due care being taken to avoid inflicting any needless injury on the feelings of the ladies of the harem, by removing them to distinct rooms; but still the important question remained unanswered—what had become of the sultan?

At length it was discovered that private intelligence had reached the killedar, or chief officer in command, that Tippoo was lying under the arch of the gateway opening on the inner fort. General Baird proceeded to the spot, and searched a dense mass of dead and dying, but without success, until a Hindoo, styled Rajah Khan, who lay wounded near the palanquin of the sultan, pointed out the spot where his master had fallen. Tippoo had received two musket-balls in the side, when his horse being wounded sank under him. Rajah Khan, after vainly striving to carry him away, urged the necessity of disclosing his rank as the sole chance for his preservation. This Tippoo peremptorily forbade, and continued to lie prostrate from the loss of blood and fatigue, half-buried under a heap of his brave defenders, until an English soldier coming up to the spot, strove to seize the gold buckle of his sword-belt, upon which he partly raised himself, seized a sabre that lay beside him, and aimed a desperate blow at his assailant, who, in return, shot him through the temple.

Thus perished Tippoo Sultan, in the forty-seventh year of his age. The body, when eventually dragged forth, was found to have been rifled of every ornament except an amulet on the right arm, immediately below the shoulder. The head was un-

* Comprising 2,494 Europeans, and 1,882 natives.

† The fact was subsequently ascertained by exhuming the bodies. The rumour being in itself sufficiently probable, may palliate, but cannot justify, the threats used by General Baird to the princes and others, who had surrendered on the faith of the assurances of Major Allan, to draw from them the whereabouts of Tippoo.—(Thornton's *India*, iii., 59.)

covered, and, despite the ball which had entered a little above the right ear and lodged in the cheek, and three wounds in the body, the stern dignity of the countenance,* its glowing complexion, the expression of the dark full eyes unclosed and surmounted by small arched eyebrows marred by no distortion, were altogether so life-like, that the effect, heightened by the rich colouring of the waistband and shoulder-belt, almost deceived the bystanders; and Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan bent over the body by the uncertain and flickering glare of torch-light, and felt the pulse and heart, before being convinced that they were indeed looking on a corpse.† The remains were deposited beside those of Hyder Ali, in the superb mausoleum of Lâll Baug, with every ceremonial demanded by Mussulman usage. The minute-gun and other military honours, practised by Europeans, were paid by order of the commander-in-chief, a ceremonial which, however well intended, was misplaced. It would have been better taste to have suffered the bereaved family of the sultan, who had died in defence of his capital, to bury their dead, undisturbed by the presence of his triumphant foes. Terrific peals of thunder and lightning,‡ to an extent remarkable even in that tempestuous district, burst over the island of Seringapatam, and formed a fitting close to the funereal rites of the second and last representative of a brief but blood-stained dynasty. The prediction of Hyder was fulfilled: the empire he had won his son had lost, and with it life itself. The romantic circumstances attendant on the death of Tippoo may tend to throw a false halo over his character; but admiration for his personal bravery, or even better-grounded praise for his excellent measure in striving to put down the use of intoxicating preparations, which had become a very curse to India, must not be permitted to disguise the fact that, with few exceptions, his career was one of blood and rapine, beside which that of Hyder appears just and compassionate.

Tippoo manifested remarkable industry in his endeavours to establish the reputation of a reformer; but the regulations framed for the government of his dominions, were enforced by penalties of so revolting a character, as alone to prove the lawgiver unfit to exercise authority over his fellow-men; equally so, whether these were prompted by diabolical wickedness, or the aberrations of a diseased intellect. "History," says Colonel Wilks, "exhibits no prior example of a code perverting all possible purposes of punishment as a public example, combining the terrors of death with cold-blooded irony, filthy ridicule, and obscene mutilation—the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."§ Such a despotism, based on usurpation and fraud, and exercised with unparalleled ferocity, Britain may well rejoice in having been permitted to abolish.

The total military establishment of Tippoo was estimated at about 100,000, including matchlockmen and peons (revenue officers or police); his field army at 47,470 effective troops. The granaries, arsenals, and magazines of all kinds in Seringapatam, were abundantly stored;‖ but a very exaggerated idea had, as is commonly the case, been formed of the amount of his treasure in gold and jewels, the total value of which did not reach a million and a-half sterling, and was entirely appropriated by the conquering army. In acknowledgment of the energy and forethought displayed by the

* The sultan was about five feet ten inches in height, had a short neck and square shoulders; his limbs were slender, feet and hands remarkably small, and nose aquiline. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, a crimson girdle, with a handsome pouch slung over his shoulder by a belt of red and green silk.

† This expression, says Col. Wilks, was noticed only by those who saw Tippoo for the first time; it wore off the more speedily owing to his excessive garrulity and harsh, inharmonious voice.

‡ Two officers and several privates were killed.

§ *History of Mysore*, iii., 269.

‖ On the 4th of May, there were in the fort 13,739 regular troops, and 8,100 outside and in the intrenchments, with 120 Frenchmen, under the command of a *chef de brigade*, M. Chapuis. In the assault, 8,000 Mysoreans were killed, including twenty-four principal officers killed and wounded, beside numbers of inferior rank. The total loss of the British, during the siege, was twenty-two officers killed and forty-five wounded (twenty-five of these in the storming of the citadel); rank and file—*Europeans*, 181 killed, 622 wounded, twenty-two missing: *natives*, 119 killed, 420 wounded, and 100 missing. In the fort were found 929 pieces of ordnance (373 brass guns, sixty mortars, eleven howitzers, 466 iron guns, and twelve mortars), of which 287 were mounted on the fortifications: there were also 424,400 round shot; 520 lbs. of gunpowder, and 99,000 muskets, carbines, &c. Within the fortress were eleven large powder-magazines; seventy-two expense magazines; eleven armories for making and furnishing small arms; three buildings with machines for boring guns; four large arsenals, and seventeen other storehouses, containing accoutrements, swords, &c.; and many granaries abundantly filled with provisions of every description.—(Beatson's *War with Tippoo.*)

governor-general, in directing the whole resources of British India to one point, and thus, humanly speaking, ensuring success in a single campaign, he was raised a step in the peerage,* and informed that, by the concurrent authority of his majesty's ministers and the Court of Directors, a portion of the spoils of Seringapatam, to the value of £100,000, would be directed to be appropriated for his use, the remainder to be divided among the troops. Lord Wellesley was far from rich, but he unhesitatingly refused this tempting offer, as an encroachment on the claims of the army, and, moreover, as being an injurious precedent, likely to afford the future arbiters of peace and war, in India, pecuniary temptations to a belligerent policy. A star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, composed of some of Tippoo's jewels, was all that he accepted at the time. In 1801, an annuity of £5,000 was settled on him by the company.

Unfortunately, this memorable example of disinterestedness did not prevent some very discreditable proceedings with regard to the distribution of the prize-money; and the commander-in-chief (Harris) and six general officers (Floyd, Baird, Popham, Bridges, Stuart, and Hartley), were considered by the home authorities to have appropriated to themselves a very undue proportion; General Harris, in particular, having received one-eighth instead of one-sixteenth part of the whole. The command of Seringapatam was entrusted by Harris to Colonel Wellesley, much to the displeasure of General Baird, who exclaimed—"Before the sweat was dry on my brow, I was superseded by an inferior officer!" The governor-general showed his conviction of the propriety of the measure, by subsequently investing his brother with the superintendence of the civil government of Mysore. As, despite his strong family affection, Lord Wellesley is universally acknowledged to have been distinguished for a judicious and impartial selection of particular men for particular positions, perfect reliance may be placed on his own assertion, that, despite the jealousy to which the appointment made by Harris would give rise among the senior officers, he confirmed, and would himself have originated it if necessary, simply because, from his "knowledge and experience of the discretion, judgment, temper, and integrity" of Colonel Wellesley, he considered him "the most proper for the service."† The generous warmth with which Lord Wellesley cherished the abilities of his younger brothers, was, it may be thought, part of his private rather than public character; but it was closely allied with the active benevolence which formed the mainspring of his whole career. The cadets of the service found themselves, for the first time, the objects of almost parental scrutiny. Talent, zeal, and industry were found to ensure a better welcome at government-house, under an administration celebrated for a singular union of oriental magnificence, patrician refinement, and scholastic lore, than patronage, high birth, or the yet more congenial aristocracy of talent could obtain, unsupported by meritorious service.

The disposition made by Lord Wellesley of the newly-conquered territory, was warmly approved in England, and excited in India a general feeling of surprise at its equity and moderation. The fortress of Vellore, in the Carnatic, was fitted up for the family of Tippoo,‡ and an allowance made for their support, more liberal than that previously assigned by him; his chief officers were all provided for by jaghires or pensions, dispensed with a well-considered munificence, which furnished a striking contrast to the parsimonious dealings of their late master. The affections of the Hindoo population were conciliated§ by an unlooked-for act of generosity. Cham Raj, the pageant-sovereign placed by Hyder on the throne of Mysore in 1772, died of smallpox in 1796. He had been regularly exhibited in public at the annual feast called the Dussera; but Tippoo chose to dispense with the ceremony of nominating a successor, and caused the son of Cham Raj, a child of two years old, to be removed with his great-grandmother (a woman of above ninety), his grandmother, and other female relatives, from the

* Rather a doubtful advantage in the sight of the receiver, who was wont to allude to the merging of an English earldom into an Irish marquisate, as having changed his English ale into Irish buttermilk.

† Baird could not be trusted with such authority.

‡ Tippoo left three legitimate and seventeen illegitimate children; twenty-four died before him.

§ The chiefs of districts submitted cheerfully to the conquerors. The only opposition offered was that of Dhoondea Waugh, a Mahratta, who after serving under Tippoo, set up for himself as leader of a predatory band, was taken prisoner, and remained in confinement for years in the fortress of Seringapatam. Amid the general confusion of the assault he managed to escape, and soon collected round him a daring band of freebooters; nor was it until after several months' hostilities, that he was at length defeated and slain in a charge of cavalry led by Col. Wellesley.

ancient Hindoo palace to a miserable hovel, where they were found by the English authorities, in 1799, in a state of deep poverty and humiliation. Their sorrow was turned into joy and gratitude on being informed that the conquerors had resolved, not simply to restore them to liberty, but to place the young prince Kistna Raj Oodaveer on the throne* of his fathers, in their ancient capital of Mysore, with a revenue exceeding that of the former Hindoo kingdom. The English reserved to themselves, by treaty, the right of interposing with paramount authority, in the event of any financial or political questions arising similar to those which had long distracted the Carnatic; but so far from employing their unquestioned supremacy to vest (as had been the case on former occasions) all power and profit in English functionaries, nearly every office, civil and military, was left to be filled by the natives themselves. Poornea, the experienced and trustworthy Hindoo chief minister under the usurping dynasty, was continued in office with the decided approbation of the female guardians of the young rajah. Colonel Wellesley, in all respects, but especially by judicious abstinence from needless interference, justified his selection for military commandant; while the rectitude and abilities as a linguist, of Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, facilitated his satisfactory fulfilment of the delicate position of political resident. The result was, that the Marquis Wellesley, at the close of his memorable administration, was enabled to declare, that the actual success of the arrangement of Mysore had realised his most sanguine expectations.

Of the usurpations of Hyder, besides those restored to the Hindoo dynasty, to the value of thirteen lacs of pagodas† per annum; and after liberal provision for the families of Hyder and Tippoo, and their chief officers, a large overplus remained, the division of which, between the English and the Nizam, formed the basis of a new treaty.‡ The former took possession of the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam, the districts of Canara, including all the sea-coast of Mysore, together with Coimbatore and Daramporam, the intervening country between the territories of the E. I. Cy. on the Coromandel coast, and on that of Malabar; of the forts and posts forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts, on the table-land of Mysore, and the district of Wynaad. To the Nizam were given territories yielding an equal revenue with those appropriated by the English in the districts of Gooty, Goorumcondah, and the tract of country situated along the military line of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar, but without the forts, which it was considered would strengthen, to a dangerous extent, the position of a fluctuating and doubtful ally. The course to be adopted with regard to the Mahrattas, was a difficult question. The peishwa had wholly failed in his engagements of co-operation against Tippoo;§ nevertheless, the governor-general deemed it politic to offer him a share in the conquered territory on certain conditions, which he looked upon as necessary preliminaries to the establishment of a solid and satisfactory peace; especially the reception of an English subsidiary force, and an amicable adjustment, according to English arbitration, of the claim of chout

* Literally so, for he was seated on the ancient ivory throne, which Aurungzebe is said to have expressly sanctioned his ancestor in using, and which was found in a lumber-room of the palace after the siege. The throne of Tippoo was taken to pieces, its various parts forming splendid trophies of victory. The ascent to the musnud was by small silver steps on each side, its support a tiger, somewhat above the natural size, in a standing attitude, entirely covered with plates of pure gold, the eyes and teeth being represented by jewels of suitable colours. A gilded pillar supported a canopy fringed with pearls; from the centre was suspended an image of the *Uma*, a bird about the size and shape of a small pigeon, formed of diamonds, rubies, and emeralds inlaid in gold, and valued in India at 1,600 guineas. It was presented to King George III., as a fitting tribute to royalty, being generally regarded in the East as the harbinger of victory and sovereign power to the favoured individual whom it deigned to overshadow. By a singular coincidence, a bird of this "august" species (for such, according to M. d'Herbelot, is the meaning of its Persian name) built its nest in a grove of trees, under the shade of which the governor-general dictated his despatches while resident at Madras, for the purpose of more conveniently superintending the conduct of the war. The natives hailed with delight the prosperous omen, and received the tidings of the capture of Seringapatam as confirmation of the victorious augury conveyed by the presence of the Uma, which the marquis was subsequently empowered to add to his crest, with the motto, "*Super Indos protulit Imperium.*"

† A pagoda was then above eight shillings in value.

‡ The whole of Tippoo's annual revenue was estimated at 30,40,000 pagodas. To the rajah of Mysore was assigned 13,60,000; to Nizam Ali, 5,30,000; to the E. I. Cy. 5,37,000; for the maintenance of the families of Hyder and Tippoo (in charge of the British government), 2,40,000; and for Kummur-u-Deen, commander of Tippoo's cavalry, and his family (in charge of the Nizam), 7,00,00 pagodas.—(Duff, iii., 177.)

§ Bajee Rao had actually accepted a heavy bribe from Tippoo to break faith with the English.—(Duff.)

long urged against the Nizam. These stipulations were peremptorily rejected; and the reserved districts of Harponelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, and others, equal in value to between one-half and two-thirds of the previously described portions, were thereupon shared agreeably to the articles of the partition treaty by the company and Sadut Ali.

A fresh contract was entered into between the latter parties in October, 1800, by which the Nizam, who was notoriously incapable of defending himself against the Mahrattas, purchased the services of additional troops from the company and the promise of their aid against every aggressor, by the cession of all acquisitions made from the dominions of Tippoo, either by the late treaty or that of Seringapatam in 1792. The proposition originated with the minister of the Nizam; and the governor-general prudently hastened to close an arrangement which placed the maintenance of the previously subsidised, as well as additional troops, on a more satisfactory footing than the irregular payments of a corrupt government. The countries thus ceded yielded a revenue of about 1,758,000 pagodas. By this arrangement, says Mill, "the English acquired a small territory, with the obligation of defending a large one." This is not correct, inasmuch as the company were previously bound, both by considerations of honour and policy, to protect their ally in time of need; and by the new compact they did but secure themselves against pecuniary loss in so doing. Circumstances again altered their relative positions; or, to speak more plainly, the British power, increasing in an eddying circle, manifested in this as in other cases, its inherent tendency to absorb the misgoverned and unstable principalities which sought and found in its strength temporary support, being driven by necessity, or induced by ignorance or recklessness, to adopt a procedure calculated to induce eventually their political extinction. Lord Wellesley, like many other great statesmen, anticipated but very imperfectly the result of his favourite measure. He hoped to find the subsidiary system instrumental in mitigating the turbulence of the native states of India, by controlling the sources of dissension, and encouraging and enabling minor chiefs to cultivate the arts of peace in the independent enjoyment of their respective rights.* But, in truth, the first elements of stability were wanting; and although the personal rectitude and ability of a nabob or a rajah, or their chief ministers, might for a time hold together the incongruous elements of Moslem and Hindoo communities, under an efficient rule, distinct, so far as internal regulations were concerned, from the paramount power, provided that were exercised with rigid moderation; yet the more frequent consequence of becoming subsidiary, was utter indifference on the part of the sovereign to the progress of a principality over which he had lost all absolute control; and, on the part of his subjects, contempt and indifference for his diminished power. The oriental idea of authority is identified with despotism; exercised in every variety of form, from the homeliest phase of patriarchal sway, to the unapproached grandeur of Solomon: still the same in essence—the delegated government of God. In the Christian world, despite the blinding influence of our sins and imperfections, we do recognise, by the light of the Gospel, the inestimable worth of civil liberty. The law of the land, apart from the individual who dispenses it, is the basis on which the nationality and independence of every English and American subject rests securely. But to Asiatics this is still a hard saying, and must remain so, until the same source from which we learned to realise its practical importance, be laid open to them also. If British supremacy prove, indeed, the instrument for the spiritual and moral regeneration of India, thrice blessed will be both giver and receiver. Yet whatever be the result, the immediate duty is clear—to spread the Gospel as widely as possible, and to endeavour by good government, by just laws honestly administered, by lenient taxation equitably assessed, to show our native subjects the value of the tree by its fruits.

To return to the affairs of the subsidiary states. The turbulent and dangerous character of Vizier Ali, the rival candidate for the dominion of Oude, rendered it advisable to remove his residence from Benares to Calcutta. The youth remonstrated strongly, but without effect; and while visiting, by appointment, the British resident Mr. Cherry, he spoke in violent terms of the hardship of the threatened coercion. The resident is represented to have behaved with much moderation; but Vizier Ali, giving vent to rage, started up and made a thrust at him with his sword; an example which, according to eastern custom, was immediately followed by his attendants.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, iv., 151.

Mr. Cherry was killed while attempting to escape through a window, and two of his companions shared his fate. The assassins, apparently in the hope of heading a general insurrection, hurried to the residence of the English magistrate,* who, after sending his wife and family to the terrace on the top of the house, seized a long spear, took up his position on a narrow staircase, and delayed their ascent until a party of horse arrived and put them to flight. Vizier Ali sought refuge in the woody country of Bhootwal, and being joined by several disaffected zemindars, soon mustered a considerable predatory force, wherewith to make incursions on Oude. The parsimonious and timid administration of Sadut Ali had rendered him extremely unpopular; and he urgently entreated that the English troops might be stationed immediately about his person to protect him, if need were, against his own army, whose faithlessness and disaffection likewise formed his excuse for not personally taking the field, in co-operation with his allies, against their joint foe. His assistance was not needed; Vizier Ali soon found himself abandoned by his followers, and was, in December, 1800, delivered over by the rajah of Jeypoor to the British government, and detained prisoner in Fort William.†

At the close of hostilities, the marquis pressed on the nabob the propriety of disbanding a force which, by his own showing, was worse than useless. This proposition, Sadut Ali met by a declaration of his desire to resign a position which he found full of weariness and danger. On the further development of his views, it appeared that the abdication in question was to be in favour of his son; and that in quitting the musnud, he intended to carry away the treasures and jewels inherited from Asuf-ad-Dowlah, leaving his successor to pay the arrears due to the E. I. Cy. and the native troops as best he could. These conditions were promptly rejected, and a long discussion ensued, which terminated in the disbandment of all the native troops (their arrears being first wholly liquidated), and the substitution of an additional European force (numbering, in all, 13,000 men), in return for which, the provinces of the Doab and Rohilcund‡ were conceded in perpetuity. To adjust the provisional administration of the ceded districts, three of the civil servants of the company were formed into a board of commissioners, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley nominated president and lieutenant-governor. For this appointment Lord Wellesley was blamed by the directors, as an evidence of partiality towards his brother, at the expense of the covenanted officials; but the propriety of the selection (as in the case of Colonel Wellesley in Mysoor) was amply justified by the result; and the disinterestedness (as far as regarded pecuniary motives) of both nominee and nominator was apparent, from no emolument being attached to the delicate and onerous office. By the late treaty, the tribute paid to the ruler of Oude by the nabob of Furruckabad (the Patan chief of a district in the province of Agra), was transferred to the E. I. Cy., and an arrangement made—it is said with his perfect acquiescence—by which he renounced political power, and was added to the growing list of titled stipendiaries. Several of the more powerful zemindars of the ceded territories resisted the proposed alterations, and made attempts at independence; especially Bugwunt Sing, who possessed the forts of Sasnee and Bidjeghur; the rajah Chutter Sâl; and the zemindar of Cutchoura: but they were all overpowered in the course of the years 1802—1803, and compelled to seek safety in flight.

The character of Sadut Ali was strikingly evinced, in the course of his negotiations with Lord Wellesley, by an attempt to win from the latter a sanction similar to that given to his half-brother (Azuf-ad-Dowlah), for the plunder of the begum, the grandmother of both these hopeful rulers. The intimation was met with merited disdain; but the old lady, fearing to be exposed to continuous indirect persecution, took the prudent step of ensuring the peaceable enjoyment of her personal property, by offering to constitute the company her heir—a proposition which was gladly accepted.

While these changes were taking place in Oude, others of a similar character were carried out in Tanjore and Arcot. Rajah Tuljajee died in 1787, leaving his adopted son and heir, Serfojee, a boy of ten years old, under the public tutelage of his half-brother, Ameer Sing, and the private guardianship of the missionary Swartz. Ameer Sing succeeded for a time in persuading the English authorities to treat the adoption of

* Mr. Davis, father of the late Sir J. Davis.

† Vizier Ali was afterwards removed to Vellore, where his family were permitted to join him. He died there, a natural death.—(Davis's *Memoir*.)

‡ The gross revenues of the ceded provinces were one crore, thirty-five lacs, 23,474 rupees.

his young ward as illegal, and caused him to be confined and cruelly ill-treated. The vigilance and untiring exertion of Swartz* occasioned a searching investigation, and the evidence brought forward on the matter led both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore to consider the claims of Serfojee as well founded. The oppression exercised by Ameer Sing over the widows of the deceased rajah, was accompanied by general maladministration. During the first war with Tippoo, the management of Tanjore had been assumed by the English, as the sole means of rendering its resources available against the common foe; and on the conclusion of peace, a prolonged discussion arose concerning the propriety of restoring to power a ruler whose legal and moral claims were of so questionable a character. The supreme government, fearing to incur the imputation of excessive rigour, replaced Ameer Sing in his former position: but the home authorities do not appear to have approved of this decision; for in June, 1799, they expressly instructed Lord Wellesley not to relinquish possession of the territories of Arcot and Tanjore, which, in the event of hostilities with Tippoo, would "of course come under the company's management," without special orders to that effect. The measure thus taken for granted by the directors, had not been adopted by the governor-general, who deemed the brief and decisive character of the war a sufficient argument against a step the immediate effect of which "would have been a considerable failure of actual resources, at a period of the utmost exigency." The disputed succession afforded a better plea for the assumption of the powers of government; Ameer Sing was deposed, and Serfojee proclaimed rajah, in accordance with the terms of a treaty, dated October, 1799, by which he renounced all claim to political authority, in return for nominal rank, and the more substantial advantage of a pension of one lac of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues. The assertion of complete authority over the Carnatic, was expedited by the discovery, consequent on the capture of Seringapatam, of a secret correspondence, in cypher,† carried on between Mohammed Ali and his successor, Omdut-al-Omrah, with Tippoo, in direct violation of the treaty of 1792. The conduct of the nabob during the late war, in withholding promised supplies, had given rise to suspicions of treachery which were now confirmed. His failing health induced Lord Wellesley to delay the contemplated changes; but on his death, in 1801, the dispositions made by him in favour of his illegitimate son, Ali Hoossein, a minor,‡ were set aside in favour of Azim-ad-Dowlah, a nephew of the late prince, who made over to the company all claim to real power, on condition of receiving the title of nabob, and the allotment of a fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic for his support. The company further engaged to provide for the family of the preceding nabobs, and to pay their debts. The government of the extensive and populous, though dilapidated city of Surat, was assumed by the company in 1800; the Mogul nabob, or governor, resigning his claims on receipt of a pension of a lac of rupees annually, in addition to a fifth of the net revenues guaranteed to him and his heirs.

The commencement of the nineteenth

* Swartz spared no pains in implanting religious principles, or in cultivating the naturally gifted intellect of Serfojee. The death of the good missionary, in 1798, prevented him from witnessing the elevation of his grateful pupil, who honoured the memory of his benefactor, less by the erection of a stately monument, than by his own life and character. Bishop Heber, in noticing the varied acquirements of Serfojee, states that he quoted Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnæus, and Buffon fluently; that he had "formed a more accurate judgment of the merits of Shakspeare than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron," and was "much respected by the English officers in the neighbourhood, as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tiger."—(*Journal*, ii., 459.)

† The key to the cypher was found among the private papers of the sultan. The English were designated by the term *new-comers*; the Nizam, by that of *nothingness*; the Mahrattas, as *despicable*. In commenting on the disclosure of these proofs of faithlessness on the part of the nabobs of the Carnatic, as favouring the views of the directors, Mill exclaims, "Nothing surely ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time." Yet, although plainly intimating the possibility of fabricating evidence to prove a lie, he is compelled, by his own truthfulness, to bear witness to the character of the great man, against whom he appears to be, on the whole, strangely prejudiced. "With regard to Lord Wellesley," he adds, "even his faults bear so little affinity with this species of vice, and his most conspicuous virtues are so directly opposed to it, that we may safely infer it to be as unlikely in his case as in any that can well be supposed, that he would fabricate evidence to attain the objects of his desire."—(vi., 312.)

‡ The governor-general was disposed to confirm the will of the late nabob in favour of Ali Hoossein, despite his illegitimacy; but his refusal (too late withdrawn) to accept the terms offered on behalf of the E. I. Cy., occasioned his being altogether set aside. He was carried off by dysentery in the following year. Ameer Sing, the deposed rajah of Tanjore, died a natural death in the commencement of 1802.

century, thus strongly marked by the extension of British power in India, is no less memorable for the bold and decisive measures of foreign policy, planned and executed by the governor-general. The threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah had been no vague rumour. A letter addressed by the Afghan leader to Lord Wellesley, peremptorily demanding the assistance of the English and their ally, the nabob vizier, in rescuing Shah Alum from the hands of the Mahrattas, and replacing him on the throne of his ancestors, had furnished ample reason for precautionary measures against the renewed incursions, under any pretext, of the dreaded Afghans. To avert this evil, there appeared no surer method than to form a close alliance with Persia; and for this purpose Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm was dispatched as British envoy, in December, 1799, to the court of Teheran, attended by a magnificent embassy. The result was completely successful. Ali Shah engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghans if ever they should invade India, and to permit no French force to form a settlement on any of the shores or islands of Persia; the English, on their part, promised to aid the Shah in the event of invasion, whether from France or Cabool. Internal dissension between Zemaun Shah and his brother Mahmood, rendered the issue of the above negotiation of less importance as regarded the Afghans, whose turbulence found vent in civil war; but the danger of French encroachments still pressed severely on the mind of the governor-general. The injury inflicted by the privateering force of the Mauritius and Bourbon upon the Indian coasting trade, and even upon that with Europe, was of serious magnitude. Between the commencement of hostilities and the close of 1800, British property, to the amount of above two million sterling, had been carried into Port St. Louis. Lord Wellesley resolved to attempt the extinction of this fertile source of disasters, by the conquest and occupation of the French islands; and, with this intent, assembled at Trincomalee* in Ceylon, a force comprising three royal regiments and 1,000 Bengal volunteers. The project fell to the ground through the pertinacity of Admiral Rainier, who declared that he could not lawfully take part in the proposed expedition, without the express sanction of the king. The favourable opportunity was lost; and French privateers continued, during several subsequent years, to harass and plunder the commercial navigation of the eastern seas. The troops assembled by the zeal of Lord Wellesley, found useful and honourable employ. He had repeatedly suggested to the home government the propriety of dispatching an Indian armament for the reinforcement of the British force in Egypt; and on the receipt of orders to that effect in 1801, 1,600 native infantry were added to the body already raised, and forwarded to Mocha as fast as transports could be provided for them.† Sir David Baird had command of the land troops; Rear-admiral Blankett, of a squadron of the company's cruisers, sent on with a small detachment as an advance guard, but Sir Home Popham was dispatched from England to direct the naval part of the expedition. The struggle was well nigh ended before their arrival, by the defeat of the French in Egypt on the 21st of March, with the loss to the victors of their brave leader, Sir Ralph Abercromby. General Baird marched from Suez to Rosetta, at the head of 7,000 men, in the hope of contributing to the capture of Alexandria; but the treaty of surrender was already in progress; and with its ratification, hostilities were brought to a close. The striking demonstration of the power of England, made by bringing together numerous and effective armaments from the east and west, to fight her battles upon the banks of the Nile, was doubtless calculated to "enhance her renown, and confirm her moral as well as political strength." Still, it is well added by Mill, that had the Anglo-Indian army been permitted to accomplish the purpose for which it was first designed by the governor-general, the conquest of the Mauritius and Bourbon would have been a more substantial though less brilliant service.

Upon the restoration of Pondicherry (in accordance with the treaty of Amiens), measures were taken by Buonaparte which amply proved the wisdom of the energetic precautions of the Marquis Wellesley against attempts for the revival of French influence in India. Seven general, and a proportionate number of inferior officers, were sent from

* Trincomalee was taken from the Dutch in 1796.

† Lord Wellesley, with his usual foresight, gave orders for the occupation of Perim, a small island in the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the possession of which would have effectually shut up the French forces in the Red Sea, even had they passed through Egypt. The Earl of Elgin, then ambassador to the Porte, effectively co-operated with the marquis in various ways.

France with 1,400 regular troops, and £100,000 in specie. The renewal of war in Europe afforded a reason for the reoccupation of Pondicherry in 1803, and enabled the E. I. Cy. to direct undivided attention to the complicated hostilities then carried on with the Mahrattas, the only Indian people possessing in themselves resources to maintain unaided a long contest. The most vulnerable part of the British frontier lay contiguous to the country possessed by Sindia. The death of Nana Furnavees, in 1800, left this enterprising chief no formidable rival at the court of Poona; and Bajee Rao the peishwa, appeared little less entirely under his control than the pageant-emperor of Delhi. In the event, therefore, of a struggle for supremacy, arising out of the numerous causes of quarrel abounding on both sides, the Mahratta confederacy, including the rajah of Berar, the representative of the Holcar family in Malwa, and the Guicowar of Guzerat, with other leaders of minor rank, led by Sindia and the peishwa, and aided by the skill and science of French officers, could collect a force against their European rivals which it would require a costly sacrifice of blood and treasure to repel. The best mode of averting this dangerous possibility appeared to be the formation of a strict alliance with one, at least, if not with the whole of the Mahratta chiefs. The error of Hastings, in sanctioning the aggressions of Sindia in Hindoostan Proper, had furnished experience which strengthened the convictions of Lord Wellesley with regard to the policy of forming connexions with native powers, only on conditions calculated to secure an ascendancy, more or less direct, in their councils. Perfect neutrality amid scenes of foreign and domestic warfare, venality, extortion, and bloodshed, could scarcely have been recommended by considerations of duty or of policy; and such a course, even supposing it to have been practicable, must have involved the infraction of old as well as recent treaties, offensive and defensive, with the Nizam and others. As for Lord Wellesley, his clear and statesmanlike view of the case, formed after careful examination of the actual state of British power in India, was never marred by doubt or hesitation in the moment of action. Fettered by the parliamentary denunciation against the extension, under any circumstances, of the Anglo-Indian empire, yet, convinced that its foundations must be largely increased before a state of secure and tranquil authority could be reasonably expected, he was often driven to adduce secondary causes to justify measures, which might have been sufficiently vindicated on the score of political necessity, since they involved no moral wrong. The wretchedness of the people of the Carnatic and Oude, abundantly excuse the steps taken to place them under the immediate superintendence of the company, in preference to employing, or rather continuing to employ, the military force of England in riveting the chains of a foreign despotism, founded on usurpation of the worst kind, that of sworn servants betraying their master in the hour of weakness. There were no lawful heirs to these states; or, if there were, they should have been searched for in the ancient records of the Hindoos: the Mohammedans were all intruders in the first instance, and the existing leaders of every denomination, with few exceptions, rebellious subjects. Why, each one of the African chiefs, whom English colonists and Dutch boors have so unscrupulously exiled from their native territories, had more of hereditary right and constitutional privilege on his side than all the Indo-Mohammedan dynasties put together. The case of the Hindoos is widely different; but in excuse, or rather in justification, of the conduct of the company, it may be urged that they found the great majority of the native inhabitants of India, under Moslem rulers, a conquered and much-oppressed people; and that, if England do her duty as a Christian state, they will, and—with all her errors and shortcomings, it may be added, they have materially benefited by the change.

The Rajpoot states were the only ones which, although brought in collision with the Mogul empire, were never wholly absorbed in it. The Mahratta confederation had been founded on the ruins of the vast dominion won by the strong arm of Aurungzebe, and lost through persecuting bigotry and the exactions consequent on unceasing war. Sevajee and Bajee Rao (the first usurping peishwa, or prime minister) built up Mahratta power. Madhoo Rao I. arrested its dissolution; but Mahadajee Sindia, prompted by overweening ambition, enlarged his chiefdom until its overgrown dimensions exceeded in extent the whole remainder of the Mahratta empire, and threatened speedily to destroy the degree of independence still existing in Rajpootana. Dowlut Rao possessed equal ambition and energy with his

predecessor, but far less judgment and moderation. The retirement to Europe, in 1796, of the experienced and unprejudiced leader of the European trained bands, De Boigne, and the accession to authority of a French leader named Perron, with strong national feelings, gave a decidedly anti-English bias to the counsels of Dowlut Rao. The peishwa Bajee Rao, knew this, and had, in the time of Sir John Shore, courted the protection of the supreme government, as a means of securing to himself some degree of authority. The danger of provoking war, by giving offence to Sindia, induced the refusal of this request. The accession to office of Lord Wellesley was attended with a reversal of the policy of both parties. Perceiving the great advantage to be derived from the permanent settlement of a subsidiary force at Poona, the governor-general formally offered the services of a body of the company's troops, for the protection of the peishwa and the revival of the energies of his government. The very circumstance of the boon, once urgently sought, being now pressed on his acceptance, would have sufficed to ensure its rejection by so capricious and distrustful a person as Bajee Rao: but other reasons—especially the meditated departure of Sindia, to superintend his own disaffected troops in Hindoostan, and the impending war between Tippoo and the English—were not wanting to confirm his determination. The conquest of Mysore again changed the aspect of affairs; but Bajee Rao, in accordance with the sagacious counsels of Nana Furnavees,* even after the death of the wary minister, continued to reject the alliance pressed on him by the English, until an unexpected chain of events compelled him to look to them exclusively for help and protection.

Sindia and Holcar.—A new actor had recently come forward on the stage of Mahratta politics, whose progress seemed likely to diminish the authority of Sindia, and enable Bajee Rao to exercise unquestioned supremacy at Poona. Of these anticipated results only the former was realised; the predatory chief in question, Jeswunt Rao Holcar, proving strong enough not only to harass but to defeat the troops of Sindia, and drive Bajee Rao from his capital. The founders of the Sindia and Holcar families were, it will be remembered, men of humble origin; they became distinguished as leaders of Pindarries, a class of the lowest freebooters who had from early times infested the Deccan. Bajee Rao I., though always ready to avail himself of their services for the invasion of Mogul provinces, took care to exclude such dangerous subjects from Maharashtra, by habitually stationing them in Malwa, where the power of the two leaders became paramount. The progress and history of Mahadajee Sindia has been incidentally told in previous pages; but of Mulhar Rao Holcar little mention has been made since the battle of Paniput, in 1760, when he was named as one of the few leaders who escaped the carnage of that day. Having retreated into Central India, he employed himself, during the remaining years of his life, in settling and consolidating his possessions in Malwa and the Deccan. He had established considerable influence in Jeypoor, and obtained from the rajah an annual tribute of three lacs and a-half of rupees. A considerable part of the province of Candeish had been allotted to him for the maintenance of his troops; beside which, several villages were granted, by the peishwa and the Nizam, to the females of his family. The only lineal descendant of Mulhar Rao, a vicious youth of unsound mind, succeeded his grandfather in 1766, but survived him only nine months. His mother Ahalya (pronounced *Alea*) Bye, a singularly gifted woman, declared her intention, as the sole representative of both the deceased rulers, to select a successor. Ragoba† attempted to interfere; but Madhoo Rao, with characteristic chivalry, directed his uncle to desist from further opposition to the projects of a person whose right and ability to manage affairs were alike indisputable. With the entire approbation of the leading military commanders in the army of her deceased relatives, Ahalya Bye took the reins of power in her own hands. The Mohammedan custom of rigid seclusion had happily not been imitated by Mahratta females; Ahalya Bye had therefore no conventional impediment of any kind to check the free exercise of

* Nana Furnavees was imprisoned by Sindia; but being released in 1798, on payment of ten lacs of rupees, he accepted office under Bajee Rao.

† When the power of Ahalya Bye became established, the beautiful but wicked wife of Ragoba sent a female attendant to bring her an account of the personal appearance of a princess so highly celebrated, and so universally beloved. The description of a small slight woman, with irregular features, but "a heavenly light on her countenance," set the fair *intrigante* at rest as to any rivalry in the attractions by which she set most store; and, without noticing the last part of the description, Anundee Bye remarked, "But she is not handsome, you say"

her physical or mental powers. Still there were duties inconsistent with a woman's sphere of action; and to ensure their fulfilment, she formally adopted as her son,* and elected as commander-in-chief, Tookajee Holcar, the leader of the household troops; of the same tribe, but no otherwise related to Mulhar Rao. Like our great Elizabeth, the fitness of her ministers proved the judgment of the selector. The conduct of Tookajee, during a period of above thirty years, justified the confidence reposed in him. Ahalya Bye died, aged sixty, worn out with public cares and fatigues, aggravated by domestic sorrows; but without having had, during that long interval, a single misunderstanding with her brave and honest coadjutor. The history of the life of this extraordinary woman, given by Sir John Malcolm, affords evidence of the habitual exercise of the loftiest virtues; and it is difficult to say, whether manly resolve or feminine gentleness predominated, so marvellously were they blended in her character. The utter absence of vanity, whether as a queen or a woman;† the fearless and strictly conscientious exercise of despotic power, combined with the most unaffected humility and the deepest sympathy for suffering; learning without pedantry, cheerfulness without levity, immaculate rectitude with perfect charity and tolerance;—these and other singular combinations would almost tempt one to regard Ahalya Bye as too faultless for fallen and sinful humanity, but for the few drawbacks entailed by her rigid adherence to almost every portion of the modern Brahminical creed, in which, happily, persecution has still no part, though self-inflicted austerities and superstitious observances have gained a most undue prominence. The declining age of the princess was saddened by the resolution taken by her only surviving child, Muchta Bye, of self-immolation on the grave of her husband. The battle-field had widowed Ahalya Bye at twenty; yet—despite the modern heresy of the Hindoos, that the voluntary sacrifice of life, on the part of the bereaved survivor, ensures immediate reunion between those whom death has divided, and their mutual entrance into the highest heaven, she had not been tempted by this lying doctrine to commit suicide, but had lived to protect her children and establish the independence of the Holcar principality. Now, flinging herself at the feet of Muchta Bye, she besought her child, by every argument a false creed could sanction, to renounce her purpose. The reply of the daughter was affectionate but decided. "You are old, mother," she said, "and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with honour will then have passed." Every effort, short of coercion, was vainly practised to prevent the intended "*suttee;*"‡ but the unfaltering resolve of the devoted widow remained unshaken, and her wretched parent accompanied the procession, with forced composure, to the funeral pyre: but when the first vivid burst of flame told of the actual consummation of the sacrifice, self-command was lost in anguish; the agonising shrieks of their beloved ruler mingled with the exulting shouts of the immense multitude; and excited almost to madness, the aged princess gnawed the hands she could not liberate from the two Brahmins, who with difficulty held her back from rushing to die with her child. After three days spent in fasting and speechless grief, Ahalya Bye recovered her equanimity so far as to resume her laborious round of daily occupations, including four hours spent in receiving ambassadors, hearing petitions or complaints, and transacting other business in full durbar or court; and she seemed to find solace in erecting a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented, and in increasing the already large proportion of the revenues devoted to religious purposes and public works. Her charity was not bounded by the limits of the principality: it began at home (for she fed her own poor daily), but it extended to far-distant lands. The pilgrim journeying to Juggernaut in Cuttack, in the far north amid the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, or south almost to Cape Comorin, found cause to bless the sympathy for individual suffering, as well as the reverence for holy shrines, manifested by Ahalya Bye with royal munificence; while the strange traveller, without claim of creed or country, was arrested

* Although Tookajee always addressed her by the name of "mother," he was considerably her senior.

† A Brahmin wrote a book in her praise. Ahalya Bye, after patiently hearing it read, remarked, that she was "a weak, sinful woman, not deserving such fine encomiums," directed the book to be thrown into the Nerbudda, which flowed beneath her palace window, and took no farther notice of the author.—(Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 193.)

‡ *Suttee* or *sati*, denotes the completed sacrifice.

on his weary, dusty road, by water-bearers stationed at intervals to supply the wants of the passer-by; and the very oxen near her dwelling at Mhysir, were refreshed by cooling draughts brought by the domestic servants of the compassionate princess.

The beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea, had all their allotted share of her bounty; and however puerile some of her minor arrangements may sound to European ears, or fanatical the habits of a sovereign who never discarded the plain white weeds of Hindoo widowhood, or touched animal food; yet, probably, these very traits of character conspired to add to the reputation her government retains in Malwa as the best ever known, the personal reverence paid to her memory as more than a saint, as an Avatar, or incarnation of the Deity.

A blessing rested on the efforts of Ahalya Bye, despite the fettering power of heathen darkness. Indore grew, beneath her sway, from a village to a wealthy city; bankers, merchants, farmers, and peasants, all throve beneath her vigilant and fostering care. Malcolm states, that he made inquiries among all ranks and classes in the countries she had governed, and could elicit no information calculated to detract, in the judgment of the most impartial inquirer, from the effect of the eulogiums, or rather blessings, poured forth whenever her name was mentioned, except the large sums bestowed on Brahmins, and the expenditure of state funds in the erection and maintenance of public works on foreign soil. The remarks made by one of her chief ministers, when commenting on what Sir John considered misdirected bounty, afford a suggestive text alike to eastern and western potentates. He asked, "whether Ahalya Bye, by spending double the money on an army that she did in charity and good works, could have preserved her country for above thirty years in a state of profound peace, while she rendered her subjects happy and herself adored? No person doubts the sincerity of her piety; but if she had merely possessed worldly wisdom, she could have devised no means so admirably calculated to effect the object. Among the princes of her own nation, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege to have become her enemy, or, indeed, not to have defended her against any hostile attempt. She was considered by all in the same light. The Nizam of the Deccan and Tippoo Sultan granted her the same respect as the peishwa, and Mohammedans joined with Hindoos in prayers for her long life and prosperity."*

After the death of Ahalya Bye, in 1795, the sole authority centred in Tookajee Holcar, who survived his excellent mistress about two years. He left two legitimate sons, Casee and Mulhar Rao. The elder was of weak intellect and deformed person; the younger, able and active. Ahalya Bye and Tookajee had hoped that the example of their unanimity would be followed by the brothers in the joint exercise of authority, but neither of the princes were capable of the self-denial and lofty rectitude necessary for such a course; and preparations for a war of succession were at once commenced, but abruptly terminated by the treacherous interference of Dowlut Rao Sindia, who having inveigled Mulhar Rao to his camp, caused him to be shot through the head; and retaining possession of Casee Rao, not only compelled him to pay the heavy price stipulated for the murder of his brother, but reduced him to the condition of a mere tool. An avenger arose unexpectedly to scourge the unprincipled ambition of Sindia. Two illegitimate sons of Holcar, Jeswunt Rao and Etojee, survived their father; the latter was seized and imprisoned by Sindia and Bajee Rao. He escaped and joined a body of freebooters; but being recaptured, was trampled to death by an elephant in the city of Poona. Jeswunt Rao sought refuge at Nagpoor with Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar. His confidence was betrayed; and through the intrigues of Sindia and the peishwa, he also was made a captive, but succeeded in eluding his guard, and reaching Candeish about a year and a-half after the death of Mulhar Rao. Resolved to make an effort to rescue the possessions of his family from the hands of Sindia, he took the name of assertor of the rights of Kundee Rao, the infant son of Mulhar Rao, then a prisoner at Poona, and assembled a heterogeneous force of Pindarries, Bheels, Afghans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots. In 1798, he joined his fortunes with those of Ameer Khan, a Mohammedan adventurer, less daring and reckless, but quite as unprincipled as himself, on whom he subsequently conferred the title of nabob. A terrible series of hostilities ensued between Sindia and Holcar. From the appearance of the latter chief, in 1800, the natives of Central India date the commencement of

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 189.

an epoch of eighteen years' duration, which they emphatically designate "the time of trouble." The trained battalions of Sindia were defeated, and his capital, Oojein, and other chief places, captured and rifled by Holcar and Ameer Khan, with a barbarity which was horribly revenged on the wretched inhabitants of Indore by the instrumentality of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, the father-in-law of Sindia, and the prompter as well as executor of his worst actions. Between four and five thousand persons are said to have perished by the sword, or under tortures inflicted by the ferocious Pindarries, for the express gratification of their diabolical leader; and the wells within the limits of Indore were actually choked up by the bodies of females, who had rushed on death to avoid the lust and cruelty which reigned unchecked for a period of fifteen days, and ended only with the slaughter or flight of almost every citizen, and the demolition of every house. Jeswunt Rao, with Indore, lost his only means of giving regular pay to his soldiers. Without attempting disguise, he told them the actual state of the case, and bade such as chose follow his fortunes in quest of plunder. The invitation was accepted with acclamation, and Jeswunt Rao became avowedly the leader of an army of freebooters, whose worst licentiousness he directed rather than curbed, and whose turbulence he bent to his will by the habitual display of the dauntless courage which formed the distinguishing characteristic of his family, and by the coarse humour and inimitable cajolery peculiar to himself.* His declared object was the restoration of Mahratta supremacy over India by a revival of the predatory system of Sevajee; but of this there was never any reasonable prospect. Jeswunt Rao was not the man to found a state even on the most precarious basis; he was "terrible as a destroyer," but powerless to erect or consolidate dominion.

The marauding force increased daily. Sindia renounced the cause of Casee Rao (who became thenceforth a dependent on his half-brother), and would have willingly purchased peace by the surrender of the infant Kundee Rao; but Holcar knew his strength, and had, besides, gone too far to recede with safety. A desperate contest took place between the two chiefs near Poona, in October, 1802, when the personal exertions of Jeswunt Rao, who had staked his all on the event, with the determination of not surviving defeat, resulted in a complete victory. By turning his own guns on the ungovernable Patans of Ameer Khan, who was quite unable to check their violence,† Holcar saved the city from indiscriminate pillage; not, however, from any motive of justice or compassion, but only that he might be enabled to plunder it systematically and at leisure, for the payment of the arrears of his troops and the replenishment of his private coffers. After committing every description of extortion, and giving, in his own person, an example of hard-drinking, by unrestrained indulgence in his favourite liquors, cherry and raspberry brandy, he left Amrut Rao (Ragoba's adopted son) in charge of the government, and marched off to pursue his marauding avocations in Central India.

The triumph of Holcar completely changed the relative position of Bajee Rao and the English. Surrounded by a select body of troops, the peishwa waited the result of the contest; and when it was decided, fled from Poona, leaving with the British resident a draft treaty for the company, requesting the permanent establishment of a subsidiary force within his dominions, and proffering in return the assignment of a certain amount of territory, and a pledge to hold no intercourse with other states, except in concert with the English. The treaty of Bassein, arranged on this basis, was concluded in 1802. It entailed the subjection of the claims of the peishwa on the Nizam, and on Anund Rao Guicowar, the chief of Baroda in Guzerat, with whom the English had recently become closely allied; their interference having been solicited in

* The following anecdote indicates that, with all his vices, Jeswunt Rao was not what a modern writer designates a *sham*. At an early period of his career, the accidental bursting of a matchlock deprived him of the sight of an eye. When told of the irreparable injury inflicted, he exclaimed, in allusion to the Indian proverb that one-eyed people are always wicked—"I was bad enough before, but now I shall be the very Gooroo (high-priest) of rogues." He had no religious scruples, but would plunder temples and private dwellings with equal indifference. The madness in which his career ended, is regarded as the punishment of sacrilege.

† Ameer Khan had little personal courage. After the battle of Poona he came to Jeswunt Rao, who was tying up his wounds, and boasted of good fortune in escaping unhurt; "for, see!" he said, pointing to the feather mounted in silver, which adorned his horse's head, "my khuljee has been broken by a cannon-ball." "Well, you are a fortunate fellow," retorted the Mahratta, with a burst of incredulous laughter; "for I observe the shot has left the ears of your steed uninjured, though the wounded ornament stood betwixt them." — (*Central India*, i., 229.)

favour of the legitimate heir in a case of disputed succession. These concessions involved a heavy sacrifice of political power; but they were slight compared with those which would have been exacted by Sindia or Holcar; and Bajee Rao could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of one or other of these leaders, if not upheld by extraneous support. Like his father, he had few personal friends, and so little deserving the name of a party at Poona, that the governor-general, on discovering his unpopularity, appears to have doubted what course to pursue with regard to his reinstatement on the musnud. The treaty had been entered upon in the belief that the majority of the jaghiredars, and the great mass of the nation, would co-operate with the English for the restoration of the peishwa. But if his weakness or wickedness had thoroughly alienated their confidence, the case was different; and Lord Wellesley plainly declared, that "justice and wisdom would forbid any attempt to impose upon the Mahrattas a ruler whose restoration to authority was adverse to every class of his subjects."

In the absence of any general manifestation of disaffection, Bajee Rao was escorted by an English force to the capital from whence he had fled with so little ceremony. Amrut Rao retired on learning his approach, and eventually became a state pensioner, resident at Benares. Tranquillity seemed restored. There could be no doubt that Holcar, Sindia, and Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar, would all feel mortified by a treaty which gave the English that very ascendancy in the councils of Poona they, or at least Sindia and Holcar, individually coveted. Still Lord Wellesley considered that their mutual deep-rooted enmity would prevent a coalition for so desperate an object as war with the English. Perhaps the result would have realised these anticipations had Bajee Rao been true to his engagements; instead of which, he behaved with accustomed duplicity, and corresponded with both Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay, to whom he represented his recent voluntary agreement as wholly compulsory, and endeavoured to incite them to hostilities, trusting to the chapter of accidents for the improvement of his own position. Yet, when the moment for action came, his schemes were lost in timidity and indecision: he would not trust others; he could not trust himself.

Holcar had heretofore expressly disavowed any unfriendly feeling towards the English;* and they would willingly have mediated between him and the peishwa, had the rancorous animosity of the latter suffered them to enter upon the negotiation. Sindia courted the co-operation of Holcar through the instrumentality of Ragojee Bhonslay, and went so far as to surrender the child Kundee Rao, and acknowledge Mulhar Rao as the representative of the Holcar family, surrendering to him their territories in Malwa, and recognising his various claims throughout Hindoostan. Despite these concessions, the robber-chief hung back; and when pressed by the confederates to unite his army with theirs in the Deccan, with a view to making war upon the E. I. Cy., he asked who was to take care of Northern India? and withdrew to pillage the defenceless provinces of friend and foe.

The gathering storm did not escape the observation of the governor-general. Hostile preparations were commenced in every part of British India, and a declaration of his intentions demanded from Sindia; who replied curtly, yet candidly, that he could not give any until after an approaching interview with the Bhonslay; but would then inform the resident "whether it would be peace or war." This pledge was not redeemed; the meeting took place, and was followed by vague and general professions of good-will to the British government, mingled with complaints against the peishwa for an undue assumption of authority in signing the treaty of Bassein. The civil expressions of the chiefs ill accorded with the hostile and menacing attitude occupied by their armies on the frontiers of Oude. Major-general Wellesley, to whom his brother had delegated full powers, political as well as military, either for negotiation or war, brought matters to an issue with characteristic frankness, by proposing as a test of the amicable intentions of the two chiefs, that they should respectively withdraw their forces, pledging himself to do the same on the part of the English. The offer being rejected, the British resident was with-

* The day after the taking of Poona, Col. Close, the British resident, was sent for by Holcar, whom he found in a small tent ankle-deep in mud, with a spear wound in the body and a sabre-cut in the head; which last he had received from an artillery-man while leading a charge on the guns of the enemy. He expressed a strong wish to be on good terms with the English, and, with reluctance, permitted the withdrawal of the resident, after which the worst outrages were committed at Poona.

drawn, and preparations made on both sides for an appeal to arms.

Mahratta War.—The governor-general well knew that the finances of his employers were in no condition to endure the drain of protracted warfare, and he resolved to follow out the policy so brilliantly successful in the Mysore campaign, of bringing the whole force of British India to bear on the enemy; not, however, by concentration on a single point, but by attacking their territories in every quarter at the same time.

The army, by his exertions, was raised to nearly 50,000 men. The troops in the Deccan and Guzerat numbered 35,600, of whom 16,850 formed the advanced force under General Wellesley; in Hindoostan, 10,500 men were under the command of General (afterwards Lord) Lake; 3,500 were assembled at Allahabad to act on the side of Bundelcund; and 5,216 were destined for the invasion of Cuttack. The armies of Sindia and Ragojee were estimated at about 100,000 men, of whom half were cavalry; and 30,000 regular infantry and cavalry, commanded by Europeans, chiefly French, under M. Perron, the successor of De Boigne. Himmut Bahadur, an influential Mahratta chief of Bundelcund,* sided with the English against the rajah, Shumsheer Bahadur. The campaign opened by the conquest, or rather occupation, of Ahmednuggur, the ancient capital of the Ahmed Shahi dynasty, on the 1st of August, 1803. The army under Major-general Wellesley, by whom it was accomplished, after much marching and countermarching, fought the famous battle of Assaye, so named from a fortified village (near the junction of the Kailna and Juah rivers, 261 miles north-west of Hydrabad), before which the confederates had encamped 21st August, 1803. They numbered 50,000 men, and were supported by above a hundred pieces of artillery. The British counted but 4,500 men; and their leader beheld with anxiety the strength of the foe, even though, on finding the Mahrattas at length drawn up in battle array, the exulting remark re-echoed through the ranks—"They cannot escape us." While the British lines were forming, the Mahrattas opened a murderous cannonade. The 74th regiment sustained heavy loss, and were charged by a body of the enemy's horse. The 19th light dragoons drew only 360 sabres, but they received the order for a counter-charge with a glad huzza; and being manfully seconded by native cavalry, passed through the broken but undismayed 74th amid the cheers of their wounded comrades, cut in, routed the opposing horse, and dashed on at the infantry and guns. The troops of the line pressed on after them, and drove the enemy into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. The victory was complete, but dearly purchased; for one-third of the conquerors lay dead or wounded at the close of this sanguinary action. Of the Mahrattas, 1,200 were slain; the bodies of the fallen were scattered around in dense masses, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained on the field. Ragojee Bhonslay fled at an early period of the action, and Sindia soon followed his example. The cavalry evinced little inclination to out-stay their masters; but the infantry behaved with greater steadiness; the artillerymen stood to the last, and eight of the trained battalions of De Boigne manifested unflinching determination. When resistance became hopeless, the majority surrendered.†

In the meantime, success still more brilliant in its results had attended the army under Lake, who was himself the very model of a popular commander, as brave and collected in the front of the battle as in a council of his own officers. The destruction of Sindia's force under Perron, the capture of Agra and Delhi, with the person of the emperor—these were the leading objects to which he was to direct operations; and they were all so perfectly fulfilled, that the governor-general declared, his most sanguine expectations having been realised, he was unexpectedly called on to furnish fresh instructions. General Lake first came in sight of the enemy's cavalry at Coel, near the fort of Alighur, whither they retired after a slight skirmish. Alighur, the ordinary residence of M. Perron, was, in his absence, bravely defended by the governor, M. Pedrons. It was well garrisoned, and surrounded by a

* The ancient Hindoo dynasty of Bundelcund, of which Chutter Sâl was the last efficient representative, was overwhelmed by the Mahrattas about 1786. Shumsheer Bahadur was an illegitimate descendant of the first peishwa, Bajee Rao. Himmut Bahadur, by a not unfrequent combination, was a *gosaen* (religious devotee) and a soldier of fortune.—(*Duff.*)

† The fidelity of these mercenary troops is rendered more remarkable by the fact, that a politic proclamation, issued by the governor-general at the commencement of the war, had had the effect of inducing the British part of the European officers to quit the service of Sindia, on condition of the continuance of the pay previously received from him.

deep and wide moat, traversed by a narrow causeway, which formed the sole entrance to the fort, and for which, by some strange neglect, a drawbridge had not been substituted. One of the British officers who had come over from the service of Sindia, offered to head an attack on the gateway. The daring enterprise was carried out. Of four gates, the first was blown open by troops exposed to a heavy fire; the second easily forced; the third entered with a mass of fugitives; but the fourth, which opened immediately into the body of the place, resisted even the application of a 12-pounder. In this extremity, a party of grenadiers, led by Major M'Leod, pushed through the wicket and mounted the ramparts. Opposition soon ceased, and the British found themselves masters of the fortress, with the loss of 278 men killed and wounded, including seventeen European officers. Of the garrison, about 2,000 perished; many of whom were drowned in the ditch while attempting to escape.

From Alighur, Lake marched to the north-westward, and on the 11th of September, encamped within six miles of Delhi. The tents were scarcely fixed, when the enemy appeared in front. Perron had just quitted the service of Sindia, in consequence of the well-founded jealousy manifested towards him by that chief and the leading native officers. M. Bourquin, the second in command, took his place; and on learning the advance of the British against Delhi, crossed the Jumna with twelve battalions of regular infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, for the purpose of attacking General Lake, whose force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to about 4,500 men. Bourquin took up a position on rising ground, with swamps on either side, defended in front by seventy pieces of cannon, half-buried amid long grass. From this secure station he was withdrawn by a feint, which, with less highly disciplined troops, would have been very hazardous. Lake advanced to reconnoitre, and after having a horse shot under him, fell back with the cavalry in regular order upon the infantry, who had been meanwhile ordered to advance. The enemy followed the retreating cavalry, until the latter, opening from the centre, made way for the foot to advance to the front. Perceiving the trap into which he had fallen, Bourquin halted, and commenced a deadly fire of grape, round, and canister; amidst which the British troops moved on without returning a shot until within one hundred yards of the foe; they then fired a volley, and charged with the bayonet. Sindia's infantry, unequal to a hand-in-hand encounter, abandoned their guns, fled, and were pursued as far as the banks of the Jumna, in which river numbers perished. The total loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3,000; that of the British at 585, including fifteen European officers.

After being seventeen hours under arms, the troops took up fresh ground towards the river, and next morning encamped opposite the city of Delhi. In three days every show of resistance ceased, the fort was evacuated, Bourquin and five other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war, and the unfortunate Shah Alum thankfully placed himself under the protection of the British commander, September 10th, 1803.* General Lake next marched against Agra, where all was strife and confusion. The garrison had been under the command of British officers, who, on the breaking out of the war, were confined by their own troops. Seven battalions of Sindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis, but the besieged feared to admit them, on account of the treasure which they wished to reserve for themselves. The battalions were attacked on the 10th of October, and defeated after a severe conflict; three days afterwards, those who remained came over in a body, and were admitted into the E. I. Cy's service. The siege of the fort was then commenced, and a breach effected, when further proceedings were arrested by the capitulation of the garrison, the imprisoned officers being released, in order to make terms with their countrymen. The surrender was accomplished on condition of safety for life and private property, leaving treasure to the amount of £280,000 to be divided among the troops as prize-money.

It is almost impossible to sketch a campaign carried on simultaneously by different widely-separated armies, without losing the thread of the narrative, or interfering with the chronological succession of events. Choosing the latter as the lesser evil, it may be mentioned that, towards the close of October, General Lake quitted Agra in pursuit of a large force, composed of fifteen

* General Lake found Shah Alum seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy.

regular battalions, dispatched by Sindia from the Deccan to strengthen his northern army; of which there now remained but two battalions, the wreck of the Delhi troops. The total was, however, formidable; being estimated at about 9,000 foot and 5,000 horse, with a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. Their design was supposed to be the recovery of Delhi; but as the British advanced, the Mahrattas retreated; and Lake, fearing they would escape his vigilance, and suddenly reappear in some unlooked-for quarter, followed with his cavalry by forced marches, until, on the 1st of November, he found himself, after a night's journey of twenty-five miles, in face of an enemy in apparent confusion, but advantageously posted, and refreshed by rest. After an ineffectual and disastrous attempt at attack, the British general was compelled to withdraw his brigade out of reach of cannon-shot, and await the arrival of the infantry. The details of this portion of the action are somewhat vaguely told. The 76th regiment, which was chosen to head the attack, with some native infantry,* who had closed to the front, first reached the point from which the charge was to be made, and stood alone, waiting until the remainder of the column should be formed by their comrades, whose march "had been retarded by impediments in the advance,"† the nature of which is not stated. So galling was the fire opened by the enemy, that Lake, who conducted in person every operation of the day, and had already had one horse shot under him, resolved to lead the van to the assault, sooner than stand still and witness its destruction. At this moment his second horse fell, pierced by several balls. His son, who officiated as aide-de-camp, sprang to the ground, and had just prevailed on the general to take the vacant seat, when he was struck down by a ball. Lake had a singularly affectionate nature; the fall of his child, severely if not mortally wounded, was well calculated to unnerve, or, in his own phrase, "unman" him; but he knew his duty, and loved the troops, who, he writes with unaffected modesty, "at this time wanted every assistance I could give them."‡ Leaving Major Lake on the field, the general rode on with his gallant band, until, on arriving within reach of the canister-shot of the foe, their ranks were so rapidly thinned as to render regular advance impracticable, and tempt the Mahratta horse to charge. But this "handful of heroes," as they were gratefully termed by Lake, himself "*le brave des braves*," repulsed their assailants, who withdrew to a little distance. The order to the British horse to charge in turn, was brilliantly executed by the 29th dragoons. They dashed through both lines of the opposing infantry, wheeled round upon the cavalry, and, after driving them from the field, turned the rear of the enemy's second line. The British foot failed not to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded. The whole force had by this time arrived on the field of battle, and the issue soon ceased to be doubtful; yet the hardy veterans of De Boigne's regiments, though deprived of almost all their experienced officers, would not surrender. About 2,000 of them were broken, surrounded and made prisoners, but the majority fell with weapons in their hands. "The gunners," writes the victorious general, "stood by their guns until killed by the bayonet: all the sepoys of the enemy behaved exceedingly well; and, if they had been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life, or anything like it; and pray to God I never may be in such a situation again. * * * These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes."§

The battle of Laswaree was in all respects memorable. It completed the overthrow of the European disciplined brigades, and gave to England undisputed mastery over Delhi and Agra, with all Sindia's districts north of the Chumbul. These advantages were gained at a heavy sacrifice of life. The English loss amounted to 172 killed and 652 wounded: that of the Mahrattas was estimated at 7,000.‖

The detached expeditions had likewise successfully accomplished their respective missions. All Sindia's possessions in Guzerat were captured by a division of the Bombay troops under Lieutenant-colonel Woodington. Broach was taken by storm on the 29th of August; and the strong hill-

* The second battalion of the 12th native infantry, and five companies of the 16th.—(Thornton, iii. 338.)

† Despatch of Lake to the governor-general.—(*Wellesley Despatches*, vol. iii., 443.)

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, iii., 446.

§ *Idem*, p. 446. General Lake, habitually so ready to praise others, barely notices his own gallant deeds or those of his son: but he mentions, the day after the battle, that parental anxiety rendered him "totally unfit for anything." Happily, Major Lake's wound proved less severe than was at first expected.

‖ *Memoir of the Campaign;* by Major Thorn.

fort of Powanghur, which overlooked the town of Champaneer, surrendered on the 17th of September.

The seizure of Cuttack was accomplished by detachments of the Madras and Bengal forces under Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt. The Brahmins of Juggernaut placed their famous pagoda under the protection of the British on the 18th of September; and the fall of Barabuttee, the fort of Cuttack, on the 14th of October, completed the reduction of the whole province.

In the subjection of Bundelcund, Lieutenant-colonel Powell was materially aided by Himmut Bahadur, the Hindoo leader previously mentioned, who joined the British detachment in the middle of September, with a force of about 14,000 men. The army of Shumsheer Bahadur made but feeble resistance, and on the 13th of October was driven across the river Betwa. Their chief eventually became a British stipendiary.

The concluding operations of the war were performed by the army under Major-general Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. A detachment under the latter leader took possession of Boorhanpoor on the 15th of October, and two days after marched to besiege Aseerghur, called by the natives "the key of the Deccan." The fortress surrendered on the 21st, and with it the conquerors became masters of Sindia's Deccani possessions, including several dependent districts in Candeish. After a short time spent in pursuing the rajah of Berar, who retreated to his own dominions, and in receiving some overtures for peace, of an unsatisfactory character, from Sindia, General Wellesley descended the Ghauts on the 25th of November, with the intention of assisting Stevenson in the projected siege of Gawilghur. The junction was effected on the 29th of August, near the plains of Argaum, where the British commander, on reconnoitring, perceived with surprise the main army of the Berar rajah, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up, about six miles from the spot where he had himself intended to encamp. Sindia's force, consisting of one very heavy corps of cavalry, a body of Pindarries, and other light troops, supported those of Berar. It was late in the day, and the English were wearied with a long march under a burning sun; yet their leader thought it best to take advantage of the opportunity rarely afforded of meeting the Mahrattas in a pitched battle. Forming two lines of infantry and cavalry, Major-general Wellesley advanced to the attack. A body of 500 foot, supposed to have been Persian mercenaries, rushed upon the 74th and 78th regiments with desperation, and were destroyed to a man. Sindia's horse charged the British sepoys, but were repulsed; after which the ranks of the enemy fell into confusion and fled, pursued by the British cavalry, assisted by auxiliary bodies of Mysore and Mogul horse. The loss of the victors, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 346 men; that of the Mahrattas is nowhere stated, but must have been very considerable.

The siege of Gawilghur, invested on the 5th of December, involved no ordinary amount of labour and fatigue, in consequence of the difficulty of carrying the guns and stores to the point of attack. The outer fort was taken by storm on the 15th; the inner fort was escaladed by the light company of the 94th, headed by Captain Campbell, who opened the gates and admitted the rest of the assailants.*

The confederate chieftains had by this time become extremely solicitous for the termination of war. The rajah of Berar dispatched vakeels or envoys to the British camp the day after the battle of Argaum; but in consequence of the inveterate manœuvring and procrastination of the Mahrattas, even when really desirous of concluding a treaty, affairs were not finally arranged until the 17th of December. By the treaty of Deogaum, then signed, the rajah consented to surrender the province of Cuttack, including the district of Balasore, to the company, and to relinquish to the Nizam certain revenues extorted from him on various pretences. He further pledged himself to submit all differences which might arise between him and the Nizam or the peishwa to British arbitration, and promised to receive into his service no European or American subject of any state at war with the English, nor even any Englishman, without the express sanction of the governor-general.

Sindia had now no alternative but to

* The defence had been gallantly conducted by two Rajpoot leaders, whose bodies were found amid a heap of slain. Their wives and daughters were intended to have all shared their fate; but the terrible order had been imperfectly performed with steel weapons, instead of by the usual method of fire; and though several died, the majority being carefully tended, recovered of their wounds.—(*Wellesley Desp.*)

make peace on such terms as the conquerors thought fit to grant; and on the 30th of December he signed the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum in the British camp, by which he ceded his rights over the country between the Jumna and the Ganges (including the cities of Delhi and Agra), and to the northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor and Joudpoor; also the forts of Ahmedabad and Broach, with their dependent districts. On the south he yielded Ahmednuggur to the peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam. In return, the leading places conquered during the war, not above named, were restored to him. Shortly after this arrangement, Sindia entered the general alliance of which the British government formed the dominant portion, and agreed to receive a subsidiary British force, whose expenses were to be furnished from the revenue of the territories already ceded.

The leading objects of the war had been fully carried out, in accordance with the plans of the governor-general. Among the less conspicuous but important services rendered by Lake, were the formation of alliances with the rajahs of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Boondi, and Macherry; with the Jat rajah of Bhurtpoor, the rana of Gohud, and Ambajee Inglia, the unfaithful successor of Perron in the service of Sindia.* Lord Wellesley was anxious to maintain the independence of the Rajpoot principalities against Mahratta aggressions, both as a matter of justice and policy. Their territories were guaranteed to them against external enemies, with immunity from tribute; but they were not to receive European officers into their service without the sanction of the British government, and were to defray the expense of any auxiliary force required to repel invaders from their dominions.

War with Holcar.—Despite so many brilliant victories, attended with such substantial results, the British armies could not quit the field. During the recent hostilities, Holcar had remained in Malwa, levying enormous contributions upon the adjoining provinces. The success of the British arms seems to have convinced him of his mistake in neglecting to co-operate with chiefs of his own nation against a power whose efforts were steadily directed to the suppression of the predatory warfare by which he had reached, and could alone expect to maintain, his present position. When too late he bestirred himself to negotiate with the Rajpoots, the Bhurtpoor rajah, the Rohillas, the Seiks, and finally with Sindia, whom he recommended to break the humiliating treaty he had recently formed, and renew the war. But Sindia had suffered too severely in the late hostilities to provoke their repetition; and being, moreover, exasperated by the time-serving policy of Holcar,† he communicated these overtures to Major Malcolm, then resident in his camp. The inimical feelings entertained by Holcar, had been already manifested by the murder of three British officers in his service, on a false charge that one of them had corresponded with the commander-in-chief. Still it seemed highly improbable that he could seriously intend flinging the gauntlet at a nation whose military achievements had become the theme of every tongue in India; and the English authorities, anxious to bring matters to a speedy and amicable conclusion, invited him to send commissioners to their camp, to explain his views and desires. The Mahrattas are ever apt to treat conciliatory measures as symptomatic of weakness; and Holcar was probably influenced by some such consideration in framing the conditions for which his vakeels were instructed to stipulate with General Lake as the terms of peace, and which included leave to collect *chout* according to the custom of his ancestors, with the cession of Etawa and various other districts in the Doab and Bundelcund, formerly held by his family. Holcar had not without reason blamed Sindia for too exclusive attention to the rules of European discipline, and the neglect of the guerilla warfare which Sevajee and Bajee Rao had waged successfully against Aurungzebe. This was the weapon with which he now menaced the English, in the event of non-compliance with his demands. "Although unable," he said, "to oppose their artillery in the field, countries of many coss should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt; Lake should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war by the attacks of his army, which would overwhelm like the waves of the sea."

* Sindia seized the Gohud province, and gave it in charge to Ambajee Inglia, who went over to the English. They kept Gwalior, and divided the rest of the province between the rana and Inglia

† Ameer Khan was actually dispatched by Holcar to co-operate with Sindia; but the news of the battle of Assaye reached him on the march, and he returned as he came.—(Ameer Khan's *Memoirs.*)

Such a menace, from one of the most reckless and powerful marauders by whom the timid peasantry of Hindoostan were ever scourged, was tantamount to a declaration of war—a formality which, it may be remarked, forms no part of Mahratta warfare. Yet it was not till further indications appeared of his intention to commence hostilities at the first convenient moment, that the negotiation, which Holcar desired to gain time by protracting, was broken off, and Lord Lake and Major-general Wellesley directed to commence operations against him both in the north and the south. The governor-general entered on this new war with unaffected reluctance. Once commenced, it could not be arrested by an accommodation such as that entered into with Sindia; for a predatory power must, he thought, be completely neutralised, in justice to the peaceable subjects of more civilised governments. It was important to secure the cordial co-operation of the subsidiary and allied states against the common foe; and this was effected by the declaration of Lord Wellesley—that all territory conquered from Holcar should be divided among the British auxiliaries without reserve.

The opening of the campaign was disastrous. Major-general Wellesley could not advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan. Lake, after storming the fort of Rampoora (16th May, 1804), was compelled to withdraw the main army into cantonments for the rainy season, leaving Colonel Monson, with five sepoy battalions and 3,000 irregular horse, to watch the movements of the foe. The proceedings of this commander were most unfortunate. Though "brave as a lion," he wanted decision of purpose and confidence in the native troops. After making an ill-advised entrance into the dominions of the enemy, he became alarmed at the reported approach of Holcar in person; and fearing the probable failure of supplies before the British could join the Guzerat force under Colonel Murray, he retreated forthwith. A retrograde movement on the part of British troops was proverbially more hazardous in native warfare than the boldest advance. Holcar eagerly followed, attacked and defeated the irregular cavalry left in the rear to forward intelligence of his proceedings, and summoned the main body to surrender. This being indignantly refused, furious and reiterated onsets were made by him on the sepoy battalions at the Mokundra pass, which they resisted with steadiness and success, till, at evening, their assailants drew off a few miles. Monson, not considering his position tenable, continued the retreat; the native troops behaved admirably, and, though harassed by the enemy, and exposed to heavy rains, reached Kotah in two marches.

Kotah was a Rajpoot principality, originally formed of lands separated from Boondi. It remained for above a century and a-half of secondary importance, until it fell beneath the sway of Zalim Sing, a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe, who governed under the name of regent—it would appear, with the full consent of the rightful prince or rana, Omeida Sing. Zalim Sing played a difficult part with extraordinary ability, and by dint of consummate art, perfect self-control, and unfailing energy, so steered the vessel of state, that while every other Rajpoot principality tottered under the effects of the furious attacks or undermining intrigues of the encroaching Mahrattas, Boondi, though ever first to bend to the storm, raised her head as soon as it had passed over, as if strengthened by the trial. Excessive humility and moderation formed the disguise beneath which the regent attained the position of a general arbitrator in the never-ceasing disputes of neighbouring governments, which he fostered under pretence of mediation. His deep duplicity did not preserve him from incurring strong personal hostility; and Tod, after narrating no less than eighteen attempts at his assassination, represents him as sleeping in an iron cage for security. At the time at which we have now arrived, "the Nestor of India" was about sixty-five years of age. His position was one of peculiar difficulty. To keep peace with Holcar he had paid dearly, both in money and character, having stooped to form an intimate alliance with Ameer Khan as a means of averting the scourge of indiscriminate plunder from the fertile fields of Boondi, great part of which were cultivated for his exclusive benefit; yet Colonel Monson, on his arrival with the weary and half-famished troops, demanded from the regent nothing less than their admission into the city, which could not be granted without creating great confusion and insuring the deadly vengeance of the Mahrattas. To the English, Zalim Sing was yet more unwilling to give offence. Their paramount authority was being daily augmented and consolidated; nor could he

doubt that Kotah, like other native principalities, would eventually do well to find in a dependent alliance on the dominant power, an alternative from complete extinction.* Even now, he was ready to make common cause with the retreating and dispirited troops, or to do anything for their succour, to the extent of his ability, outside the walls of Kotah; but the pertinacity of Monson in demanding admittance was unavailing, and the detachment marched on to Rampoora, through an inundated country barely traversable for the troops, and impracticable for cannon and stores, which were consequently destroyed and abandoned. A reinforcement sent with supplies by General Lake, gave temporary relief to the harassed soldiers, but could not remedy the incapacity of their commander; and after many more struggles and reverses,† attended with a complete loss of baggage on the road to Agra, the confusion of one very dark night brought matters to a climax; the troops fairly broke and fled in separate parties to the city, where the majority of the fugitives who escaped the pursuing cavalry, found an asylum on the 31st of July, 1804.

These proceedings increased the rabble force of Holcar tenfold. Adventurers and plunderers of all descriptions (including the wreck of the armies of Sindia and the Bhonslay) flocked to his standard; and after making the regent of Kotah pay a fine of ten lacs for his partial assistance of the English,‡ the Mahratta chief invaded their territories, at the head of an immense army,§ in the character of a conqueror. At his approach the British troops abandoned Muttra with its stores; but the fort was reoccupied by a detachment sent by General Lake, who had marched hastily from Cawnpore, in hopes of bringing the enemy to action. He was, however, completely outwitted by Holcar, who occupied the attention of the British general by manœuvring his cavalry; while his infantry, by a rapid movement, succeeded in investing Delhi. The city, ten miles in circumference, had but a ruined wall, with scarcely more than 800 sepoys, for its defence; nevertheless, these troops, headed by Lieutenant-colonels Ochterlony and Burn, after nine days' operations, compelled a force of 20,000 men to raise the siege.|| Holcar, with his cavalry, withdrew to the Doab, whither he was followed by Lake, who, after a long pursuit, by marching fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours, eventually came up with the enemy on the 17th of November, under the walls of Furruckabad. The Indian horse never could stand a charge in the field; their leader knew this, and was himself the first to fly, followed by his panic-struck adherents, of whom 3,000 were cut to pieces by the victors, and the rest escaped only by the superior swiftness of their horses. The Mahratta chief made his way to Deeg, a strong fort belonging to Runjeet Sing of Bhurtpoor, a Jat leader, who, after the defeat of the detachment under Monson, had quitted the English, and joined the opposite interest.

The determined proceedings of Lake induced the confederate chiefs to evacuate Deeg and retreat to Bhurtpoor, a city not very formidable in appearance, of six to eight miles in circumference, defended by a high mud wall, and a broad ditch not easily fordable. But the rajah was skilful and desperate. Holcar had little to boast of; for while himself heading a defeated army in the field, his strongholds, in various quarters, had been reduced by the English; and a detachment of troops from Guzerat had occupied Indore, and were preparing to intercept his retreat. Still he was a marauder by profession, whose kingdom was in his saddle; whereas the Jat rajah truly declared he had no home but in his castle—every hope was bound up in its battlements. The defence was most determined; and even when a practicable breach had been effected, attempts to take the place by storm were neutralised by the ready inven-

* When Colonel Tod was employed in forming an alliance between the supreme government and the Kotah principality, he took an opportunity of assuring Zalim Sing that the English desired no more territory. The old politician smiled, as he answered—"I believe you think so; but the time will come when there will be but one sicca (stamp of sovereignty on coin) throughout India. You stepped in at a lucky time; the *p'foot* (a sort of melon, which bursts asunder when fully matured) was ripe, and you had only to take it bit by bit. It was not your power so much as our disunion that made you sovereigns, and will keep you so."—(*Rajast'han*, i., 766.)

† When the younger European officers were heart-sick, and well-nigh sinking with fatigue, the sepoys were frequently heard bidding them be of good cheer; for they would carry them safely to Agra.—(Duff.)

‡ Zalim Sing and Holcar (both one-eyed men) met in boats on the Chumbul, each fearing treachery.

§ According to Malcolm, Holcar's army comprised 92,000 men (66,000 cavalry, 7,000 artillery, 19,000 infantry), with 190 guns.—(*Central India*, i., 238.)

|| The sepoys were on duty day and night. To keep up their spirits under incessant fatigue, Ochterlony had sweetmeats served out, and promised them half a month's pay when the enemy was repulsed.

tion of the besieged. Stockades and bulwarks rose as if by magic to blockade the breach; the moat was rendered unfordable by dams; and, during the attack, pots filled with combustibles, and burning cotton-bales steeped in oil, were flung upon the heads of the assailants. The British were four times repulsed, with a total loss of 3,203 men in killed and wounded; nor did even their highly-prized military reputation escape unimpaired. On one occasion, the famous 76th, in conjunction with the 75th, refused to follow their officers after the 12th Bengal sepoys had planted the colours on the top of the rampart. The bitter reproaches of their general recalled them to a sense of duty, and, overpowered with shame, they entreated to be led to a last attack, in which they displayed much desperate but unavailing courage. The operations of the siege were for a time intermitted to procure further reinforcements. The rajah, convinced that his destruction, however temporarily retarded, was but a question of time, offered twenty lacs of rupees, with other concessions, as the price of peace, and the proposal was accepted, although at the risk of leaving on the minds of the natives a dangerous example of successful resistance. The advanced state of the season, the fear of the hot winds, together with the menacing attitude of Sindia, then under the influence of his father-in-law, the notorious Shirjee Rao Ghatgay, were sufficient reasons for refraining from engaging the flower of the British army, at a critical period, in a contest with a desperate man, who, if mildly treated, might be neutralised at once. The son of the rajah of Bhurtpoor was therefore taken as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, and the restoration of the fortress of Deeg held forth as its reward. The force of Holcar had been reduced by desertion, more than by actual loss, to less than a fourth of its number at the opening of the campaign. The separate treaty entered into by the rajah of Bhurtpoor left him no hope but in the co-operation of Sindia, who affected to be desirous of mediating with the British government on his behalf. The power of both chiefs was, however, broken, and few obstacles remained towards a general pacification, on terms very advantageous to the English; when their whole policy was abruptly changed by the passing of the office of governor-general from the hands of the Marquis Wellesley into those of Lord Cornwallis, in 1805.

As early as January, 1802, Lord Wellesley had signified to the Court of Directors his desire of quitting India. The motives for the proffered resignation were various. They included several acts, on the part of the directory, which the marquis deemed derogatory to the reputation of himself and his brothers, as well as to that of his stanch coadjutor, Lord Clive, the governor of Madras; but the chief ground of complaint was the disfavour shown to his favourite scheme of founding a college at Calcutta, for the express instruction of young civilians in the description of knowledge absolutely requisite for the fulfilment of their allotted duties. The glaring ignorance of native languages evinced by European rulers, had long been a manifest hindrance to the good government of the people of India, as well as a bar to the kindly intercourse which might otherwise have subsisted. It was this primary defect which the marquis hoped to rectify, and at the same time to infuse into the youths of the service something of the *esprit de corps*, which he remembered with such vivid pleasure to have existed at Eton. The *College of Fort William* was his favourite project. The company did not deny the want of systematic instruction, which was daily more painfully felt; but they could not be brought to consent to the expenditure which Lord Wellesley deemed absolutely needful to fulfil the double object of educating Europeans and affording encouragement to native talent. The Board of Control supported the views of Lord Wellesley; but the project was, after all, but very imperfectly carried out, so far as the Indian population was concerned: for the instruction of civilians destined to serve the E. I. Cy., a college (Haileybury) was founded in England a few years later. Another cause which rendered the governor-general unpopular with his employers, was his deliberate and avowed opinion in favour of the extension of trade with England to India-built shipping, instead of confining it solely to the chartered vessels of the E. I. Cy. Despite the obvious policy, as well as justice, of this measure, as the only means of preventing Indian commerce from finding its way to Europe by more objectionable channels, "the shipping interest," then greatly predominant in the counsels of the company, violently opposed any alteration which should trench on their monopoly, and contrived, in many ways, to render Lord Wel-

lesley sensible of their unfriendly feelings. Nevertheless, his proffered resignation was deprecated by an entreaty to remain at least another year, to settle the newly-acquired territories, and concert with the home authorities the foundation of an efficient system for the liquidation of the Indian debt. The renewal of war with the Mahrattas, despite the brilliant success with which it was attended, could not but involve an increase of immediate expenditure, though compensated by a more than proportionate augmentation of territory. But the investments were impeded; and a failure in the annual supplies was ill borne by the company, however advantageous the promise of ulterior advantages; consequently, a clamour arose against the marquis as a war-governor, which decided his recall at the time when all material obstacles were removed, and his whole energies directed towards the attainment of a solid and durable peace. He had been sent out for the express purpose of eradicating French influence, an object which he had completely accomplished, though, of necessity, at the cost of much war and more diplomacy.*

The Wellesley administration—from 1798 to 1805—formed a new era in the annals of the E. I. Cy. Principles of honour and public spirit were engrafted which bore much fruit in after days; and many a friendless cadet of the civil and military service found in rapid promotion the direct reward of talent and integrity. Nay, more; there were honoured East Indian veterans who, after the lapse of half a century, delighted to attribute their success to the generous encouragement or kindly warnings of the good and gifted Marquis Wellesley.†

Perfect toleration was his leading rule; nevertheless, he did not hesitate to interfere for the suppression of such heathen customs as were manifestly incompatible with the spirit of a Christian government; such as the frightful amount of infanticide annually committed at the mouth of the Ganges. Neither was he withheld, by timid or sectarian views, from affording liberal encouragement to the able and zealous men (Buchanan and Carey, for instance) who had devoted themselves to the office of Christian missionaries. To all around him engaged in the cause of religion or good government, he extended cordial sympathy as fellow-workers; and if a shadow of blame can be cast on his ever-discriminating praise, it would be that of having been sometimes too liberally bestowed. But the full measure of love and confidence he gave so freely, was returned into his own bosom. Military and civil officials, of all ranks and classes—from the Earl of Elgin, at Constantinople, and Lord Clive, at Madras, to the humblest clerk—vied in affording the fullest and most correct information for the use of the governor-general; and the merchants and bankers seconded his measures in the most effective manner by furnishing government loans on the lowest possible terms. At the close of the administration of Sir John Shore, it had been difficult to raise money on usurious interest; but the Marquis Wellesley, on the eve of a hazardous war, found men who could appreciate the policy of his measures, and make them practicable, even at considerable pecuniary risk.‡

The general feeling in India was, unhappily, not appreciated or shared in England. The marquis returned, after an arduous and brilliantly successful administration, to find the uncertain tide of popular feeling turned against him. The British public were well acquainted with the aggressive and grasping policy of Hastings, and the manner in which he had made the weakness or wickedness of native princes conduce to the aggrandisement of his employers or his own personal interest. It was a very natural conclusion to be arrived at by persons ignorant of the general disorganisation of India, that a governor who had added hun-

* Into his minor measures, especially the restrictions placed on the liberty of the press, it is not practicable to enter: the motives for some of them were purely political—to check the conveyance of dangerous information, or lying rumours to foreign states; while the edict forbidding the publication of newspapers on Sundays, had the double object of reverence for the sabbath and a desire to show the nations, that not only the missionaries, but the Europeans in general had a religion—a fact which might well have been doubted.

† The rising talent of the civil service was called out in a peculiar manner by Lord Wellesley. The youths of the three presidencies, who had distinguished themselves in their examinations at the college of Fort William, were placed in the secretary's office of the governor-general, and educated under his immediate care for the respective departments, for the duties of which they were best fitted. Of those thus brought forward, three (Metcalfe, Adams, and Butterworth Bayley) became acting governors-general; and the majority attained high positions in India and in England.

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Forbes, the head of the well-known firm at Bombay, was the chief of those who, by taking up government paper at par, as well as furnishing supplies, restored the confidence of the wealthy natives in the stability of the E. I. Cy.

dreds of miles and thousands of subjects to an empire, which Hastings had been stigmatised as an usurper and oppressor for increasing by units and tens, must have been guilty of the same sins in an aggravated degree. Besides, the augmentation of territory and population had been effected in the teeth of a parliamentary prohibition of the most decided character. The oldest and ablest Indian politicians vainly strove to show the utter impracticability of neutrality, and argued that England, now the dominant power, could not relinquish her high position in measure, but must, of necessity, abandon territorial sovereignty and commercial advantage in almost equal degree. The company were smarting beneath the expenses of a war, which a little patience would have brought to the most satisfactory conclusion, by the prostration of the predatory power, which was equally opposed to all regular governments, foreign or native. But no! an immediate compromise was the order of the day; the withdrawal of the plundering Mahrattas from the company's territories was a relief to be obtained upon any terms, even by a direct violation of the pledge voluntarily given to the Rajpoot states to maintain their independence against their marauding foes. What matter if all Rajast'han were overrun by these eastern Goths. The company's investments would go on meanwhile; and when Sindia and Holcar had quite exhausted all outside the magic circle, it would be time enough to devise some other sop wherewith to engage them. This selfish policy, disguised by the few who understood the real state of the case by much abstract reasoning regarding the admitted justice of non-interference in general, deceived many good men and raised a strong, though short-lived clamour, against the champion of the opposite system. The feeling of certain leaders in the directory, joined with party politics of a very discreditable description in the ministry, found a channel in the person of a *ci-devant* trader named Paull, who, having accumulated a large fortune in India, came to England and entered parliament in the character of impeacher of the Marquis Wellesley, to whom, by his own account, he owed heavy obligations, and entertained, in common with the generality of Anglo-Indians, "the highest respect." The leading accusations were aggressions on native states: extravagance and disregard of home authorities,—at peculation or venality, not even calumny dared hint. The first charge regarding Oude was thrown out by the House of Commons, and the accuser died by his own hand, prompted by vexation or remorse. Lord Folkstone strove to carry on the impeachment by moving a series of condemnatory resolutions, which were negatived by a majority of 182 to 31, and followed by a general vote of approbation. Thus ended, in May, 1808, a persecution which cost the noble marquis £30,000, and excluded him from office during its continuance; for, with rare delicacy, he refused repeated solicitations to re-enter the service of the Crown until the pending question should be satisfactorily settled. He lived to see the general recognition of the wisdom of his policy; and on the publication of his *Despatches* in 1834–'5, the E. I. Cy. made the *amende honorable*, by the unusual procedure of the erection of his statue in the E. I. House,* a grant of £20,000, and the circulation of his *Despatches* for the instruction and guidance of their servants in India. He died beloved and honoured, aged eighty-three; having twice filled the office of viceroy of Ireland —been secretary of state for foreign affairs; beside other distinguished positions. This is not the place to tell of the efficient manner in which the illustrious brothers worked together for the defeat of the national foe, Napoleon: here we have to do with the marquis as an Indian governor; in that character let the pen of the historian of the E. I. Cy. speak his merits. "The Marquis Wellesley was ambitious; but his ambition sought gratification not in mere personal aggrandisement, but in connecting his own fame with that of the land to which he belonged, and of the government which he administered,—in the diffusion of sound and liberal knowledge, and the extension of the means of happiness among millions of men who knew not his person, and some of them scarcely his name. That name is, however, stamped for ever on their history. The British government in India may pass away—its duration, as far as human means are concerned, will depend on the degree in which the policy of the Marquis Wellesley is maintained or abandoned—but whatever its fate, or the length of its existence, the name and memory of the greatest statesman by whom it was ever administered are imperishable."†

* Lord Wellesley remarked, that to witness this compliment (rarely paid until after death), was "like having a peep at one's own funeral."

† Thornton's *India*, iii., 575.

Second Administration of Lord Cornwallis.—The new governor arrived at Fort William in July, 1805, and immediately assumed the reins of office. The interval of thirteen years between his resignation and resumption of authority in India, had told heavily on his strength of mind as well as of body, and the once indefatigable commander-in-chief returned to the scene of his former successes a worn and weary man, fast sinking to the grave under the infliction of chronic dysentery. Yet the English authorities, in accordance with popular opinion, declared him to be the only man fit to curb and limit the too extensive dominion obtained by the late administration in conjunction with the gallant Lake, whose services, though their effects were denounced, had been acknowledged by a peerage.

Lord Cornwallis had given proof of moderation by suffering Tippoo to purchase peace with a third of his revenues, and had rather relaxed than straitened the connexion of the E. I. Cy. with various native states. Despite the unsatisfactory results of his arrangements, and still more so of those formed by Sir John Shore, the Directory and Board of Control agreed in reverting to the non-intervention system, and urged the arduous office of effecting an immediate and total change of policy upon the ex-governor-general with so much vehemence, that he, from self-denying but mistaken views of duty, would not suffer failing health to excuse the non-fulfilment of what, with strange infatuation, was pressed on him as a public duty. It is not easy to understand the process of reasoning by which Lord Cornwallis was led to adopt such extreme opinions regarding the measures to be taken towards Sindia and Holcar. He had warmly approved the arrangements of the Marquis Wellesley regarding the occupation of Seringapatam and the complete suppression of the usurping dynasty; yet, now the arrogant and aggressive Sindia, and the predatory Holcar were to be conciliated, not simply by the surrender of a succession of dearly-purchased conquests, but by the renunciation of alliance with the Rajpoot and other states, who had taken part with the British forces against the marauding Mahrattas in the late crisis.

Sindia had suffered, if not caused, the English residency attached to his camp to be attacked and plundered by a body of Pindarries, and had himself detained Mr. Jenkins; yet no reparation was to be demanded for this outrage: and the governor-general, in his impatient desire to conclude a peace, would even have waived insisting upon the release of the resident; but from this last degrading concession the English were happily saved by the intervention of Lord Lake. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the brave and honest general on learning the nature of the proposed treaty, which he felt to be based on the unworthy principle of conciliating the strong at the expense of the weak. The territories conquered from Holcar had been distinctly promised to be divided among the allies of England; instead of which, they were all to be restored to the defeated chief; and the breach of faith thus committed towards the only power able to resent it, was to be repaired at the expense of the powerless rana of Gohud, who had made over Gwalior to the English on being enrolled among the list of subsidiary princes. He was now to be reduced to the condition of a mere stipendiary, dependent on his hereditary foe for subsistence; for all Gohud, including Gwalior, was to be given to propitiate the favour of Sindia—"an act," writes the governor-general, "entirely gratuitous on our part." Equally so was the renunciation of our connexion with the numerous rajahs, zemindars, jaghiredars, and other chiefs on the further side of the Jumna, for whose protection the British faith had been solemnly pledged. Lord Lake, who had been mainly instrumental in forming the majority of these alliances, and had, in his capacity of commander-in-chief, received material assistance from several of the parties concerned, addressed an earnest remonstrance to the governor-general against the proposed repudiation, declaring that the weaker allied princes never could be induced by any argument or temporary advantage to renounce the promised support of the E. I. Cy., and that the bare proposition would be viewed "as a prelude to their being sacrificed to the object of obtaining a peace with the Mahrattas." This communication bore date the day following that on which Lord Cornwallis expired. For some time before his death, he passed the morning hours in a state of weakness amounting to insensibility; but the evening usually brought him sufficient strength to hear despatches read, and even to dictate replies. Had the energetic appeal and arguments of Lake been sent a few days earlier, they might perhaps have been instrumental in delaying and modifying the

ungenerous and selfish measures which cost England so dearly in character and blood and treasure, by strengthening the predatory power it was alike her duty and her interest to abase. It is hardly possible that the man who steadily befriended the rajah of Coorg, even at the hazard of renewing a perilous war with Tippoo, could seriously intend to abandon the Rajpoot and other princes to the shameless marauders against whom they had recently co-operated with the English, unless prejudice and ignorance, aided by mental debility, had blinded him to the plain facts of the case. But whatever effect the honest exposition of Lake was calculated to produce on the mind of Lord Cornwallis, can be only surmised from his habitual conscientiousness. He had been extremely desirous of personally superintending the progress of the negotiations, and hoped by short and easy stages to reach headquarters; but at Ghazipoor near Benares, an accession of weakness stopped his journey, and after lingering some time in the state previously described, he died there October 5th, 1805, aged sixty-six years.

No provision had been made by the home government to meet this highly probable event.* Sir George Barlow, the senior member of council, on whom the chief authority temporarily devolved, had been associated with Lord Wellesley throughout his whole administration, and cordially seconded his lordship's views regarding subsidiary alliances. During the last illness of Lord Cornwallis, while hourly expecting his own accession to power, Sir George had expressed in writing "his confident hope that an accommodation would be effected with Sindia and with Holcar, on terms not differing essentially from those to which he was aware that Lord Wellesley was prepared to accede." Most certainly his lordship would never have consented to an accommodation which involved a direct breach of faith with numerous weak states. Sir George must have known this; but his conduct was in perfect accordance with the principle which enabled a certain well-known individual "to live and die vicar of Bray." The result was, however, less satisfactory; for though the E. I. directors were inclined to reward implicit obedience to their mandates with the highest position in their gift, the ministers of the crown were not equally compliant; and although they also were desirous of purchasing peace on any terms, the recent appointment was neutralised, and a rule laid down that thenceforth no servant of the company should fill the office of governor-general. Sir George was placed in charge of Madras; but before his removal from Calcutta he had contrived to neutralise, as far as possible, the effects of the measures which he had assisted in enacting; his avowed expectation being that the native states, when left to themselves, would forthwith engage in a series of conflicts which would, for the present at least, keep them fully employed, and prevent the renewal of hostilities with the English. Sindia† and Holcar received the proffered concessions with unmixed astonishment at the timidity or vacillation of their lately dreaded foe. The Rajpoot and other princes indignantly remonstrated against the renunciation of an alliance pressed upon them by the British government in her hour of need. The rajah of Jeypoor, who had especially provoked the vengeance of the Mahrattas, felt deeply aggrieved by the faithlessness with which he was treated, and his bitter reproaches were conveyed to Lord Lake through the mouth of a Rajpoot agent at Delhi. Disgusted at being made the instrument of measures which he denounced, and at the almost‡ total disregard manifested towards his representations, Lord Lake resigned his diplomatic powers in January, 1806, and after about twelve months spent in completing various necessary arrangements regarding the forces, and settling, agreeably to the instructions of the government, the claims of various native chiefs, he quitted India, leaving behind him a name that will be honoured and beloved so long as an Indian army shall subsist.§ He died in England, 21st February, 1808, aged 64.

* Lord Grenville publicly stated, that it had been generally supposed in London that Lord Cornwallis would not bear the voyage; and, in any case, could not long survive his arrival in India.—(Thornton.)

† One of the few concessions demanded from Sindia was the exclusion from office of his father-in-law; but even this was eventually renounced, and Shirzee Rao became again paramount. Happily his audacity at length grew offensive to Sindia, and an altercation took place which enabled the attendants, under pretence of securing the person, to take the life of a miscreant whose memory was long detested in Poona for the cruel oppression practised there.

‡ Lord Lake was so far successful, that his representations against the immediate danger, as well as faithlessness, of dissolving the alliance with the rajahs of Macherri and Bhurtpoor, induced Sir George to delay the execution of a determination which he nevertheless declared to be unchanged.

§ Major-general Wellesley, after receiving a

Little difference of opinion now exists regarding the accommodation effected with the Mahrattas. The non-intervention policy was soon abandoned; but its results justify the declaration of Grant Duff, that the measures of Sir George Barlow were no less short-sighted and contracted than selfish and indiscriminating. His provisional administration terminated in July, 1807,* its concluding event being an alarming mutiny among the native troops in the Carnatic. The immediate cause was the enforcement of certain frivolous changes of dress, together with other orders trivial in character, but involving a needless interference with the manners and customs of the soldiery, which had been introduced without the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck, the successor of Lord Clive in the government of Madras. "The new regulations required the sepoys to appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern, and never to wear the distinguishing mark of caste, or their earrings when in uniform. A turban of a new pattern was also ordered for the sepoys."†

These ill-advised changes might possibly have been accomplished without occasioning any serious disturbance, had a cordial understanding subsisted between the British and the native officers. But this was not the case; and the consequence of the alienation existing between them was, that the sons of Tippoo Sultan, then resident at Vellore, took advantage of the princely income and unusual degree of liberty allowed them as state prisoners, to assemble a large band of adherents, who made it their business to inspire the soldiery with aversion to their foreign masters, on the ground that the newly-devised turban, and its concomitants, though ostensibly ordered for the sake of convenience and unanimity, were really the tokens and forerunners of a forcible conversion to Christianity. The assertion was an utter absurdity. The Hindoos themselves, whose creed makes no provision for converts, were scarcely more devoid of proselytising zeal than the English had shown themselves, despite the opposite tendency of a religion which directs its professors "to preach the gospel to all nations." The military officers had, as a body (for there were exceptions), no need to defend themselves against any imputation of over-anxiety to manifest the excellencies of their faith in their lives and conversation, or by any encouragement of missionary labours. Of Christianity the natives in the vicinity of Vellore knew nothing, and were consequently ready to believe just anything, except that its divine Founder had enjoined on all his disciples a code so fraught with humility, chastity, and brotherly kindness, that if observed it must infallibly render Christians a blessing to every state, whether as rulers or as subjects.

Rumours of the growing disaffection were abroad, but excited little attention in the ears of those most concerned. Unmistakable symptoms of mutiny appeared, and were forcibly‡ put down, until, on the 10th of July, 1806, the European part of the Vellore garrison were attacked by their native colleagues, and Colonel Fancourt and 112 Europeans had perished or been mortally wounded, before Colonel Gillespie, at the head of a body of dragoons, terminated a contest which involved the destruction of about 350 of the mutineers, and the imprisonment of 500 more. Lord William Bentinck became the sacrifice of measures adopted without his sanction, and was recalled, together with the commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock. The obnoxious orders were repealed, the allowances of the sons of Tippoo were diminished, their place of imprisonment changed from Vellore to Bengal; and, by slow degrees, the panic wore off. The captive insurgents were gradually set at liberty; the cheerful obedience of the men, and their customary fidelity to those whose salt they ate, returned; and the British officers "ceased to sleep with pistols under their pillows."§

knighthood of the Order of the Bath, quitted India in 1805, ill-pleased with the manner in which the services of his brother and himself were received.

* Mill's *History of British India* terminated with the peace with the Mahrattas. In an able, but prejudiced, and without the comments of Prof. Wilson, misleading summary of the commercial results of the Wellesley administration, the revenues are shown to have been raised from £8,059,880, in 1805'–6, to £15,403,409; but the war expenditure, with the interest on the increased debt, which had been tripled, caused the annual charges to exceed the receipts by above two million. This was a temporary addition, but the revenues of the conquered territories were a permanent gain, viewed as so certain, that Barlow held forth the prospect of a million sterling as the annual surplus, to follow immediately on the restoration of peace. † Auber's *India*, ii., 432.

‡ The severe coercion employed may be conjectured from the fact that 900 lashes each were inflicted upon two grenadiers for refusing to wear the "hat-shaped" turban. § Bentinck's *Memorial.*

Administration of Lord Minto—1806 to 1813.—The new governor-general (formerly Sir Gilbert Elliot) came to India strongly prepossessed in favour of a neutral policy, but was speedily compelled to modify his views.

Holcar, on his return to Malwa, found occupation in quelling the disturbances arising from the non-payment of arrears to his turbulent followers, who made use of the boy, Kundee Rao, to intimidate his uncle into the liquidation of their claims. The object being accomplished, the child became, as he had himself predicted, the victim of the wrath of Jeswunt Rao; and Casee Rao died suddenly soon after, having been likewise, it was supposed, assassinated to prevent the possibility of the rights of any legitimate descendant of Tukajee being brought into collision with those of Jeswunt Rao. These and other atrocities were the forerunners of madness, which appeared in temporary paroxysms, with intervals of partial sanity, employed by Jeswunt in making extensive military preparations, especially in casting cannon, a work which he superintended night and day, using stimulants to supply the place of food and rest. It soon became necessary to confine him; and twenty to thirty men with difficulty succeeded in binding the despot fast with ropes, like a wild beast. His fierce struggles gradually subsided into speechless fatuity, and, at the expiration of three years, during the greater part of which he was fed like an infant with milk, the dreaded freebooter died a miserable idiot in his own camp, on the 20th of October, 1811.* Before his insanity, Holcar had taken advantage of the withdrawal of British protection to ravage and pillage the states of Rajast'han, especially Jeypoor or Amber, under the old pretext of exacting arrears of chout. The quarrels of the Rajpoot princes gave full scope for his treacherous interference. The hand of Crishna Kumari, the high-born daughter of the rana of Oodipoor, was an object of dispute between Juggut Sing of Jeypoor, and Maun Sing of Joudpoor. Holcar was bought off by Juggut Sing, but this arrangement did not prevent him from suffering his general, Ameer Khan, to hire his services to the opposite party. The chief commenced his task by ridding the rajah of Joudpoor of a rebellious feudatory, named Sevaee Sing, whom he deluded, by oaths and protestations of friendship, into visiting his camp. The intended victim entered the spacious tent of the Patan with a body of friends and attendants, and was received with every demonstration of respect. Ameer Khan invented a plausible pretext for a short absence, and caused the cords of the tent to be suddenly loosened; then, taking advantage of the confusion, he ordered a sharp fire of musketry and grape to be poured indiscriminately on the whole of the crowded assembly. The massacre was complete; and not only the companions of the betrayed Rajpoot, but those of Ameer Khan himself, with a party of dancing-girls and musicians, were mercilessly sacrificed. The rana of Oodipoor was seriously alarmed by the enmity of so unprincipled an adversary. He vainly appealed to the British government, as possessing the paramount authority in India, to interfere for the protection of their oppressed neighbour: his entreaties, like those of Zalim Sing, were disregarded, and the proud representative of the Surya race (the offspring of the sun) was compelled to fraternise with the infamous Patan adventurer by the exchange of turbans, as well as to subsidise his troops at the cost of a fourth of the revenues of the principality. This was in itself deep abasement, but worse remained behind. Ameer Khan, in conjunction with Ajeet Sing, a Rajpoot noble, whose memory is, for his conduct on this occasion, execrated throughout Rajast'han, succeeded in convincing the unhappy rana, that the death of his child was absolutely necessary to save the principality from destruction at the hands of the rival suitors. With his consent, poison was mixed with the food of the princess; but she ate sparingly, and its murderous purpose was not accomplished. The high-spirited girl, on discovering the design thus temporarily frustrated, bade her father attempt no more concealment, since, if his welfare and the safety of the state required it, she was ready to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed and dressed, as if for a nuptial feast, she drank off the poison. The first two draughts proved harmless, for nature revolted, and the noxious beverage was rejected; but the third time a more insidious preparation was administered, and Crishna

* Holcar was of middle height, remarkably strong and active. A small but handsome mausoleum was erected to his memory near Rampoora, and his favourite horse ranged in freedom around it. Tod describes this animal with enthusiasm, as the very model of a Mahratta charger, with small and pointed ears, full protruding eyes, and a mouth that could drink out of a tea-cup.—(*Rajast'han*, ii., 720.)

slept to wake no more in this life. Her mother died of grief; her father survived to endure the galling reproaches of some of his most faithful chiefs; and Oodipoor, so far from benefiting by the unnatural crime, lost from that hour its remaining glories.*

Ameer Khan, elated by success, grew more daring in his plans; and, attended by large bodies of Pindarries, undertook, in 1809, an expedition against the indolent and effeminate rajah of Berar. Lord Minto became alarmed by the probable subversion of the principality, and, departing from the non-intervention policy, sent a strong detachment for the defence of Nagpoor, and notified to the invader that the territories of the rajah were under British protection. A blustering and defiant reply was returned, upon which Colonel Close marched into Malwa, and occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, with other of his possessions. The strict commands of the home authorities, together with considerations of finance, prevented the governor-general from following up these vigorous measures by the complete overthrow of "one of the most notorious villains India ever produced;"† and the immediate safety of Berar having been secured, Ameer Khan was suffered to escape with undiminished powers of mischief. Before the close of his administration, Lord Minto had reason to repent this mistaken lenity. Berar was again invaded, and one quarter of the capital burnt by the Patan and Pindarry freebooters, a party of whom proceeded to set at nought British authority, by an irruption into the fertile province of Mirzapoor. The advisability of reverting to the bold and generous policy of the Marquis Wellesley became evident; and Lord Minto, whose term of office had nearly expired, urged upon the directors the necessity of vigorous measures. Indeed, the leading acts of Lord Minto himself were neither of a strictly defensive nor neutral character. Sir George Barlow's withdrawal of protection from the petty chiefs south of the Sutlej, had tempted a neighbouring potentate, with whom the company had heretofore no connexion, to extend his conquests in that direction. The leader in question was the famous Runjeet Sing, rajah of Lahore, a Seik chief of Jat descent. To prevent further aggression, the minor Seik powers menaced by him were declared under British supremacy, and a strong force assembled for their defence. Runjeet Sing, unwilling to provoke a contest, concluded a treaty with the company, by which he consented never to maintain a larger body of troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than was needful to support his authority already established in that quarter. As a further guarantee for his good faith, a detachment, under Sir David Ochterlony,‡ took up a permanent station at Loodiana, on the eastern side of the river.

The multiplied aggressions of France on the vessels of the E. I. Cy., and the fear of attempts to regain a territorial position in India, induced the dispatch of embassies to Persia§ and Cabool, for the sake of forming a more intimate alliance with those kingdoms. The Mauritius, Bourbon, and the Moluccas were captured by the British in 1810; and Java, with its dependencies, was conquered by Lord Minto, in person,‖ in 1811. Of these valuable acquisitions, Bourbon, the beautiful island of Java, and the Moluccas, were relinquished at the general pacification in 1815.

Some few remaining incidents of importance, which occurred in the time of Lord Minto, remain to be chronicled. The first of these is the death of the aged emperor Shah Alum, in 1806, aged eighty-

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 340. Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 466. Malcolm states, that the circumstances attending the death of the princess excited loud and bitter wailing throughout the city of Oodipoor. An aged chief, named Sugwan Sing, having heard of the intended sacrifice, mounted his horse and rode with breathless haste to the palace, He found the rana and his counsellors seated in solemn silence; and to his impetuous inquiry, whether Crishna were alive or dead, Ajeet Sing, the instigator of the tragedy, replied by an injunction to respect the affliction of a bereaved parent. Sugwan Sing unbuckled his sword and shield, and laid them at the feet of the rana, saying, "my ancestors have served yours for more than thirty generations, but these arms can never more be used on your behalf;" then turning to Ajeet Sing, he reproached him with having brought ignominy on the Rajpoot name, adding, as he quitted the assembly, "May the curse of a father light upon you—may you die childless." The malediction excited considerable attention, and the successive deaths of all the children of the guilty noble, were viewed as its fulfilment.

† Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 468.

‡ Sir David Ochterlony and Runjeet Sing, like Holcar and Zalim Sing, were both one-eyed men.

§ Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia by E. I. Cy.; Sir Harford Jones and Sir G. Ouseley, by the Crown.

‖ Lord Minto had been compelled to visit Madras in 1809, in consequence of the strong dissatisfaction which prevailed among the European officers, arising from reduced allowances; but greatly aggravated by the dogged and tyrannical proceedings of the governor, Sir George Barlow. By a judicious blending of firmness and conciliation, Lord Minto succeeded in allaying an alarming tumult.

three. He was succeeded in his titular authority by his eldest son, Akber Shah, who made some feeble attempts at the acquisition of real power, but soon renounced the futile endeavour. The exertions of the Travancore authorities in 1809, to throw off the yoke of the E. I. Cy., involved some destruction of life, but terminated in the principality becoming completely dependent on Fort St. George. The tribute exacted from Cochin was also largely increased.

The last feature was an impending rupture with the Goorkas, a tribe who had come into notice about the middle of the eighteenth century, and had gradually assumed a dominant influence over the whole of the extensive valley of Nepaul. During the second administration of Lord Cornwallis, they had completed the attainment of territory (less by violence than by fraud and corruption) which presented, on the side of the English, a frontier of 700 miles. Disputes had arisen between the Goorkas and certain chiefs, who, through the cessions made by the vizier of Oude, or other arrangements, had become British feudatories. The so-called pacific policy of Lord Wellesley's successors had emboldened aggression in all quarters; and the seizure of Bhootwal (a border district of the ancient viceroyalty of Oude) was followed by renewed invasion; until, in 1813, a new turn was given to affairs by the demand of the English authorities for the immediate surrender of the usurped territories. Before an answer could arrive from the court of Nepaul, the reins of government passed from the hands of Lord Minto, who returned to England, where he died (June, 1814), aged sixty-five. He was an able and energetic man; and the removal of his prejudices paved the way for a similar change of feeling on the part of his countrymen.*

MOIRA, OR HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION, 1813 to 1823.—Lord Moira reached Calcutta in October, and, in the following month, received the tardy reply of the Goorkalese sovereign to the demand of Lord Minto for the evacuation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj. It was complimentary in manner, but uncompromising in substance. There were many reasons for avoiding immediate hostilities in this quarter, and attempts were made to settle the question by amicable negotiation; but the persistance of the commissioners from Nepaul in reviving points previously settled, being at length silenced by a positive refusal to enter on such discussions, the British agent was warned to quit the frontier; and the envoys were recalled to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul. Lord Moira was too anxious to avert a frontier war, to give place to hasty resentment; and he addressed a remonstrance to the Nepaulese government regarding the insulting manner in which the late negotiation had been broken off. No answer being returned to this communication, a detachment was sent from Goruckpoor to occupy the disputed lands, an object which was effected without opposition. The British troops placed the direction of affairs in the hands of native officials, and withdrew, congratulating themselves on the easy fulfilment of an unpromising task.

The position of the northern mountaineers was but very imperfectly understood by the Calcutta functionaries, who now wielded the sceptre of the Mogul. During the palmy days of the empire, while the reins of government were held by too firm a hand for servants to appropriate to themselves the delegated sway of the sovereign, the plains at the foot of the mountains, between the river Teesta on the east and the Sutlej on the west, had been possessed by numerous petty Hindoo rajahs, who became tributary to the emperor, and received, in return, protection from the aggressions of the lawless hill-chiefs, most of whom maintained their independence, though some were content to own a sort of vassalage to the empire, in return for the possession of a portion of the magnificent forest of *Sál* trees, and of the rich plain called the *Turaee*, lying between them and Hindoostan. The old highland rajahs, whose families had warred with their lowland countrymen from time immemorial, held their own during the continuance and after the decline of Mohammedan power, until one of themselves, an aspiring chief, named Prithi Narayan Sah,† rajah of the small state of Goorka, to the north-west of Nepaul, incited by the early victories of the English in Bengal, armed and disciplined a body of troops after the European fashion, and proceeded to absorb the surrounding states, in a manner described as closely

* In 1813, an attempt to impose a house-tax occasioned great excitement in the holy city of Benares: the people practised a singularly combined, and eventually successful system, of passive resistance.

† According to Col. Kirkpatrick, the Goorka dynasty claim descent from the ranas of Oodipoor. Hamilton states, they belong to the Magar tribe, which has but very partially yielded to Brahminism.

resembling that which had rendered the nation he imitated masters of India. The nabob of Moorshedabad, Meer Cossim Ali, attempted to interfere on behalf of some of the weaker chiefs in 1762-'3, but sustained a signal defeat; and an expedition sent by the Bengal government, in 1767, to succour the rajah of Nepaul, proved equally unsuccessful. Prithi Narayan died in 1771, but his successors carried on the same scheme of conquest, crossed the Gogra river, seized Kumaon, and even strove to gain possession of the rich valley of Cashmere. The lowland rajahs, when transferred by the cession of the vizier of Oude from Mussulman to British rule, were suffered to retain undisturbed possession of their territories on payment of a fixed land-tax. The Goorkalese, on the contrary, as each hill-chieftain was successively vanquished, exterminated the family, and, with the conquered possessions, took up the claims and contests of their former lords, and were thus brought in contact with numerous rajahs and zemindars, actually occupying the position of British subjects. The complaints laid before the supreme government by these persons were generally but lightly regarded; and, unless under very peculiar circumstances, the Goorkalese were treated as good neighbours, whom it was desirable to conciliate. Under a strong government at Calcutta, outrages on the frontier were of comparatively rare occurrence, and, when firmly demanded, reparation was usually made; but the unfortunate measures of Sir George Barlow incited aggressions which were not to be so easily checked as heretofore. The rajah (a prince with a long string of names, differently given by different authorities)* was a minor. The chief authority rested in the hands of a military aristocracy, headed by a powerful family called Thappa, of whom one member, Bheem Sein, exercised the office of prime minister, with the title of general, while his brother, Umur Sing, held command of the army. The expediency of war with the English was much canvassed by the Goorkalese chiefs. The decision arrived at was, that their native fastnesses would always afford an invulnerable position, and by issuing thence on predatory incursions, a state of hostility could be made more advantageous, than peace purchased at the sacrifice of their favourite system of encroachment. The British, on their part, viewed the approaching struggle with little apprehension. The Bengal officers, especially, made sure of victory. From the days of Clive to those of Lake, with scarcely an exception, they had but to take the field and march straight against the enemy, to ensure his precipitate flight. The uncontested occupation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj, seemed the natural effect of their military reputation, and considerable surprise was excited by tidings that the Goorkalese had set them at defiance, by taking advantage of the withdrawal of the troops to surround the three police-stations in Bhootwal, where after killing and wounding twenty-four of the defenders, the superior local officer of the British had been murdered in a very barbarous manner. The governor-general demanded from the court of Katmandoo the disavowal of any share in this outrage, and the punishment of its perpetrators; but received a menacing reply, which precluded further hope of an amicable arrangement, and occasioned the issue of a declaration of war by Lord Moira in November, 1814.

The army destined for the invasion of the enemy's frontier, formed four divisions, of which the first, under Major-general Marley, comprised 8,000 men, and was intended to march against Katmandoo. The other three divisions, under Maj.-generals Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony (4,500, 3,500, and 6,000 strong), were directed to attack different portions of the hostile frontier; besides which, Major Latter was furnished with a body of 2,700 men for the defence of the Purneah frontier, to the eastward of the Coosy river.† The campaign opened with the siege of the petty fortress of Kalunga or Nalapanee, situated on an insulated hill, a few miles from Dehra, the chief town in the Doon (or valley.) The garrison consisted of about 600 men, headed by a nephew of Umur Sing. The English expected to carry the place by storm according to custom, and the gallant Rollo Gillespie, with fatal impetuosity, led an assault, in which, while waving his hat to cheer the troops, he was shot through the heart. The siege was discontinued pending the arrival of a battering train from Delhi;

* Styled by Fraser, Jirban Joodeber Bheem Sah; by Prinsep, Maharajah Kurman Jodh Bikram Sah Bahadur Shumsheer Jung. His father was assassinated by his own brother in full durbar, in 1805. The fratricide was slain in the ensuing barbarous affray, in which most of the chief nobles perished, and the royal family was nearly extinguished. The present rajah (then an infant) was secreted in the zenana.

† Major (now General) Latter rendered good service by his negotiations with the rajah of Sikkim (a hill state east of Nepaul), and his small detachment "accomplished more than it was destined to attempt."

but even when a breach had been effected, the soldiers, dispirited by their former repulse, could not be induced to advance. It was not until the assailants had sustained a loss, in killed and wounded, considerably beyond the entire number of the garrison, that measures were taken to shell the fort, and cut off the supply of water obtained without the walls. The besieged were compelled to evacuate the place on the 30th November, 1814. The conquerors found in the mangled bodies of hundreds of men and women, dead or dying of wounds and thirst, fearful evidence of the determination of the foe with whom they had now to deal. This inauspicious commencement seems to have inspired three out of four of the leaders of the British army (including Martindell, the successor of Gillespie) with a degree of timidity and distrust, which can scarcely be disguised beneath the name of prudence; and General Marley was struck off the staff for neglect and incompetency. General Ochterlony displayed a quickness and energy which, combined with discretion, enabled him to cope with difficulties of a new and unexpected order, and, although opposed by Umur Sing in person, to obtain triumphs to counterbalance the disasters which attended the other divisions. He had formed from the first a just estimate of the character of the enemy, whom he met with their own weapons, especially by the erection of stockaded posts, before unknown in Anglo-Indian warfare. The opening movements of the English veteran were cautious and laborious. The making of roads, and diplomatic proceedings with wavering chiefs, occupied much time before his masterly policy could be developed; but its effects were manifested by the reduction of the Ramgurh and other forts, and by the withdrawal of Umur Sing, with his entire force, to the strong position of Maloun. The stone fort thus named, and that of Soorajgurh, formed the extremities of a line of fortified posts, erected on a lofty and difficult ridge projecting into the Sutlej. Of the intervening peaks, all were occupied by stockades except Ryla peak and Deothul. Of these two, Ochterlony, on his approach, succeeded in obtaining possession; the first without difficulty, the second after a sanguinary conflict on the 15th April, 1815. Bhukti Thappa, a famous leader, above seventy years of age, who commanded at Soorajgurh, represented to Umur Sing the necessity of dislodging the British from Deothul; and on the morning of the 16th, an attack was made by the flower of the Goorkalese army on all accessible sides.* Happily, the previous night had been spent in throwing up defences in expectation of a renewed struggle. The enemy came on with such furious intrepidity, that several men were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the works; and their fire was directed so effectively against the artillerymen, that at one time three officers and one bombardier alone remained to serve the guns. A reinforcement, with ammunition from Ryla peak, arrived at a critical moment, and the British, after acting for two hours on the defensive, became in turn assailants; Bhukti was slain, his followers put to flight, and a complete victory obtained, at the cost of 213 killed and wounded. The enemy left about 500 men on the ground before Deothul. The event afforded a great triumph to the native troops, by whom it was almost wholly achieved. It was followed by the evacuation of Soorajgurh, and the concentration of the hostile force in Maloun, against which place a battery was raised by the end of the first week in May.

In the meantime, the governor-general had been actively employed in initiating a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund. While visiting the north-western provinces, he had learned that the inhabitants of Kumaon were held in rigorous subjection by the Goorkalese, who frequently seized and sold their wives and children to enforce the most arbitrary exactions. To supply the place of regular troops, levies were made from the warlike Patans of Rohilcund, under the auspices of two commanders (Gardner and Hearsey), who had come over from Sindia at the time of the Mahratta war. The corps organised by Major Hearsey was dispersed by the enemy, and its leader made prisoner; but Lieutenant Gardner succeeded in making his way into the heart of the province of Kumaon, and took up a position in sight of Almora, the capital, where a force of regular infantry and artillery, under Colonel Nicholls, joined him in

* The Goorkalese displayed throughout the campaign an unexpected amount of chivalry, and exhibited, in many ways, their confidence in the good faith of the British. After the battle of Deothul, they asked for the body of Bhukti Sing, whose loss they loudly bemoaned, declaring that the blade of their sword was broken. Ochterlony complied with the request, and sent the gory corpse, wrapped in rich shawls, in acknowledgment of the bravery of the fallen chief. His two widows sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile next day, in compliance with his injunction.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Trans. in India*, i., 170.)

the middle of April. The Setolee heights, distant from the fort about seventy yards, were gained after a severe contest; and the governor, thus closely menaced, and straitened for want of supplies, signed terms of surrender for the whole province, and for the retirement of the Goorkalese troops to the east of the Kalee river—articles which were duly executed.

Tidings of the fall of Almora facilitated the conquest of Maroun. The dispirited Goorkalese entreated Umur Sing to make terms for himself and his son Runjoor, whom General Martindell had ineffectually besieged in the fort of Jythuk. The old chief refused, declaring, that the rainy season, now close at hand, would compel the British to withdraw; and he used the most severe coercion to retain the allegiance of the troops. But in vain: the majority of both officers and men came over to the British camp as prisoners of war; and Umur Sing, with but 250 remaining adherents, beheld the batteries ready to open upon the walls of Maloun. Convinced of the hopelessness of prolonged resistance, the proud chief resigned his last stronghold, together with all the territory from Kumaon westward to the Sutlej, including, of course, Jythuk. Thus a campaign which, in January, promised nothing but disaster, terminated in May with the conquest of the whole hilly tract from the Gogra to the Sutlej, a country hitherto deemed impenetrable to Europeans. The triumph was, in fact, mainly due to native troops; of whom, with the exception of a few artillerymen, Ochterlony's division was exclusively composed. It is important to add, that this force was extremely well officered, and that its operations were materially facilitated by the ability of the field engineer, Lieutenant Lawtie, who died, aged twenty-four, of fever, brought on by excessive fatigue and exposure endured before Maloun.*

Ochterlony received a baronetcy, and a pension of £1,000 a-year in acknowledgment of his services. The governor-general was rewarded by a step in the peerage, being created Marquis of Hastings. Various important arrangements attended the conclusion, or rather interruption, of hostilities. Many of the Goorkalese entered the British service, and were formed into what were termed the *Nuseeree* battalions; a provincial corps was also raised for civil duties in Kumaon, which now became a British province. The Doon was retained, and ultimately annexed to the Seharanpoor district. The remaining hill country was restored to the several chiefs from whom it had been wrested by Umur Sing, with the exception of a few military posts; and the whole territory was declared under British protection.

The Katmandoo government was not, however, yet sufficiently humbled to accept the terms of peace offered by Lord Hastings. Umur Sing and his sons strenuously advocated the renewal of war, in preference to suffering a British resident and military establishment to be stationed at the capital. Another object of dispute was the fertile but insalubrious Turaee and the adjacent Sâl (*shorea robusta*) forest, of which, according to a Goorkalese saying, "every tree is a mine of gold."† The proposed treaty was therefore rejected, and Sir David Ochterlony again took the field in January, 1816, at the head of nearly 17,000 effective men, including three European regiments. All the known passes through the first range of hills had been carefully fortified by the enemy; but, happily, a route was discovered through a deep and narrow ravine, by which the Cherea heights were gained without resistance, and the position of the Goorkalese completely turned. The British general marched on to the beautiful valley of the Raptee, and was moving up to Mukwanpoor, when a skirmish of posts paved the way to a general action, in which he obtained a signal victory; whereupon the royal red seal was hastily affixed to the rejected treaty of Segoulee, and a duly qualified envoy presented it on his knees at the durbar of General Ochterlony, in presence of all the vakeels in the camp.

By a politic concession, a part of the Turaee was surrendered to the Nepaulese. The portion skirting the Oude dominions was retained, and, together with Khyreegurh, a pergunnah of Rohilcund, was made over to Ghazi-oo-deen, in payment of a second loan of a crore of rupees obtained from him during the war, and furnished out of the hoards of his father, Sadut Ali, the late nabob-vizier, who died in 1814.

During the Goorkalese war, indications

* General Ochterlony deeply lamented his brave coadjutor. The whole army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to the memory of Lieut. Lawtie in the cathedral church of Calcutta.

† The timber is used in ship-building, though far inferior to the teak of Malabar and of the Burman empire. The elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo abound in the forest, and ravage the plain.

of a desire to take advantage of any symptom of weakness in the British government were not wanting on the part of Sindia, or even of the peishwa, who now began to think himself strong enough to stand alone, and was well inclined to kick aside the ladder by which he had risen to fortune. The triumphant conclusion of the late hostilities checked the development of these feelings, and left Lord Hastings at liberty to direct his chief attention to the suppression of the predatory bands of Pindarries and Patans, who had arisen, "like masses of putrefaction, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states."* The chief difference between them was, that the Patans were military mercenaries, associated for the purpose of invading or plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate; while the Pindarries were cowardly and desperate banditti, whose object was universal rapine. Against both these descriptions of marauders the English authorities were compelled to be continually on the alert. The most effectual defensive measure was considered to be the establishment of subsidiary troops in Berar. The death of Ragojee Bhonslay appeared likely to facilitate this arrangement; for his only son Pursajee, being paralysed and an idiot, the nephew of the late rajah Moodajee, commonly called Appa Sahib, assumed the regency; and the better to establish his ascendancy, sought the recognition of the English at the cost of entering upon the defensive alliance which they particularly desired. Appa Sahib was, at heart, decidedly opposed to the establishment of foreign influence at Nagpoor, and no sooner felt himself firmly seated on the *gadi*, than he sought the means of recovering the purchase-money of his position by entering into negotiations with the court of Poona, then the nucleus of a powerful confederacy forming against the English—a proceeding which he accompanied by the precaution of causing his young and afflicted ward to be strangled in the night of February 1st, 1817.

Before this event, the incursions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased, and in 1816 they remained twelve days within the British frontier, during which time they were ascertained to have plundered 339 villages, put 182 persons to a cruel death, severely wounded 505, and subjected 3,603 others to different kinds of torture.† The losses sustained by individuals at Guntoor (in the Northern Circars) and elsewhere, were estimated at about £100,000 sterling. The peishwa, Sindia, and the divided authorities on whom the management of the Holcar principality had devolved, affected to desire the suppression of these enormities; but as it was notorious they favoured the perpetrators, it became necessary to take steps against such deceitful governments.

The policy pursued by the peishwa toward his English patrons, had become evidently hostile since the accession to office, in 1815, of one Trimbukjee Dainglia, a menial servant, who had found the path to power by promoting the gratification of his master's ill-regulated desires. The assassination of Gungadhur Shastree,‡ the representative of the Guicowar chief, who had come to Poona to settle a question of finance, under the express protection of the English, justified the resident (Mountstuart Elphinstone) in demanding the removal from office of the instigator of the crime. Bajee Rao, with characteristic indecision, first surrendered his favourite, and then unceasingly solicited his deliverance from the imprisonment which was the only punishment the English authorities desired to inflict. Artifice effected the deliverance of the prisoner. The Mahratta groom of one of the British officers in the garrison of Tanna, in the island of Salsette, while engaged in exercising his master's horse, sang beneath the window of Trimbukjee what appeared to be one of the monotonous ballads of the country, but which really communicated to the captive a plan of escape, of which he took advantage on the evening of the 12th of September, 1816. Having made an excuse for

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 431. Sir John, on the authority of the Pindarry leader, Kureem Khan, gives the etymology of the term Pindarry—from *Pinda*, an intoxicating drink which they were constantly imbibing. Kureem Khan was a Rohilla.

† No fewer than twenty-five women drowned themselves to escape violation; many sacrificed also their young children. The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by the Pindarries were—heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a tobra or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible. Their favourite weapon was the long Mahratta spear.

‡ Gungadhur was the name of the ambassador; Shastree, a title denoting intimate acquaintance with the Shastras, a portion of the sacred writings of the Hindoos. Bajee Rao was himself supposed to have sanctioned the murder, to revenge an affront given by the Shastree in refusing to allow his wife to visit the palace of the peishwa, then the scene of licentiousness unparalleled during the sway of any of his predecessors.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 374.)

quitting his rooms, he reached an embrasure, and lowered himself into the ditch by means of a rope, secured to a gun by one of his accomplices. This adventure greatly increased the reputation of Trimbukjee with his own countrymen, and he began to assemble troops on the Mahadeo hills to the north of the Neera. The military preparations of the peishwa, and his secret correspondence, and even interviews, with a subject against whom he affected to desire the co-operation of British troops, left little doubt of his perfidious intentions; and the governor-general considered himself justified in adopting a very summary mode of diminishing the power which he expected to see employed in counteracting his plans for the destruction of the Pindarries. Bajee Rao was treated as an avowed enemy, and required, as the only means of averting war, to surrender Trimbukjee, to renounce the right of supremacy over the Mahratta confederation, and to surrender certain territories in Malwa, Guzerat, and the Deccan, for the purpose of supporting a force of 5,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry, to be maintained in lieu of the previous British contingent. Other humiliating concessions were exacted from Bajee Rao, by the treaty of Poona ratified in June, 1816, which in fact reduced him from the position of an independent prince to that of a mere vassal. The treaty of Bassein had been censured for the sacrifices it entailed on the peishwa; and "the extension of the subsidiary system in 1805, had led the way to the retirement of the most enlightened statesman who had ruled in India."* By this time the weathercock of public opinion had veered round, and the Court of Directors expressed themselves well satisfied with the course of events, and convinced "of the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the government abroad."†

The sanction of the E. I. Cy. was likewise given to offensive operations to the extent requisite to drive the Pindarries from their haunts on the Nerbudda and from Malwa. The views of the Marquis of Hastings were more comprehensive: he considered that the peace of Central India demanded the total extermination of these predatory bands; and to that end "did not hesitate boldly to assume the principle that, in the operations against the Pindarries, no power could be suffered to remain neutral, but all should be required to join the league for their suppression."‡

At this period (1817) the Pindarries, under their respective leaders, were stated, by the lowest computation, at 15,000 horse, 1,500 foot, with twenty guns. Other writers carried the estimate as high as 30,000; but authorities agreed, that when joined by volunteers and adventurers from other native armies, they often exceeded the latter amount. The Patans, under Ameer Khan, were estimated at 12,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 200 guns. Supposing the contemplated confederation between the four Mahratta leaders (the peishwa, Sindia, Holcar, and the Bhonslay), the Nizam, Ameer Khan,§ and the Pindarries, to have been carried out, a force of above 130,000 horse, 87,000 foot, and nearly 600 guns might have been brought into the field to dispute British supremacy.‖

Measures had been already taken to diminish the danger of hostility on the part of the peishwa, and the subsidiary alliance lately formed with Berar was expected to ensure neutrality in that quarter. The plan of the campaign, therefore, was principally formed with relation to the independent states of Sindia, Holcar, the Rajpoots, the nabob of Bhopal, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Something after the fashion of the old "circular hunts" was to be attempted, by assembling armies round these countries which should, by simultaneous movements, close in so as to encompass the Pindarries and their abettors at all points, provision being made for the defeat of the project through the strength or cunning of the enemy, as well as for the defence of the

* Auber's *British Power in India*, ii., 528.

† Secret Letter of Directory to Bengal, Jan., 1818.

‡ Prinsep's *Military Transactions*, ii., 21.

§ Among the malcontents assembled under Ameer Khan was Dya Ram, a refractory *talookdar*, or zemindar of the Doab, who, in 1816, had been expelled by British troops from his fort of Hatras.

‖ The peishwa had command over 28,000 horse; 13,800 foot; 37 guns. Sindia—14,250 horse; 16,250 foot; 140 guns. Holcar—20,000 horse; 7,940 foot; 107 guns. Bhonslay—15,766 horse; 17,826 foot; 85 guns. Nizam—25,000 horse; 20,000 foot. The Nizam himself was too weak and indolent, if not incapable, to be suspected of any intention to intrigue against the English; but his sons were turbulent youths, whose vicious practices it had been necessary to assist their father in restraining; and it was difficult to judge what might be the conduct of the numerous armed population of Hyderabad, in the event of reverses attending our arms.

British territory. The forces destined to carry out this extensive scheme comprised above 91,000 regular troops, and 23,000 irregular horse,* divided and subdivided in accordance with the plan of the campaign. On the 20th October, 1817, the marquis, in person, assumed command of the grand army at Secundra (near Kalpee), and after crossing the Jumna by a bridge of boats, proceeded to occupy a position south of Gwalior, where Sindia had established his permanent camp;† while another division of the Bengal troops took up its station at Dholpoor. Undoubted evidence had been obtained that Sindia had not only pledged himself to support the Pindarries, but had even attempted a treacherous correspondence with the Nepaulese. His intercepted communications proved him to be only wanting a favourable opportunity to take the field, and thus give an example which would assuredly have been followed by the open appearance in arms of Ameer Khan and his Patans, who were at present inclined to hold back from their Pindarry friends. Sindia had inherited the ambition without the judgment or decision of his predecessor. He had not anticipated the skilful movement by which he found himself menaced by a formidable force in front and in the rear. To bide the event of a siege in Gwalior, or to repair to his distant dominions and join the Pindarries, with the chance of being intercepted and compelled to risk the event of a general engagement, were both humiliating and dangerous measures, which he thought best to avoid by agreeing to the demands of the English. These involved active concurrence against the Pindarries, and the temporary surrender of the forts of Hindia and Aseerghur, as a pledge of fidelity. The treaty exacted from Sindia was followed by the submission of Ameer Khan, who agreed to disband his army, if confirmed in possession of the territory of which he was in the actual tenure under grants from Holcar. As this notorious chief was a mere adventurer, whose demands could only be conceded by legalising the usurpations on which they were founded, it may be doubted whether temporary expediency, rather than justice, was not the actuating motive in the arrangement entered upon with him. Treaties with Zalim Sing of Kotah, and other minor potentates, were made in a spirit similar to those formed by Lake under the auspices of Lord Wellesley; and the nabob of Bhopal, especially, entered cordially into the intended expedition against the despotic freebooters from whose ravages his small territories had sustained almost irremediable damage.‡

The Pindarry chiefs, meanwhile, aware of the extensive preparations made against them, employed themselves during the rains in recruiting their respective *durrahs* or camps. The want of cordiality between the principal leaders—namely, Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed—prevented their forming any combined plan of resistance. With the exception of some *luhburs*, or plundering expeditions dispatched against the unprotected territory of the British or their allies, little attempt at opposition was made; and losing their usual activity, the majority of the Pindarries retreated passively before the advancing foe, fixing their last hope on the secret assurances of support received from Poona.

The governor-general does not appear to have anticipated any struggle on the part of the peishwa to recover his lost authority. Mr. Elphinstone, in his capacity of resident, had seen ample reason to take precautions against this highly probable event; but Bajee Rao, in an interview with the political agent, Sir John Malcolm, had conducted himself so plausibly, that Sir John, completely duped by professions of grateful attachment for early support, mingled with sad complaints of the harsh policy recently adopted, forgot the character of the arch-hypocrite with whom he had to deal, and actually advised the peishwa to continue

* The Deccan force, under Sir Thomas Hislop (including a reserve corps, the Guzerat division, and the troops left at Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor) numbered 57,000 regulars, of whom 5,255 were cavalry. The Bengal force comprised 34,000 regulars, including 5,000 cavalry.—(Col. Blacker.)

† Sindia seized Gwalior upon the death of Ambajee Inglia, in 1808, and established his army in the neighbourhood, where he remained until his own demise in 1827. A city sprang up there which soon rivalled Oojein, if not in the costliness of its structures, at least in the amount of population.

‡ In 1797, two Pindarry leaders, named Heeroo and Burrun, who were also brothers, offered the services of themselves and their 5,000 followers to the state of Bhopal, as auxiliaries in the war then carried on with Berar. Being rejected, they went off and made a similar proposition to Ragojee Bhonslay, who received it favourably, and bade them lay waste Bhopal, then in a most flourishing condition. The order was obeyed with cruel and lasting effect. The chiefs were plundered by their employer the Berar rajah. Heeroo, the father of Wasil Mohammed, died in prison; Burrun at Aseerghur.

enlisting recruits for the laudable purpose of co-operating with his good friends the English. Thus encouraged, Bajee Rao openly levied troops from all quarters, and secretly endeavoured to induce the British sepoys stationed at Poona to desert their colours. The native officers and regulars were, without exception, proof against these solicitations, which in many instances were made known to their commanders. But the irregular battalions, under Major Ford, contained a large proportion of Mahrattas, and these were naturally more subject to temptation. It is asserted that the peishwa desired, before proceeding further, to be rid of the resident by assassination; but that Bappoo Gokla, the chief Mahratta leader, positively refused to suffer the perpetration of so base a crime, the more especially since he had received peculiar kindness from the intended victim. Happily, Mr. Elphinstone was on his guard alike against national and individual hostility, and waited anxiously the first symptom of undisguised hostility, in anticipation of which a regiment had arrived from Bombay. Thinking the cantonment in Poona too exposed, the station was changed to the village of Kirkee, four miles distant; a step which, being attributed to fear, greatly encouraged the Mahrattas, who began to plunder the old cantonments. At length, on the 4th of Nov., 1817, Moro Dikshut, the minister of the peishwa, actuated by personal attachment, warned Major Ford to stand neuter in the coming struggle, and thus save himself and his family from the destruction which was shortly to overwhelm the whole British detachment. Up to this moment the major, though in daily communication with the city, had been so completely hoodwinked by Bajee Rao, as to entertain no suspicion of intended treachery. On the following day, news of the approach of a light battalion from Seroor, determined the irresolute peishwa to defer the attack no longer. Efforts were continued to the last to throw the British off their guard; and an emissary, bearing some frivolous message from the court, had scarcely quitted the residency, before intelligence arrived that the Mahratta army was in movement. Mr. Elphinstone and his suite had just time to mount and retire by the ford of the Moola river, to join their comrades at Kirkee, before the enemy arrived and took possession of the residency, which was speedily pillaged and burned.

The British brigade, leaving their cantonments, advanced to the plain between Kirkee and the city, to meet the Mahratta troops. The peishwa, disconcerted by this daring movement, sent word to Gokla not to fire the first gun. Gokla, seeing the messenger, and suspecting the nature of his errand, waited not his arrival, but commenced the attack by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket camels, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. A spirited charge was made under his direction by Moro Dikshut, with a select body of 6,000 horse, bearing the *Juree Putka* or swallow-tailed golden pennon of the empire. They came down like a torrent on the British front, but were steadily encountered by the 7th battalion. Colonel Burr had "formed and led" this corps; and now, though completely paralysed on one side, he took his post by its colours, calm and collected. One ball went through his hat, another grazed the head of his horse, two attendants were shot by his side; but the infirm officer, unhurt and undismayed, continued to cheer and direct his men. The advance of the assailants was happily impeded by a deep slough (the existence of which was not previously suspected by either party), situated immediately in front of the British line. The cavalry, while scrambling out of the mire, were exposed to the reserved fire of Burr's detachment; Moro Dikshut was killed, the force of the charge broken, confusion spread through the Mahratta ranks, and the advance of the English proved the signal for a general retreat. The battle of Kirkee must ever remain conspicuous among the hard-fought fields of India, for the great disproportion of the combatants. The Mahratta force comprised 18,000 cavalry and 8,000 foot: their loss was 500 men in killed and wounded;* beside which, a considerable number of their valuable and highly-cherished horses were disabled. The whole number of the British troops engaged in this affair, including Major Ford's battalion (part of which deserted), was 2,800 rank and file, of whom 800 were Europeans. Their loss was 186 killed and fifty-seven wounded.

During the engagement, the peishwa remained on the Parbuttee hill, with a guard of 7,000 men. At the first outbreak of hostilities, his orders were vindictive and ferocious in the extreme;† but he became

* Moro Dikshut was mortally wounded by a shot from a gun attached to Captain Ford's battalion.

† Several Europeans were killed in cold-blood;

alarmed by the unexpected turn of events, and gave over all power into the hands of Gokla, who was anxious to continue the contest. "We may have taken our shrouds about our heads," he said, "but we are determined to die with our swords in our hands."* This was not, however, the general feeling of the Mahrattas. They had little cause for attachment to the grasping and incapable Bajee Rao; and he displayed an utter want of confidence in their will or ability to protect him, by taking the approach of a British reinforcement, under General Smith, as the signal for a midnight retreat towards Sattara. Poona, thus a second time deserted by its sovereign, surrendered on the following day; and the necessary arrangements having been made for its retention, General Smith started off in pursuit of the peishwa, who, though a fugitive, was still at the head of a formidable army. He was further strengthened by the open adhesion of Appa Sahib, the rajah of Berar, between whom and the British force, under Colonel Scott, a severe conflict took place on the heights near Nagpoor, on the night of the 26th of November. The rajah being defeated, made terms of peace, for the fulfilment of which he was himself to be the guarantee, as a sort of prisoner in his own palace; but Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Jenkins, learning that Appa Sahib was only waiting an opportunity of escape, seized and sent him strongly escorted towards Benares. The captive, though treated heretofore without much ceremony, was suffered to choose his own escort; the result of which was, that the British officer on guard, having been made to believe that his charge was an invalid, gave a hasty glance at the bed on which Appa Sahib usually slept, and turned away after this slack performance of his nightly duty, without discovering that a pillow had been made to take the place of a person who was already many miles distant.

General Smith followed the peishwa through the Ghauts, but failed in bringing him to action. This much-desired object was, however, unexpectedly accomplished on the 1st of January, 1818, by a detachment proceeding to support Colonel Burr in resisting an expected attack on Poona. Captain Staunton, with one battalion of N. I. 600 strong, 350 irregular horse, and two 6-pounders, manned by twenty-four Europeans, after a long night march, reached the hills above Corygaum, a village overhanging the steep bank of the Beema river, and beheld with surprise the whole force of the peishwa, estimated at 25,000 to 28,000 men, encamped on the opposite bank. Both parties pushed on for the village, and succeeded in occupying different portions; but the British gained possession of a small *choultry*, or place of refreshment, which had originally been a temple. Here the detachment remained, under a burning sun, cut off from the water from noon to nine o'clock, disputing every foot of ground, and repulsing repeated attacks with the bayonet. The peishwa ascended an adjoining eminence, and, with the rajah of Sattara by his side, awaited what seemed a certain victory. Gokla and Trimbukjee (who had now joined his master) directed the attacks; and the Arab mercenaries, whose superior courage was acknowledged by superior pay, at one time became masters of the choultry, but it was soon recaptured. The struggle seemed hopeless, but surrender was not thought of. "See," said Captain Staunton, pointing to the headless trunk of Lieutenant Chisholm, lying beside a gun, "the mercy of the Mahrattas!" The troops, though some were fainting and others nearly frantic with thirst, declared that sooner than fall into the hands of their foes, they would die to a man: and the result seemed probable. Happily, towards nightfall, a supply of water was procured. The firing gradually ceased; and at daybreak, when the brave band prepared to renew the conflict, the enemy was descried moving off on the road to Poona, in consequence of the rumoured advance of General Smith. Captain Staunton, who was unhurt, retreated to Seroor; and the government, in commemoration of this gallant affair, raised the corps engaged† to the much-coveted rank of grenadiers, and added "Corygaum" to the name of "Mangalore," previously borne by the first regiment of Bombay native infantry.

Sattara was besieged by a combined force under generals Smith and Pritzler, on the 9th of February, and capitulated on the following day. A manifesto was issued by Mr. Elphinstone, on behalf of the British government, taking formal possession of the dominions of the peishwa, with the view of

and the families of the native troops who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas were cruelly maltreated

* Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 429.

† The battalion (2nd of 1st Bombay N. I.) lost 153 killed and wounded; the artillerymen (26 in all), 18; cavalry, 96; officers, 5 out of 8, including 2 surgeons.

retaining all except a small tract to be reserved for the rajah of Sattara, who, with his family, was still in the hands of Bajee Rao. General Smith again started off in pursuit, and came up with the Mahratta force at Ashtee, to the north-westward of Sholapoor. Bajee Rao, as usual, thought only of making good his retreat, and left Gokla, with a body of eight or ten thousand horse, to fight the English. General Smith,* though in other respects a good officer, is said to have been ignorant of the art of manœuvring cavalry, and he was opposed by a leader of unrivalled skill in that favourite branch of Mahratta warfare. The English chief was cut down, and some confusion ensued; of which before Gokla could take advantage, he was himself slain—falling, as he had promised, sword in hand. There was no one capable of taking his place, and the Mahrattas fled in wild dismay, leaving elephants, camels, and baggage of all descriptions, to the victors.† The rajah of Sattara, with his mother and two brothers, voluntarily threw themselves on British protection; and being placed under the care of Mr. Elphinstone, and assured of the favourable intentions of the British government, the rajah assumed the state of a sovereign. The wound of General Smith did not prove dangerous, and he was soon enabled to resume the pursuit of Bajee Rao, which the excessive heat of the weather rendered an extremely arduous and depressing task. The men fell beneath sun-strokes more surely and speedily than in the recent engagements, and the hospitals became crowded. The fugitive peishwa had long been desirous to make terms of peace; and at length, when his intended passage across the Nerbudda was intercepted by Sir John Malcolm, he made proposals which that officer considered as affording satisfactory ground for an arrangement. The terms finally agreed to were the complete renunciation of every political right or claim by Bajee Rao, in return for an allowance of not less than eight lacs of rupees a-year. Beithoor, a place of sanctity near Cawnpore, was appointed for his future residence. Trimbukjee was soon after captured in his lurking-place by a party of irregular horse under Lieutenant Swanston (one of the victors at Corygaum), and sent prisoner to the fort of Chunar, in Bengal.

To revert to the operations simultaneously carried on against the Pindarries. Soon after the signing of the treaty of alliance with Sindia, on the 5th of Nov., 1817, the army under Lord Hastings was overtaken by a violent pestilence, since known as cholera,‡ which traversed the whole of India, from Nepaul to Cape Comorin. The year was one of scarcity, the grain of inferior quality, and the situation of the British cantonments low and unhealthy. For ten days the whole camp was an hospital; and the deaths in that short period amounted to a tenth of the total number collected. Towards the end of the month the troops removed to a healthy station at Erich, on the Betwa, and the epidemic had evidently expended its virulence. Notwithstanding this calamity, the object of Lord Hastings in advancing to Gwalior, was fully answered by the prevention of any co-operation between Sindia and the Pindarries. The latter, after being expelled from their haunts in Malwa, were compelled to retreat in various directions, and annihilated or dispersed, with the exception of those under Cheetoo, who being pursued by Sir John Malcolm, took refuge in the camp of Holcar, near Mahidpoor. The government of the Holcar principality at this time rested in the hands of Toolsae Bye, the favourite mistress of the late Jeswunt Rao, who had exercised the chief authority during his insanity. After his death, she placed on the musnud his infant son Mulhar Rao, and proceeded to give vent to all the cruel caprices which could suggest themselves to the imagination of a woman of thirty years of age, handsome and of fascinating manners, but of an imperious and merciless temper and most licentious morals. Her last favourite, who assumed *ex officio* the reins of government, was the Dewan, Gunput Rao. He wavered between fear of the English and a desire to take part with the peishwa, then in arms. The commanders of battalions, especially the Patans, were adverse to entering upon any treaty by which their consequence was likely to be lowered; and fearing that the force under Malcolm, to which the division under Sir Thomas Hislop

* Afterwards Sir Lionel Smith, govr. of Jamaica.

† The British loss amounted to only nineteen killed and wounded; that of the enemy, to 200.

‡ *Transactions in India*, 1813 *to* 1823, i., 107—111. Mr. Prinsep was present at head-quarters, and lost seven servants and a *moonshee* in four days. During one week, 764 soldiers and 8,000 camp followers perished. Total deaths of Europeans in camp in Nov.—148. The epidemic, called by the natives the "black death," visited Calcutta in September, 1817, and for a long time destroyed above 200 per diem in that city.—(Prinsep: Wilson, ix., 253.)

had since been added, would overawe their vacillating rulers into submission, they threw Gunput Rao into prison, enticed away the child, Mulhar Rao, from the tent before which he was playing, and carried off Toolsae Bye, by night, to the banks of the Seepra, where, despite her cries, she was decapitated, and the body thrown into the river.*

On the following day (21st of December, 1817), a pitched battle took place, in which the British were completely successful, though at the cost of nearly 800 in killed and wounded. The enemy lost 3,000 men, chiefly in the flight to Mundissoor. The mother of the child Mulhar Rao, though a woman of inferior rank, being now the acknowledged regent of the Mahratta state, made full submission to the English; and in return for the cession of all claims in Rajast'han and south of the Sautpoora range, was confirmed in the actual possession of the remaining territories of the principality, at the court of which a British resident was to be established. Many of the old leaders repudiated this engagement, and set off to join Bajee Rao—an attempt in which some succeeded, but others were intercepted, and cut off or dispersed.† The ministers, under the new order of things, "did not deplore an event which disembarrassed a bankrupt state of a mutinous soldiery, and cancelled a number of old and troublesome claims."

The struggles of the Pindarries were nearly ended; Kureem Khan, and other chiefs, surrendered on the promise of pardon and a livelihood, and received small grants of land. Wasil Mohammed poisoned himself. Cheetoo for some time contrived to elude pursuit, but was surprised in Dec., 1817, with the main body of his followers, and dispersed by a detachment from the garrison at Hindia. The Bheels (aboriginal peasantry) and the Grassias (native landowners), remembering the outrages they had long passively sustained, now spared not a Pindarry who fell into their hands; but Cheetoo, with about 200 followers, still remained at large.‡ Though driven from place to place, the daring freebooter bore up against misfortune with a spirit worthy a better cause; till he suddenly disappeared—none, not even his son and few remaining followers, knew how or where; for they had parted from him to hunt the forest for food. After some days, his horse was discovered grazing near the jungles of Aseerghur (where Appa Sahib had sought refuge), saddled and bridled: at a little distance lay a heap of torn and blood-stained garments, and a human head, the remains of a tiger's feast. It was a fitting death for the last of the Pindarries—the last that is deserving the name; for these bold marauders, deprived of their leaders, without a home or a rendezvous, never again became formidable. After the termination of the war with the peishwa, they gradually merged into the ordinary population, following the example of their leaders. Many of them settled in the Deccan and Malwa, as cultivators; and some, employing their energies to a right use, became distinguished as active, improving farmers. The remaining Patan troops were conciliated or dispersed without further bloodshed.

The flight of Appa Sahib caused much anxiety, which terminated with the fall of the fortress of Aseerghur (April, 1819), whence the ex-rajah escaped disguised as a fakeer, and soon sank into a state of insignificance, from which he never emerged. An infant grandson of Ragojee Bhonslay was chosen to bear that name and fill the vacant *gadi*, or throne of Berar, with the title of rajah, under the nominal regency of his grandmother, the British resident being vested with the actual control of affairs during the minority. The remaining operations of the war were chiefly directed to the expulsion

* The career of Toolsae Bye resembles that of the heroine of a romance. She passed as the niece, but was generally supposed to be the daughter, of Adeeba, an ambitious priest, who, though a professed mendicant, rose to rank and influence. He spared no pains in the education of Toolsae; and she, Malcolm not very gallantly remarks, was "tutored in more than the common arts of her sex." Jeswunt Rao became enamoured with the fair *intrigante* at first sight. She was married, but that mattered little. In a few days the lady was in the palace of Holcar, her husband in prison, from whence he was released and sent home to the Deccan with some presents. Toolsae Bye had an artful waiting-maid, double her own age, who, after having attained high station and amassed large sums by extortion (thereby exciting the envy of the minister on whom the fleeting affections of her mistress for the moment rested), was flung into prison, cruelly tortured, and driven to end her agonies by taking poison.—(Malcolm.)

† An excellent account of the Mahratta and Pindarry campaigns of 1817-'18-'19, has been given by an officer engaged therein—Lieutenant-colonel Blacker.

‡ Conditions of surrender were discussed on behalf of Cheetoo, but his terms were extravagant: moreover, he feared treachery and transportation; and even when dreaming, used to talk with horror of the sea, the hateful *Cala pani*, or black water. After his tragical end, a few fields were allotted for the subsistence of his son, a youth of weak intellect.

of various Arab garrisons from Candeish, a province which, though professedly under the sway of the Poona government, had been gradually usurped by Arab colonists. Malligaum, the strongest fort in the Candeish valley, was gained after an obstinate siege in June, 1819, at a cost to the successful besiegers of 200 killed and wounded.*

The E. I. Cy. evinced their sense of the conduct of the governor-general during the late "glorious and successful wars," by granting him the sum of £60,000 from the territorial revenues of India, for the purchase of an estate in the United Kingdom. Few remaining events in the administration of Lord Hastings need here be mentioned. Its commencement was marked by the renewal of the company's charter for twenty years; by the opening of trade with India to the nation at large; and by the formation of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India.† The occupation of Singapore, in 1817, was effected through the efforts of Sir Stamford Raffles, to whose zeal and discernment may be attributed the possession of the British portion of the Indian Archipelago. Protracted negotiations were carried on with Holland by Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, which terminated in the Netherlands' treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to England in exchange for Sumatra, which was needlessly surrendered.

The financial dealings with Oude have been noticed. The pecuniary loans of the nabob aided in enabling him to assume the title of vizier without the sanction of the emperor; and, in 1819, the style of vizier was changed for that of king—an indiscreet admission on the part of the E. I. Cy. The chief blot upon the character of Lord Hastings' administration, was caused by the countenance lent by him to the nefarious transactions of certain persons who, under pretence of mercantile dealings, obtained the sanction of government to the most shameless and usurious practices, carried on at the expense of the weak and incompetent Nizam. It was in fact a new version of the "Carnatic debt," conducted in the name of Messrs. Palmer and Co., one of the confederates or partners being Sir Thomas Rumbold, who stood almost in the position of son-in-law to the governor-general, having married a niece whom his lordship had brought up from infancy, and for whom he avowedly cherished the feelings of a father. Strong domestic attachment and excessive vanity conspired to induce Lord Hastings to defend a course into which he had been misled by the artifice of covetous men; and when his late secretary, Charles Metcalfe, on entering upon the duties of British resident at Hyderabad, set forth in very guarded and moderate language, the necessity of introducing a better order of things, the marquis manifested great annoyance, and subsequently addressed a most intemperate letter to the directory, in return for their very just animadversions on the nature of a firm which, without office or establishment, carried on "dealings to the extent of nearly £700,000, occurring under an imperceptible progress."‡ Payments for real or imaginary loans, at sixteen to eighteen per cent., were made by the Hyderabad government, by cash and by assignments of revenue; notwithstanding which, £600,000 were claimed by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., as the balance of accounts with the Nizam in 1820.

During the course of his prolonged administration, the Marquis of Hastings, involved in numerous and intricate military operations, found little opportunity to study with success questions connected with the civil administration of the empire, and the complicated and anxious question of revenue.§ His lordship resigned his office into the hands of the senior member of

* In the course of the Mahratta war, considerable service was rendered by Sir Thomas Munro, who, with a few hundred men, was deputed to take possession of the country ceded by the treaty of Poona, which was effected with some fighting, but chiefly by conciliation. Sir David Ochterlony likewise played a conspicuous part in the Pindarry war. His death, in 1825, occurred under painful circumstances. He was twice appointed resident at Delhi, and removed each time against his inclination: on the last occasion, vexation of spirit increased the morbid melancholy which hastened the close of his eventful career; and his last words, as he turned to the wall, were—"I die disgraced."—(Kay's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 132.)

† The first Bishop of Calcutta (Middleton) came out in 1814. He died in 1822, and was succeeded by Reginald Heber, who was cut off by apoplexy in 1826.

‡ Auber, ii., 558 to 566. Thornton, iv., 583.

§ Sir Thomas Munro was sent to Madras in 1814, at the head of a commission formed for the purpose of revising the judicial system. He exerted himself very efficiently in the decision of arrears of causes which had been suffered to accumulate to a shameful extent. In 1821, he became governor of Madras, and carried out a settlement with a portion of the individual cultivators, called the ryotwar assessment, by which each small holder was not simply put in

council, Mr. Adam, and quitted India in January, 1823.* Though nearly seventy years of age, pecuniary embarrassments prevented him from spending his remaining days in his own country; and he was appointed governor of Malta, where he died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, in 1826.†

For six months the supreme authority rested in the hands of Mr. John Adam, an honest and able man, but somewhat prejudiced. He had uniformly dissented from the conduct adopted by the late governor-general with regard to the house of Palmer and Co.; and he was ready and willing to carry out the orders of the court for making the large advance to the Nizam necessary to free him from the hands of his rapacious creditors, who were forbidden to have any further dealings with the court of Hyderabad. The circumstances of the case are involved in mystery; but it is certain that the failure of the concern created a great commotion in Calcutta, many persons being secretly interested in these transactions whose names were never made public. The proprietors of East India stock called for documents calculated to throw light on the whole affair; and, after much tedious discussion during the next twenty years, political influence procured a decision more favourable to the claims of the European money-lenders, against various native debtors in Oude, than was consistent with the honour of the British government.

This provisional administration was marked by the deportation of Mr. Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, for a breach of the regulation forbidding editorial comments on public measures. The successful efforts of Mr. Adam for the reduction of expenditure, especially of the interest of the Indian debt, were highly meritorious, as were also his unavailing attempts for the extension of native education.

Amherst Administration: 1823 to 1827.—The place of Lord Hastings was at first destined to be filled by Mr. Canning; but the changes in the cabinet, consequent upon the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, opened more congenial employment to the newly-appointed governor-general, and he remained at home in charge of the foreign office. Lord Amherst was selected for the control of Indian affairs, and arrived in Calcutta in August, 1823. The first object pressed on his attention was the open hostility in which a long series of disputes with the Burman empire abruptly terminated. The power of the Burmese was of comparatively recent growth. The people of Ava, after being themselves subject to the neighbouring country of Pegu, revolted under a leader of their own nation, in 1753. Rangoon, the capital of Pegu, surrendered to the Ava chief, who assumed the title of Alompra,‡ and the style of a sovereign; and during the succeeding eight years, laid the basis of an extensive state, which was subsequently enlarged by acquisitions on the Tenasserim coast taken from Siam, and by the annexation of the previously independent states of Arracan, of Munnipoor, and of Assam. Proceedings connected with the conquest of Arracan, brought the Burmese in contact with the British government; for, at the close of the eighteenth century, many thousand persons of the tribe called Mughs, sought refuge from the insufferable persecution of their oppressors in the British province of Arracan. The numbers of the immigrants excited apprehension, and attempts were made to prevent any more of them from crossing the boundary line formed by the Naaf river. But this was impracticable by means consistent with

the position of a mere yearly tenant, but was compelled to pay a fluctuating amount assessed annually at the pleasure of the collector for the time being, whose chief object was naturally the realisation of an immediate amount of revenue, without regard to the permanent welfare—indissolubly united—of the governors and the governed. This system, much praised at the time, reduced the Madras ryots to a state of extreme depression. Munro died of cholera near Gooty, in 1827.—(*Vide Life*, by Gleig.)

* The revenues of India rose from £17,228,000, in 1813–'14, to £23,120,000 in 1822–'3; but a considerable share of this increase is attributable to the accession of territory made under the Wellesley administration. The more than proportionate augmentation of military expense is no less clearly ascribable to the unjustifiable measures of Lord Cornwallis and Sir G. Barlow, and especially to the sufferance long extended to the ferocious Pindarries and the encroaching Mahrattas. For five years (1817 to 1822), the average annual military expenditure was £9,770,000. In 1822–'3, the expenses still reached £8,495,000. The Indian debt increased from £27,002,000, in 1813–'14, to £29,382,000 in 1822–'3; showing an augmentation of £2,380,000. An able and comprehensive summary of the Hastings administration is given by Josiah Conder, whose history terminates at this point.

† Lord Hastings married Flora Campbell, Countess of Loudon, who lived with him in India in the full blaze of vice-regal splendour. In 1827, the sum of £20,000 was granted to the young marquis.

‡ Alompra (correctly, *Alaong-b'hura*), a term applied by the Buddhists of Ava to an individual destined to become a Budd'ha, and attain the supreme felicity of absorption into the divine essence.

ordinary humanity. In 1798, not fewer than 10,000 Mughs rushed to the frontier in an almost frenzied state, and were followed by another body still more numerous, leaving the capital of Arracan nearly depopulated. They had fled through wilds and deserts without any preconcerted plan, leaving behind them abundant traces of their melancholy progress in the dead bodies of both old and young, and of mothers with infants at the breast. The leader of one party, when told to withdraw, replied that he and his companions would never return to Arracan: they were ready to die by the hands of the English, or, if forcibly driven off, would seek refuge in the jungles of the great mountains, the abodes of wild beasts. The wretched multitudes attempted no violence, but sustained life as best they could on "reptiles and leaves," numbers daily perishing, until the British government, taking pity upon their misery, provided the means of sustenance, and materials for the construction of huts to shelter them from the approaching rains. Extensive tracts of waste lands, in the province of Chittagong, were assigned to the refugees, whom, perhaps, it would have been advisable to have settled in a more central position, since a colony of 40,000 persons, established under such circumstances, would, as they grew stronger, be very likely to provoke hostilities with the already incensed and barbarous sovereign of Ava.

The surrender of the Mughs was repeatedly demanded by this potentate, but the Marquis Wellesley returned a decided refusal; qualified, however, by an offer to give up any proved and notorious criminals, and by a promise to prohibit any renewed immigration of Burmese subjects. Some communications took place of little importance; and the discussion might have passed off without producing further hostility, but for the restless spirit of the Mughs, and their natural longing to regain possession of their ancient rights and former homes. A chief, named Khyen-bran (miscalled Kingberring), arose among them inspired with an insatiable desire of vengeance against the Burmese, which he manifested by annual irruptions into Arracan. The Calcutta government strove to check these aggressions, and Lord Hastings gave leave to the Burmese to pursue the depredators to their haunts in Chittagong; but this concession did not appease the King of Ava, who attempted to form a confederacy with Runjeet Sing and other Indian princes, for the expulsion of the English from India. After the death of Khyen-bran, in 1815, the border warfare greatly diminished, and the British authorities, considering the chief cause of contention removed, maintained a very conciliatory tone, which being interpreted by the nameless* majesty of Ava as significant of weakness, only rendered his representatives more insolent and overbearing. Still no actual rupture took place until September, 1823, when a thousand Burmese landed by night on the small island of Shahpoori, at the entrance of the Tek Naaf, or arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan. The islet was little more than a sandbank, affording pasturage for a few cattle. The guard consisted only of thirteen men, three of whom were killed, four wounded, and the rest driven off the island.

An explanation of this conduct was demanded, and given in the form of a vaunting declaration, that Shahpoori rightfully belonged to the "fortunate king of the white elephants, lord of the seas and earth," and that the non-admission of the claim of "the golden foot" would be followed by the invasion of the British territories. The threat was carried into execution, and a Burmese force actually took post within five miles of the town of Sylhet, only 226 miles from Calcutta. The governor-general entered upon the war with unfeigned reluctance, and its commencement was materially impeded by ignorance of the country, its routes, and passes. The advance from Bengal was at one time intended to have been made through Arracan, but this plan was set aside from regard to the health of the troops; and the main part of the force designed for the campaign, comprising about 11,000 men,† of whom one-half were Euro-

* The names of the kings of Ava, like those of the zamorins of Calicut, were kept secret until their deaths. The style of the Ava court, was to speak of "the golden presence," to address "the golden ear," or lay petitions before "the golden foot;" and on state occasions, the royal head was literaliy oppressed with the weight of a golden pyramid, and the body clothed in wrought gold.—(Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 270; Havelock's *Ava*, 245.)

† This included the combined strength of Madras and Bengal; but the excessive repugnance manifested by the native troops in the service of the latter presidency to forsake their families and forfeit caste by embarking on board ship, rendered it impossible to employ any considerable portion of them. It appears, moreover, that great neglect existed on the part of those entrusted with the charge of the commissariat, as in the case of the refusal to march

peans, assembled in May, 1824, at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans. Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell took command of the land, and Commodore Grant of the marine portion of the expedition, but the latter commander was speedily compelled, by ill-health, to give place to Captain Marryat. The forces safely reached Rangoon, the chief port of Ava, which was evacuated after a very feeble attempt at resistance.* On the 10th of June, a successful attempt was made on the fortified camp and stockades at Kemendine, on the Irawaddy river. The outwork was taken by storm; the first man to gain the summit being Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sale. These conquests were followed by a disastrous expedition, which involved not only loss of life, but of character. A Burmese detachment had formed stockades, under cover of a fortified pagoda, at Kykloo, fourteen miles from Rangoon, and a body of Madras infantry was dispatched to drive them off, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith. The Burmese suffered the English to approach within sixty yards of the pagoda, and then opened their reserved fire with deadly effect. The sepoys may well be excused for quailing before the foe when British officers fairly lost all self-control, and lay down to screen themselves from danger. Colonel Smith ordered a retreat, which soon became a flight, and many lives would doubtless have been sacrificed had not the approach of reinforcements arrested the progress of both pursuers and pursued. A strong force was sent by Sir A. Campbell to drive the Burmese from Kykloo, but they had previously absconded. This affair, which occurred in October, 1824, was not calculated to cheer the army, or encourage them in a position daily becoming less endurable. No consideration of pity for the unfortunate people of Rangoon had prevented the complete devastation of the country by its sovereign, and the invaders were consequently disappointed in their hopes of obtaining supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, and compelled to feed on putrid meat and bad biscuit. The influence of dense jungle and pestilential swamp, aggravated by intense heat and deluges of rain, spread fever and dysentery through the camp: scurvy and hospital gangrene followed in their train; and by the end of the monsoon scarcely 3,000 men were fit for active duty. The King of Ava relied on the proverbial unhealthiness ot Rangoon to aid the efforts of his ill-disciplined troops, and facilitate the performance of his command to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them to the capital to suffer torture and ignominy. Notwithstanding this vaunting language, his majesty of the golden foot became extremely uneasy on witnessing the pertinacity of the English, and despite much affected rejoicing at their having fallen into a trap by taking up a position at Rangoon, he compared himself, in an unguarded moment, to a man who, having got a tiger by the tail, knew not whether to hold on or let go.† He is said to have been encouraged in "holding on," by an odd tradition (if any such did really exist) that the capital would remain invincible until a magical vessel should advance against it without oars or sails!‡

The *Diana* steamer, which accompanied the flotilla on the Irawaddy, though possessed of no magic power, did great service in capturing and destroying the war-boats and fire-rafts sent out by the Burmese. The arrival of reinforcements and supplies from Bengal restored the number of troops at Rangoon to about their original amount, and infused new life into the survivors, and spirit to resist the repeated but ill-

against the Burmese, made by the 47th regiment (about 1,400 in number), at Barrackpoor, in 1825. The men entreated to be dismissed and suffered to return to their homes, but without effect. The regiment was paraded, and the refusal of the men to march or ground their arms (which they held unloaded, though furnished with forty rounds of ammunition), was punished by a murderous discharge of artillery, which killed numbers of them. About 200 were taken prisoners, of whom twelve were hanged, and the remainder condemned to labour in irons. The court of inquiry appointed to report on the whole affair, declared the conduct of the unhappy soldiers "to have been an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so."—(Thornton's *India*, iv., 113.) How military men can reconcile their consciences to such proceedings as these, is perfectly incomprehensible.

* Crawfurd's *Embassy to Ava in* 1827: App., p. 65.

† The Shwe-da-gon, a Buddhist temple of great size and remarkable sanctity, being deserted by its priestly guardians, was used by Sir A. Campbell as a military outwork. The building was of solid brickwork, elaborately decorated, and coated with gilding, whence its name—the Golden Pagoda. The portion deemed peculiarly sacred, was a solid cone 300 feet high, which was supposed to enshrine, or rather entomb, relics of the four last Budd'has—the staff of Krakuchunda, the water-pot of Gunaguna; the bathing-robe of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama, or Sakyasinha.—(Wilson's Mill, ix., 50. Also Hough, Symes, Snodgrass, Trant, and Havelock.)

‡ Auber gives the tradition upon the authority of Col. Hopkinson, who commanded the Madras artillery in the Burmese war.—(ii., 579.) Trant also mentions it.—(*Two Years in Ava*, 241.)

directed attempts of the various forces dispatched against them from Ava.

The provinces of Assam and Cachar were captured by troops sent from Hindoostan, with the aid of native auxiliaries. In January, 1825, 11,000 men were assembled in Chittagong, and dispatched, under General Morrison, to Arracan, with instructions to reduce that province, and then join Sir Archibald Campbell on the Irawaddy. The first object of the mission was fulfilled; but ignorance of the Aeng Pass rendered the Youmadoung mountains an impracticable barrier, and prevented the performance of the latter order. By the close of the rainy season one-fourth of the men were dead, and more than half the survivors in hospital, from the unhealthiness of the climate. The remainder were therefore recalled, with the exception of a few divisions left on coast stations. Happily the war had been more successfully prosecuted in Ava. The whole of Tenasserim was conquered by detachments from Rangoon* before the close of 1824; and in the following February, General Campbell prepared to advance, by land and water, against Prome, the second city of Ava. On the 25th of March, the troops came in sight of Donabew, a fortified place, where the flower of the Burmese army lay encamped. Our flotilla was attacked without success. Bandoola, the ablest and most popular of the Burmese commanders, was killed by a shell; upon which Donabew was abandoned by the enemy and immediately occupied by order of General Campbell, who advanced against Prome, which was evacuated on his approach. The King of Ava had not yet lost hope: levies were raised in every part of the kingdom; and in November, a heterogeneous force marched under the command of the prime minister for the recovery of Prome. An engagement took place on the 1st of December, which terminated in the death of the Burmese leader and the dispersion of the entire force. The British general prepared to follow up his victory by marching on the capital, but his progress was delayed by overtures of peace, which proved to be mere pretexts to gain time. The same stratagem was repeated more than once; and even at the last, when the evident futility of resistance seemed to attest the sincerity of the defeated Burmese, the boast of a military adventurer, that he would be answerable for the discomfiture of the invaders if enabled to lead an army against them, induced the renewal of offensive operations by the King of Ava. Troops to the number of 16,000 were assembled under the new leader, who was dignified by the name of Nuring Thuring, prince of Sunset (which our troops, being poor linguists, translated as prince of Darkness), and entrusted with the charge of covering the capital against the approach of the British army. The so-called "retrievers of the king's glory" encountered about 1,300 men, under Colonel Campbell (two brigades being absent on duty), and were dispersed with greater loss than had been sustained by their predecessors on any previous occasion. Their brave, though boastful leader, ventured to prostrate himself before the golden throne, and solicit a more powerful force, but was immediately put to death by the enraged and humiliated sovereign. No time could be spared now for procrastinating schemes if Ava were to be saved from the grasp of the English army, which marched on to Yandaboo, only forty-five miles distant. Two American missionaries (Messrs. Price and Judson), "the only negotiators in whom the king had any confidence," were dispatched to the British camp to conclude peace. General Campbell made no increase on the terms already stipulated for, and a treaty was finally concluded in February, 1826, by which the King of Ava ceded Arracan and Tenasserim to the English; agreed to pay them a crore of rupees (about a million sterling), to receive a resident at his court, and to grant to their ships the privileges enjoyed by his own. He likewise renounced all claim upon Asam, Jyntia, Cachar, and Munnipoor, which were to be placed under princes named by the British government.

The "peacock signet" was affixed to the treaty, the provisions of which were fulfilled, including the money stipulation, after some delay and discussion; and thus ended the first Burmese war. The dangers, disasters, and heavy cost of life and treasure involved therein, afforded strong arguments to both parties in favour of a durable peace.

* Among the expeditions sent against the English at Rangoon, was one under the immediate superintendence of the king's two brothers, and numerous astrologers. A band of warriors termed "invulnerables" by their countrymen, accompanied the princes, and were remarkable for the elaborate tattooing of their bodies, which were covered with figures of animals, and literally inlaid with precious stones. Despite their name, and real though ill-directed valour, they fled before European musketry.

The main body of the invading force returned as they came, by the line of the Irawaddy; but a body of native infantry succeeded in finding a practicable route to the Aeng Pass, and thus clearly proved that nothing but ignorance of the geography of the country had, humanly speaking, been the sole means of preventing "a portion of General Morrison's army from wintering in Ava, instead of perishing in the mountains of Arracan."*

Before the termination of the Burmese war, proceedings had occurred in another quarter which involved a fresh appeal to arms. The successors of Runjeet Sing of Bhurtpoor, had faithfully observed the treaty of 1805. The latter of these rajahs, Baldeo Sing, had taken pains to ensure the protection of the supreme government for his son, Bulwunt Sing, a child of five years old, by entreating the political agent at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, to invest the boy with a *khelat*, or honorary dress, which was the form prescribed by Lord Wellesley as the official recognition necessary to legal succession on the part of all subsidiary and protected princes. The request of the rajah was granted early in 1824, in consideration of his infirm health; and his death a year after, not without suspicion of poison, was followed by a train of events which proved the justice of the precautions adopted on behalf of the heir. For about a month the reins of government rested quietly in the hands of the guardian and maternal uncle of the young rajah; but at the expiration of that time, the citadel was seized, the uncle murdered, and the boy made prisoner by Doorjun Sal (a nephew of the late Baldeo Sing), who assumed the direction of affairs. This daring usurpation involved a defiance to the British government, which Sir David Ochterlony felt keenly; he also knew on how slender a thread hung the life of the boy, for whose protection the honour of England had been solemnly pledged. An immediate demand for the surrender of Bulwunt Sing was refused; but the promptitude and determination with which it had been made, probably prevented another name from being added to the long list of Indian princes born too near a throne to escape death by a poisoned opiate, or the dexterous hand of an athlete. Sir David was anxious to waste no time in inconclusive negotiation: he wished to march at once against Bhurtpoor, before the enemy should have opportunity to take measures of defence. With this intent, the veteran general, then in his sixty-eighth year (fifty preceding ones having been spent in India), set on foot the necessary preparations, which were arrested by counter-orders from the supreme government. The heavy pecuniary cost, and numerous disasters attendant on the early stages of the Burmese war, combined with mortifying recollections of the issue of the former siege of Bhurtpoor, rendered Lord Amherst reluctant to enter on an undertaking which, if unsuccessful, might, it was feared, add to existing embarrassments—that of "hostilities with every state from the Punjab to Ava."† The successful defence of this Indian fortress against Lake, was still the favourite vaunt of every secret and open foe to English supremacy: the repetition of such an event was to be avoided at any cost. The annulment of the recent measures may be vindicated as a necessary act; but there can be no excuse for the harsh and peremptory manner in which it was enforced, to the bitter mortification of Ochterlony, who after being before deprived of the position of Delhi resident by Sir George Barlow, was now compelled to tender his resignation, which he survived only a few months.‡

Doorjun Sal attributed the conduct of the British government to fear, and was consequently emboldened to drop the submissive tone which he had adopted while military preparations were in progress, and assert his claims, not as regent, but as rajah. The new Delhi resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, advocated the same policy as that which had cost his predecessor so dearly; and his representations, in conjunction with the warlike proceedings of Doorjun Sal, induced the supreme government to resolve on espousing the cause of Bulwunt Sing. An attempt at negotiation having failed, an army, comprising about 21,000 men and above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, marched against Bhurtpoor in December, 1825, under the direction of Lord Combermere. The garrison was believed to comprise 20,000 men, chiefly Rajpoots and Jats, with some Afghans; but the best defence of the fortress consisted in its thick high walls of indurated clay, rising from the edge of a broad and deep ditch, flanked by thirty-five tower-bastions, and strengthened by the

* Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 447. Prof. Wilson's *Documents Illustrative of Burmese War.*

† Wilson's Mill's *India*, ix., 191.

‡ *See* Note to p. 421

outworks of nine gateways. Of these fortifications several had been added since 1805: one in particular, termed the Bastion of Victory, was vauntingly declared to have been built with the blood and bones of Englishmen there laid low. On the previous occasion the besieged had, nevertheless, enjoyed advantages far superior to those on which they now relied. An immense number of troops, stated, doubtless with exaggeration, at 80,000,* were then assembled within the walls, whence they could issue at pleasure to draw supplies from the adjacent country; for the limited number of Lord Lake's force confined his operations to a single point. Moreover, the English at that time trusted too exclusively to hard fighting, and neglected the resources of engineering skill, especially the construction of mines—a measure now adopted by Lord Combermere, at the suggestion of Major Galloway† and Lieutenant Forbes of the engineers, who was on duty at the siege. The communication between the moat of the fortress and the extensive piece of water by which it was supplied, was cut off, the ditch nearly emptied, and mines were carried across and above it; while the operation of powerful batteries covered the approaches and kept down the fire of the enemy. By the middle of January the walls had been effectively breached, and the army impatiently waited the order to storm. It was given on the 18th, the appointed signal being the springing of a mine containing 10,000 lbs. of powder. The foremost of the storming party, in their anxiety to advance immediately after the explosion, crowded too near the opening, and the quakings of the earth, and the dull tremulous sound beneath their feet, came too late to save several of them from sharing the fate of numbers of the enemy assembled to defend the breach, who perished in the convulsion which darkened the air with dense clouds of dust and smoke, and hurled disjointed masses of the hardened ramparts in all directions. The fate of their comrades gave a momentary check to the ardour of the assailants; but the order to advance was issued and obeyed—the troops scaled the ramparts, and after overcoming a resolute resistance at different points, gained possession of the town and outworks, at the cost of about 600 killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 14,000, of whom 8,000 were slain in the assault; many being cut off by the British cavalry while attempting to escape through the gates on the western face of the fortress. The citadel surrendered in the afternoon. At the commencement of the assault, Doorjun Sal had quitted the fortress with his wife and two sons, escorted by forty horsemen, and sought refuge in an adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours, and then endeavoured to escape unperceived. The attempt failed; the fugitives were overtaken by a troop of native cavalry, and secured without opposition. Doorjun Sal was sent as a prisoner of state to Allahabad, and the young rajah reinstated on the throne of his ancestors; but though the nominal regency was made over to the principal widow of Baldeo Sing, and the partial management of affairs entrusted to his leading ministers, the paramount authority was vested in a British resident permanently appointed to Bhurtpoor. The army appropriated booty to the amount of about £22,000. Before the fall of Bhurtpoor, the conduct of the Ava war, though not entirely approved, procured an earldom for Lord Amherst. Lord Combermere was created a viscount. The diplomatic arrangements made during this administration were of some importance. In 1824, Malacca, Singapore, and the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, were ceded by the King of the Netherlands in exchange for the British settlement of Bencoolen, in Sumatra. Dowlut Rao Sindia died in March, 1827, leaving no son. His favourite, but not principal wife, Baiza Bye, was, in accordance with his wish, suffered to adopt a child and assume the regency—a procedure for which the consent of the company was solicited and obtained, provision for the continued maintenance of a British contingent being made by the advance of a loan or deposit of eighty lacs of rupees, the interest of which, at five per cent., was to be employed in the support of the troops.

Lord Amherst visited the titular king of Delhi early in 1827, and then repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, which from that time became the favourite retreat of the governors-general of India, from its beauty and salubrity. While there, hostilities broke out between Russia and Persia, and the latter and of course much weaker power demanded the aid of the Calcutta government, in accord-

* Creighton's *Siege of Bhurtpoor in* 1825-'6, p. 152.

† Better known as Major-general Galloway, the author of a valuable work on the mud forts of India.

ance with the treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814. The point at issue regarded the boundary line between the two countries. The cabinet of St. Petersburg positively refused to accept the arbitration of British officers; and the result was, that a struggle ensued, in which the British took no part; and the Persians, being worsted, were compelled to make peace with Russia by the surrender of the contested territory, in February, 1828.

In the same month Lord Amherst resigned his position, and returned to England. The restoration of tranquillity had enabled him to pay some attention to civil matters; and the diffusion of education had been promoted by the formation of collegiate institutions at Agra and at Delhi, as also by the establishment of schools in various provincial towns. The pressure of financial difficulties impeded the full execution of these as well as of other measures required to lighten the burdens and stimulate the commerce of the people of India. The war with Ava had necessitated heavy disbursements. In two years (1824 and '25), the sum of nineteen million sterling had been raised; and at the close of the Amherst administration, "the financial prospects of the country were of a most alarming complexion."* Nearly eighteen months elapsed before the arrival of a new governor-general, and during that time the supreme authority rested in the able hands of the senior member of council, Butterworth Bayley, who busily employed himself in laying the foundation of various internal reforms, which were carried out during the ensuing—

BENTINCK ADMINISTRATION, 1828 TO 1835. —After his recall from the government of Madras, in 1807, Lord William Bentinck had remonstrated forcibly against the injustice of making him the victim of measures adopted without his cognizance; and his arguments being seconded by influential family connexions (with Mr. Canning and the Portland family), he eventually obtained the appointment of governor-general, and in July, 1828, arrived in Calcutta. At that time unaccustomed tranquillity prevailed throughout India, and the character of Lord William Bentinck was considered the best guarantee against its disturbance by any aggressive or domineering spirit on the part of the English. A vivacious French traveller (Jacquemont) declared that the actual possessor of the sceptre of the Great Mogul thought and acted like a Pennsylvanian quaker: yet some of the acts of this administration would certainly not have been sanctioned by the great American coloniser. The influence of Lady Bentinck was unquestionably of the best description; and the improved tone of thought and feeling which pervaded the society of government-house, diffused itself throughout Calcutta and the British presidencies.† All the support derivable from a manly and conscientious spirit, was needed by one who came out burdened with the execution of immediate and sweeping retrenchments. No opposition was made to the extensive reduction of the army; but the old question of *batta* (extra pay) which had called forth the energies of Clive, became afresh the source of bitter discontent. The total diminution, on the present occasion, did not exceed £20,000 per annum; but it fell heavily on individuals: and although the governor-general could not avoid enforcing the accomplishment of stringent orders, he was thereby rendered permanently unpopular with the military branch of the service. The press commented freely on the *half-batta* regulations, and the discontented officers were wisely suffered to vent and dissipate their wrath in angry letters. The same forbearance was not manifested when the excessive flagellation, which at this period disgraced the discipline of the army, became the theme of censure; for Lord W. Bentinck, "though a liberal to the very core," held, as had been proved at Vellore, very stern notions on military affairs; and in this, as also in some other cases, showed himself decidedly "inclined to put a gag into the mouth of the press."‡

In 1829, a regulation was enacted, by which the practice of *suttee*—that is, of burning or burying alive Hindoo widows —was declared illegal, and the principal persons engaged in aiding or abetting it, became liable to trial for culpable homicide, and were punishable with imprisonment and fine. This enactment was far from exciting the expected degree of opposition. The same unlooked-for facility attended another measure (denounced still more de-

* Wilson's continuation of Mill, ix., 234.

† The altered tone of Calcutta society may be conjectured, from the fact of Jacquemont's going on Sunday to the house of the chief justice, Sir Charles Grey, to hear some music, play chess, and seek a refuge from the general devotion of the English.—(*Letters from India*, i., 101.)

‡ Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 253.

cisively) in prospect, as a perilous innovation, not on "the rights of women" only, but on those of the entire Hindoo community; namely, the abrogation of the intolerant laws which decreed the forfeiture of all civil rights as the penalty of conversion to Christianity. The convert not only became an outcast, but an outlaw; incapable of inheriting personal or family property. The wonder was that a Christian government had not sooner put a stop to such bigotry. Now, the necessary steps were taken with much caution, and the alterations were so mixed up with other ordinances, as to create little commotion or excitement even when first published.

In 1831, active measures were adopted for the extirpation of the numerous and formidable gangs of depredators, known by the name of Thugs or Phansi-gars; the former term (signifying a cheat) being the more common, the latter (denoting the bearer of a noose or phansi, wherewith to commit murder by strangulation) the less general, but equally appropriate designation. The lasso was not, however, necessary to these miscreants, whose horrible dexterity enabled them, with a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban, to destroy the unwary traveller speedily and surely;—the dead body was then buried in the ground, and every trace of the crime carefully obliterated. Hundreds upon hundreds of husbands and fathers perished none knew how, save the members of this horrible confederacy, who, whether of Hindoo or Mohammedan origin, were usually thieves and murderers by hereditary descent. Of the doctrines of the Koran they were wholly ignorant, and of Brahminism they knew nothing but its worst superstitions; which are those connected with the sanguinary worship of the goddess Doorga or Cali, the wife of Siva, whom they regarded as their peculiar patroness, and looked to for guidance and counsel, which they believed to be communicated through the medium of the flight and utterance of birds, beasts, and reptiles. Fearful oaths of secrecy were interchanged; and the difficulty of detection was enhanced by the consummate art which enabled the stealthy assassin to maintain the bearing of an industrious peasant or busy trader. Remorse seems to have been well-nigh banished from this community by the blinding influence of the strange predestinarian delusion that they were born to rob and kill their fellow-men—destined for this end by Providence by a law similar to that which impels the savage beast of the forest to slay and devour human beings. "Is any man killed from man's killing?" was their favourite argument. "Are we not instruments in the hand of God?" The mysterious workings of that almighty and ever-present power, which controls the actions, but leaves the will free, was unthought of by these unhappy men, whose excesses rendered them a by-word of fear and loathing throughout India. Lord Hastings made some efforts for their suppression by military detachments, but with little effect. Summary and organised measures of police were adopted by Lord Bentinck, and ably carried out by Mr. Smith, Major Sleeman, and other functionaries. In the course of six years (1830 to 1835) 2,000 Thugs were arrested and tried at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugor, and Jubbulpoor, of whom about 1,500 were convicted and sentenced to death, transportation, or imprisonment. The strange *esprit de corps* which for a time sustained them, at length gave way; many purchased pardon at the expense of full and free confession: formidable gangs were thus reduced to a few scattered and intimidated individuals; and the Thugs became a bugbear of past times.

The most exceptionable feature in the Bentinck administration was the deposition of the rajah of Coorg, Veer Rajundra Wudiyar, and the conversion of his mountainous principality into a province of the Madras presidency. The immediate occasion appears to have been a domestic quarrel with his sister and her husband, which led them to seek the protection of the British resident at Mysore. The rajah was described as fierce, cruel, and disposed to enter on intrigues against the supreme government with the rajah of Mysore. These vague charges, together with some angry letters, demanding the surrender of his fugitive relations, and the imprisonment of a servant of the company, were considered to justify the dispatch of a powerful force for the subjugation of Coorg. The British advanced in four divisions, and entered the principality from as many quarters. The alleged unpopularity of the rajah was contradicted by the determination of his defenders, despite a proclamation offering protection to person and property as the price of neutrality; but the efforts of the brave mountaineers were rendered unavailing, less by the overwhelming superiority of

numbers and discipline on the part of the invaders, than by the avowed disinclination of Veer Rajundra to organised opposition against the powerful protectors of his ancestors. Merkara, the capital of Coorg, was captured in April, 1834, and the rajah, with his family, surrendered unconditionally. A committee of inquiry was instituted into the charges adduced against him, and the search made after the seizure of Merkara, brought to light the bodies of seventeen persons, including three relatives of the rajah, who had been put to death by decapitation or strangling, and thrown into a pit in the jungle. This was a melancholy revelation; but such severities are unhappily quite consistent with the ordinary proceedings of despotic governments; and it may well be doubted whether, even if proved beforehand, they could warrant the interference of a foreign state for the deposition of the prince by whom they were committed, in opposition to the will of the people he governed. Certainly the assumption of sovereignty over the Coorgs could be excused only by the most rigid adherence to the promise given, "that their civil rights and religious usages should be respected, and that the greatest desire should invariably be shown to augment their security, comfort, and happiness. How far these objects have been effected," adds Professor Wilson, "may admit of question; but the province has remained at peace, and the Coorgs have shown no disposition to reassert their independence."*

The rajah became a pensioner on the E. I. Cy. Several years ago he came to England, bringing with him a daughter, a lady-like and intelligent child, to be educated as a Christian. Queen Victoria, by a graceful act of spontaneous kindness calculated to endear her to the vast Indian population beneath her sway, officiated in person as godmother to the young stranger, who, it was hoped, would long live to merit and enjoy a continuance of the royal favour. The rajah himself had no trace, either in countenance or bearing, of the insane cruelty ascribed to him; and the satisfactory arrangement of the pecuniary question† then at issue between him and the E. I. Cy. was desirable, as the best means of strengthening the confidence of Indian princes in the good faith of the nation in general.

Whatever view may be taken of the conduct of Lord W. Bentinck in this case, and of certain complex arrangements, of comparatively small interest, with Oude, Mysoor, Nagpoor, Jeypoor, and other Indian states, there can be no doubt that the general result of his administration was highly beneficial to the cause of religious civilisation.‡ Public institutions, whether for educational or charitable purposes, were warmly encouraged; and the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries, which had been the radical defect of the Cornwallis system, was to some extent remedied by the employment of natives in offices of trust and emolument,—not, indeed, to the extent which they have a right to expect eventually, but as much perhaps as the circumstances of the time warranted. The opening of the "overland route" by way of the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, and the consequent reduction of the length of transit from four or five months to forty or fifty days (an immense boon to the Anglo-Indian community), was effected mainly through the instrumentality of the late Lieutenant Waghorn, R.N.

The navigation of the Ganges by steam vessels was attempted, and proved entirely successful.§ Measures were adopted to procure the unobstructed navigation of the Indus, with a view to the extension of British trade with the countries to the westward as far as the Caspian Sea, and also in the hope of establishing a commanding influence on the Indus, in order to counteract the consequences which might be anticipated from the complete prostration of Persia, and its subservience to the designs of Russia against British India. The orders of the cabinet of St. James were positive, and Lord W. Bentinck must therefore be acquitted of blame for the complex relations formed with the Mohammedan states of Bahawulpoor, Sinde, and Afghanistan, and especially with the wily and ambitious Seik, Runjeet Sing, to whom a present of several

* Continuation of Mill's *India*, ix., 359.

† Relating to the proprietary right to a large sum of money invested by the prince and his family in the Anglo-Indian funds, the interest of which had been regularly paid to the rajah, Veer Rajundra, up to the time of his deposition, which the E. I. Cy. then appeared disposed to regard as confiscated.

‡ The efforts of Lord W. Bentinck were especially directed to the diffusion of the English language among the natives—a measure difficult indeed, but highly desirable in the sight of all their well-wishers.

§ The first voyage between Bombay and Suez, made by the *Hugh Lindsay* in 1830, occupied thirty days; the second, in the same year, only twenty-two. The passage between England and India, by the Suez Canal, occupies about a month.

English horses, of unusual size and stature, was made by Lieutenant Burnes, in the name of William IV., in October, 1831.

The renewal of the charter of the E.I. Cy. for the term of twenty years (1833 to 1853), was attended with a complete change in the constitution of that powerful body, which, after commencing in a purely commercial spirit, now consented to place in abeyance its exclusive privileges of trade with China as well as with India, but retained its political rights; and, in conjunction with the Board of Control, continued to direct the affairs of Hindoostan. The fixed dividend guaranteed to the shareholders, and charged upon the revenues of India, the means of redeeming the company's stock, with other arrangements then made, are set forth in the opening page of this history. Lord William Bentinck resigned his position on account of ill-health, and quitted India early in 1835. The brief provisional sway of Sir Charles Metcalfe was distinguished by a measure which procured him much exaggerated applause and equally indiscriminate censure. This act was the removal of the restrictions on the public press of India, which, though rarely enforced, were still in existence. It is worthy of remark, that the liability to government interference was confined to Europeans; for native editors could publish anything short of a direct libel: and after the banishment of Mr. Silk Buckingham by Mr. Adam, his paper was continued by a successor of mixed race, an Anglo-Indian, whom the law did not affect. The views of Sir Charles Metcalfe, with regard to the precarious nature of our Indian empire, were of a decidedly exaggerated and alarmist character. In 1825, he had declared the real dangers of a free press in India to be, "its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke;" and a minute recorded by him in October, 1830, expressed, with some sharpness, the inconvenience attendant on the proceedings of government finding their way into the newspapers. Despite some apparent inconsistency, the strenuous advocacy of the freedom of the press, at all hazards, would have been a proceeding worthy his frank and manly character; but it would be difficult to justify his conduct in enacting a measure, however laudable in itself, in opposition to the will, and, as it was generally supposed, to the interests of his employers. The change could scarcely have been long delayed; for now that Englishmen were to be suffered to settle at pleasure in India, it was not likely they would tamely submit to have summary deportation held over them as the penalty of offending against the prerogative of a despotic governor, in a time of external and internal tranquillity.

AUCKLAND ADMINISTRATION: 1835 TO 1842.—The person first nominated as the successor of Lord William Bentinck was Lord Heytesbury; but the brief interval of power enjoyed by the Tory ministry having expired before his lordship could quit England, the appointment was cancelled, the large sum granted as usual for outfitting expenses being forfeited by the E. I. Cy.

The restored Whig cabinet, under Lord Melbourne, bestowed the Indian viceroyalty on Lord Auckland, a nobleman of amiable character and business habits, who, it was generally supposed, might be safely entrusted with the charge of the supreme government, which had certainly never been assumed by any preceding functionary under more favourable circumstances. Perfect tranquillity, a diminishing debt, and increasing commerce, seemed to promise an easy and honourable administration; unhappily, it proved the very reverse. The first event of importance was one which, though vindicated by an author whose impartiality reflects equal credit on himself and the E. I. Cy.,* nevertheless appears to the writer of the present work an act of cruel injustice, the blame of which rests chiefly on the Bombay authorities; for the new governor-general gave but a tardy and reluctant assent to their decision. The measure in question was the deposition of the rajah of Sattara, the legitimate successor of Sevajee, who had been placed on the musnud in 1819. The policy or impolicy of his reinstatement need not be discussed. Pertab Sein, then twenty-seven years of age, showed unbounded delight at his restoration to what he undisguisedly viewed as real power, and diligently set about improving his little sovereignty. Successive residents at his court—Grant Duff, generals Briggs and Robertson, and Colonel Lodwick—bore witness to the general excellence of his administration from 1819 to 1837–'8, the last gentleman with some qualification, the specified drawback being the new feature of weakness of mind manifested by an excessive addiction to Brahminical superstitions, and the employment

* Mr. Edward Thornton, then of the statistical department at the India House.

of women in the management of elephants, as guards, and in other unusual offices. These complaints were the first indication of an altered tone on the part of the local authorities, and were probably the earliest results of a conspiracy formed against the rajah in his own palace. The favourable nature of the testimony regarding his conduct previously sent to England, had drawn from the Court of Directors repeated expressions of warm and generous praise. In 1829 he was declared to be "remarkable among the princes of India for mildness, frugality, and attention to business;" in 1831, "his disposition and capacity for government" are again noticed; and in December, 1835, a letter was addressed to him, lauding the "exemplary fulfilment" of his duties as "well calculated to promote the prosperity of his dominions and the happiness of his people," and acknowledging "the liberality displayed in executing various public works of great utility, which has so justly raised your reputation in the eyes of the princes and people of India, and gives you an additional claim to our approbation, respect, and applause." This testimony was accompanied by a handsome sword, the most marked tribute of respect which could be offered to a Mahratta. The letter and sword were arbitrarily detained by the Bombay government, and never presented to the rajah, whose feelings about this time became irritated by a controversy with them regarding certain jaghires to which he laid claim. A conspiracy was, it is believed, concocted against him by a vindictive, ungrateful, and profligate brother, and the rajah was accused of endeavouring to procure the overthrow of British power by three extraordinary measures:—first, by striving to corrupt the entire Anglo-Indian army through two native officers of a regiment stationed at Sattara; second, by inducing the Portuguese at Goa to land 30,000 European troops in India, who were to be marched overland for the purpose; third, by corresponding with the fugitive ex-rajah of Nagpoor, who had neither character, influence, nor ability,—not a shilling, nor an acre of territory,—and was himself dependent on charity. The seals of the rajah were forged, pretended correspondence produced, and other artful schemes successfully carried through. There was at this time a vague feeling of alarm throughout India relative to a general rising against British supremacy: the press at home and abroad gave countenance to the idea; and Sir Charles Metcalfe declared he should not be surprised "to wake some fine morning and find the whole thing blown up." Sir Robert Grant, then governor of Bombay, and some officials around him, fell into the trap, and despatches of several hundred paragraphs were written regarding the alleged application of the rajah for the aid of 30,000 Portuguese soldiers, when, at that time, *thirty* would have been an impossibility; and great alarm was professed lest 200,000 British soldiers—Mussulmen as well as Hindoos, who had ever proved themselves true to their salt—should be seduced from their allegiance by this petty prince, who was no warrior, but an excellent farmer and landlord. The supreme government of India at first treated the affair with the contempt it merited: but reiterated calumnies began to take effect; and the alarm once given, the most absurd stories, many of which carried with them the proof of their falsehood,* were believed by men who were afterwards ashamed to confess their credulity. Sir R. Grant died, and Sir James Carnac, then chairman of the Court of Directors, succeeded him. He went to Sattara in 1839, and required the rajah to acknowledge his guilt, sign a new treaty, and all would be forgiven. Pertab Sein refused to declare himself a traitor to the British government; asked for a copy of the charges against him, and demanded a fair hearing and a public trial. Sir J. Carnac was a kind and moderate man; but the strong prejudices—not to use a harsher term—of his associates warped his judgment, and led him to view the conduct of the rajah as the continued contumacy of a rebel, instead of the offended feelings of an innocent man. A body of troops marched at midnight into the palace, led by the successful plotter, Appa Sahib: the rajah was made prisoner in his bed; all his property seized; and ere morning

* After the deposition of the Sattara rajah, on the evidence of forged documents and perjured witnesses, a similar case has come to light. Ali Morad, one of the Ameers of Sinde, having been convicted of forgery, had a large portion of his territories confiscated by the British government. The accuser, Sheik Ali Hussein, had been prime minister of the chief, and was dismissed for malpractices: at his death (8th May, 1853), he confessed that all he had sworn against Ali Morad was untrue, and that he had given false evidence for purposes of revenge.—(*Bombay Gazette*, 10th May, 1853.)

dawned, the victim of a foul conspiracy was ignominiously hurried away as a prisoner to Benares, where he died. The brother who had caused his ruin was placed on the throne. After a few years of profligacy and indolence Appa Sahib died, leaving no son, and the little principality of Sattara devolved, in default of heirs, upon the British government. The whole transaction is painful, and reflects little credit on any concerned therein: time, the revealer of truth, has exposed the folly and injustice of the procedure; and had the ex-rajah survived, some measure of justice would probably have been rendered him.*

The next and all-absorbing feature of the Auckland administration is the Afghan war, to understand the origin of which it is necessary to explain the condition of the territories on our western frontier. Zemaun Shah, the Afghan ruler of Cabool, against whom a treaty was negotiated with Persia in 1801, by Sir John Malcolm, was deposed and blinded in the same year by his brother Mahmood—treatment precisely similar to that bestowed by him on his immediate predecessor, Humayun. Mahmood was, in turn, displaced by a fourth brother, named Soojah-ool-Moolk. With unwonted clemency the conqueror refrained from inflicting extinction of sight, which, though not a legal disqualification to sovereign power, usually proves an insuperable bar to the claims of any candidate. Soojah could not keep the throne he had gained; but being expelled by the reviving strength of Mahmood, sought refuge with Runjeet Sing, who plundered him of all his valuables, including the famous Koh-i-Noor (the gem of the English Exhibition of 1851), and made him prisoner. By the exertion of an unexpected amount of skill and resolution, Shah Soojah succeeded in making his escape in the disguise of a mendicant, and reached the British station of Loodiana in September, 1816, whither his family, together with Zemaun Shah, had previously found refuge. Mahmood did not, however, possess the throne in peace. His vizier, Futteh Khan, an able chief, who had been mainly instrumental in carrying out the late revolution, evinced indications of a desire to elevate his numerous brothers to almost exclusive authority, and to make the Barukzye clan, of which he was hereditary chief, the governing class. The youngest of his brethren, the afterwards famous Dost Mohammed, treacherously occupied the fortress of Herat, committed great excesses there, and even profaned the harem by seizing the ornaments of its inmates, and especially by violently tearing away a jewelled girdle from the person of one of the royal princesses.

The insulted lady sent the torn robe to her relative, Prince Kamran, the son of Mahmood Shah, with a demand for vengeance. Dost Mohammed fled to Cashmere, where his brother, Azim Khan, was governor. Futteh Ali was made prisoner, and blinded by the dagger of Kamran. Subsequently, on his refusal to call upon his brothers to surrender, the unfortunate vizier was literally hacked to pieces by the courtiers in attendance on the king and prince.

Dost Mohammed raised an army, and made himself master of the city of Cabool, in 1818. Shah Mahmood and Kamran established themselves in Herat, and the usurper turned his attention to the affairs of government, and proved a much better ruler than either of his predecessors. He had many difficulties to contend with, including the jealous intrigues of his brothers, several of whom became in fact independent princes. Their hostility encouraged Shah Soojah to attempt regaining possession of Cabool, but without effect. At the commencement of Lord Auckland's administration, Dost Mohammed reigned over the chief remaining portion of the Doorani kingdom founded by Ahmed Shah, which, at the time of the death of that ruler, extended from the west of Khorassan to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea. Of the seventeen provinces it then comprised, only six now remained—namely, Cabool, Bameean, Ghoreband, Ghuznee, Candahar, and Jellalabad. Beloochistan had become independent, under a chief named Mohammed Khan, in 1802; Khorassan had been recovered by Persia; Herat was retained by Prince Kamran, after the death of Mahmood; Balkh was taken by the King of Bokhara, in 1823; and the Punjab, Mooltan, Dera Ghaza Khan, Dera Ismael Khan, and lastly Peshawur, fell to the share of Runjeet Sing. Sinde was still nominally dependent on Cabool; but its rulers—three brothers

* Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Mr. John Forbes, M.P., and several leading directors of the E. I. Cy., with Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., Arthur Lewis, of the chancery bar, and many other members of the Court of Proprietors, who were the warm friends of the ex-rajah, never ceased to seek a hearing and trial for him, and entertained a strong and permanent conviction of his innocence.

who governed conjointly under the title of "the Ameers"—generally needed the presence of an army to compel the payment of their arrears of tribute. Cabool itself, and a considerable portion of the Hazerah country, was under the immediate sway of Dost Mohammed; Candahar, and the adjacent territory, was held by his three brothers, Kohen-dil-Khan, Rehem-dil-Khan, and Mehir-dil-Khan, under the name of sirdars or governors.

The divided and independent governments beyond the Indus were in a condition well calculated to secure our power, without any infraction of the strict neutrality which the English rulers so ostentatiously declared it their desire to preserve, when, in 1838, an attack was made on Herat by the Shah of Persia, with the aid of Russian officers.* Herat has been called the key of Afghanistan: it is also the gate towards which all the great roads from Central Asia to India converge; and the Calcutta authorities became exceedingly alarmed at the probability of its falling under the influence of Russia. They became very solicitous that Afghanistan should maintain entire independence, and reject the proffered alliance with the Muscovite court. Lieutenant Burnes was dispatched on an embassy to Dost Mohammed, or "the Dost," as he was commonly called; but although the instructions of Burnes were explicit regarding the non-reception of Russian envoys, and other demands to be exacted on the part of the English, he had nothing beyond idle professions of regard to offer in return; not even mediation with Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Peshawur, which the Seik conqueror was willing to surrender to any one except to the ruler of Cabool, from whom it had been taken.

The contrast between the magnificent presents brought by Mountstuart Elphinstone to Afghanistan, on a former occasion, with the pistol and telescope, pins, needles, and playthings, now offered to the Dost for himself and the inmates of the zenana, could not but be painfully felt; yet the chief knew the value of British protection, and was not disposed to take offence lightly. But he could not afford to reject the direct offers of assistance, in men and money, made by the secretary of the Russian legation, without some clear guarantee against the evil effects of such rejection; and as this was positively refused, he had literally no alternative but to accept the Russo-Persian alliance. It would have been only common prudence, on the part of the supreme government, to have waited the issue of the siege of Herat, before proceeding further; but Lord Auckland was unhappily enjoying the cool breezes of Simla, away from his legitimate advisers at Calcutta, and was, it is said, considerably under the influence of two or three clever and impulsive men, who may have been excellent secretaries and amusing table-companions, but were very ill-adapted for wary counsellors.† It would have been an easy matter to convert Dost Mohammed, the sirdars of Candahar, and the whole Barukzye clan, into firm allies; nevertheless, Lord Auckland, in an hour of weakness and indecision, was induced to seek the co-operation of Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Shah Soojah; and, although the defeat of the Persian army, and its withdrawal, after a ten months' siege,‡ secured the independence of Herat, and removed one main incentive to war, the projected invasion was carried out despite the apathy of the Seik ruler (now fast sinking to his grave, under the combined influence of age and the most hateful excesses) and the scarcely disguised distrust of Soojah, who could not comprehend why the assistance repeatedly refused by Lord W. Bentinck, was bestowed unasked by Lord Auckland.

Perhaps so perilous an enterprise was never more rashly and needlessly undertaken. It was wrong in principle, weak in execution, and appalling in its results. Shah Soojah was not even presumptive heir to the usurped dominions of his grandfather; for Kamran, the son of the elder brother Mahmood, had a prior claim. The professed object of the Tripartite Treaty now formed, viz., to restore a legitimate sovereign to the throne from whence he had been wrongfully expelled, was therefore absolutely false; and as if to make the spirit of the whole transaction more evident, Runjeet Sing affixed his signature to the treaty at Lahore, June, 1838, with the ill-gotten Koh-i-Noor gleaming on his arm.§ In return for furnishing a few thousand troops

* One of the alleged reasons being the activity with which the slave-trade was carried on at Herat.

† Mr. H. Torrens, and John Colvin, Lord Auckland's private secretary.—Kaye's *War in Afghanistan.*

‡ Lt. Eldred Pottinger cheered, counselled, and fought with the garrison throughout the weary siege.

§ This famous jewel is said by several modern writers on the Afghan war to have formed part of

to be paid by Shah Soojah, Runjeet Sing was to be confirmed in possession of all the territories (including Peshawur) wrested by him from Cabool.* As to the English, they were willing to lavish men and money on the trappings of war, and to get up "a grand military promenade," for the sake of terrifying Russia by a formidable demonstration of our power and energy. Those† who ventured to speak of the dreary defiles, inclement climate, and, above all, of the warlike temper of the people upon whom a rejected yoke was to be reimposed by English bayonets, were censured as timid, prejudiced, or misinformed; and the assembling of the "army of the Indus" was a source of agreeable excitement, fraught with promotions and appointments, commissariat contracts, and honours from the Crown; for, despite the neutral policy urged by the home authorities, it was pretty evident that a brilliant campaign was no less certain to procure for its promoters rank and emolument, than to inflict new burdens on the Indian revenues, and increase the pressure of taxes which it was alike the duty and the interest of the government to mitigate.

A declaration of war was issued from Simla, in 1838, and a British force was speedily gathered of 28,350 men, partly from Bengal, partly from Bombay. It was deemed advisable by the governor-general that the Shah should "enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops;" and, for this end, about 4,000 camp followers‡ were levied from the E. I. Cy.'s military stations, and placed under the nominal command of Timur, the eldest son of Soojah-ool-Moolk; the whole being led by British officers, and paid from the British treasury. Runjeet Sing was to supply a contingent of 6,000 men, and to station 15,000 men as an army of observation in Peshawur. The commissariat arrangements were extremely deficient, and the enormous number of camp followers, amounting to nearly 100,000 persons, imparted new difficulties to a march of extraordinary length, through an almost unexplored and hostile territory. The invading force had only physical difficulties, and the depredations of certain mountain tribes, to encounter on the road to Candahar. It was expected that the Ameers of Sinde would offer opposition on the score of the manifest infraction of the treaty of 1832, by which the E. I. Cy., when desirous to open the navigation of the Indus, expressly declared that it would be employed by them solely for mercantile uses. The Ameers, however, saw the folly of remonstrating with a powerful force thirsting for the plunder of the rich city of Hyderabad. They paid £100,000 as an instalment of the £280,000 demanded by Shah Soojah on the favourite plea of arrears of tribute, and surrendered the fortified island of Bukkur in the Indus, the possession of which was deemed necessary to the security of the English force. The army of the Indus

Shah Jehan's peacock throne, which was carried off from Hindoostan by Nadir Shah; but there does not seem evidence to support the statement. Several diamonds of extraordinary value were seized by different invaders, and one in particular was given by the exiled Humayun to his ungracious host the Shah of Persia.—(*See* p. 91.)

* The concessions made to Runjeet Sing at this period were no less undignified than unwise. At the meeting which took place with Lord Auckland at Ferozepoor, caresses were lavished on the "lion of the Punjab," who though now a decrepit and paralysed old man, continued to outrage public decency by the practice of shameful sensualities. There he sat in his golden chair, shaped like a hip-bath, with his attenuated limbs gathered beneath him, and his single restless eye flashing in rivalry of the Koh-i-Noor (the only ornament he wore, except a string of 300 pearls of the finest water and the size of small marbles), listening to the civilities of the English authorities, which happily did not extend to compliance with his previous demand for an English wife.—(Osborne's *Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, 199.) The fact that the old debauchee entertained some at least of his official visitors with the "burra tomacha" (great fun) of intoxicating "nautch" girls, for the sake of seeing them beat and abuse one another, gives force to the remark of a British officer, who, commenting on the indulgence evinced to the vices of Runjeet Sing, writes—"It was impossible not to feel that this complaisance was carried a little too far, when he was exhibited in the character of a Bacchus or Silenus, in the presence of an assemblage of English gentlewomen, and when their notions of decency were further outraged by the introduction, to whatever extent sanctioned by culpable usage in other parts of India, of bands of singing and dancing courtesans."—(Havelock's *War in Afghanistan*, i., 87.) After all the Seiks were not conciliated: they watched the Feringhees (foreigners) with extreme suspicion; and when their infirm old chief, in his anxiety to examine a present of two howitzers, fell prostrate before them, the accident was regarded as a fearful omen.

† In October, 1838, the author, deeply convinced of the unjust and perilous nature of the war, drew up a memorandum, which the Marquis Wellesley transmitted to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. His lordship addressed a subsequent communication to Sir John against the Afghan war, predicting that "our difficulties would commence where our military successes ended." The Duke of Wellington, Elphinstone, Edmonstone, Metcalfe, and other Indian statesmen, took the same view of the question.

‡ Col. Dennie's *Campaigns in Afghanistan*, 51.

traversed the weary Bolan Pass, and the dangerous and difficult Kojuck defile with success, but at a fearful cost of life,* especially on the part of the camp followers, from heat and want of water. Candahar (the capital of Western Afghanistan), was occupied without resistance by Shah Soojah and his allies, in April, 1839. Kohun-dil-Khan and his brother sirdars fled as the foe advanced; and English gold scattered lavishly on all sides, enabled the returning monarch to win the temporary suffrage of several Barukzye chiefs. In the following June the army under Sir John Keane and Shah Soojah left a garrison at Candahar and set out for Ghuznee. This ancient fortress proved stronger than had been expected; but a nephew of Dost Mohammed deserted from the garrison, and betrayed the important secret, that an entrance called the Cabool gate had not, like the rest, been built up with stone, but had been left slightly barricaded in the expectation of supplies. The besiegers, acting on this information, fastened bags of gunpowder upon the wooden door at night, and by setting them on fire effected a practicable breach, through which a storming party, led by Colonel Dennie, immediately secured an entrance, captured the town, and, after some hours' resistance, the citadel also, receiving little loss, but slaying 1,000 Afghans: 3,000 more were wounded or captured. Among the prisoners were about fifty fanatics of all ages, who had assumed the name of *Ghazee*, in right of being engaged in holy warfare against infidels. These men, the first taken in arms against Shah Soojah, "were hacked to death with wanton barbarity by the knives of his executioners."†

So much for the magnanimity of the restored monarch in his short hour of triumph. The campaign thus successfully opened, was to some extent overshadowed by tidings of the death of Runjeet Sing, in 1839; but notwithstanding the jealous dislike evinced towards the English by the new authorities at Lahore, the Seik contingent, wretchedly insufficient as it was, became serviceable in the hands of Colonel Wade; and this energetic officer, with his nominal coadjutor the Shahzada (Prince Timur), who was "an absolute cypher," contrived, partly by fighting, partly by diplomacy, to traverse the formidable Khyber Pass, at the head of a motley assemblage of Hindoos, Seiks, and Afghans. Akber Khan, Dost Mohammed's favourite "fighting son," was recalled from his camp near Jellalabad, to join his father at Cabool, and the path being left open, Wade marched on and seized Jellalabad.

The position of Dost Mohammed was daily rendered more perilous by the desertion of his relatives and followers. Very shortly after the taking of Ghuznee, he attempted to compromise matters by offering to submit to the restoration of Shah Soojah, on condition of his own nomination to his late brother Futteh Khan's position of vizier. This proposition was of course rejected; for so far from being inclined to delegate authority to his opponent, Shah Soojah desired nothing better than to "hang the dog"—a procedure which the British envoy, Mr. Macnaghtan, does not appear to have considered otherwise than advisable, provided they could catch him.‡

The Dost desired to give the invaders battle at Maidan, on the Cabool river, but treachery and disaffection surrounded him on every side, and his camp at Urghundeh fairly fell to pieces. The venal Kuzzilbashes (or Persian guard) forsook the master whose salt they had eaten thirteen years. In vain he entreated them to stand by him in one charge against the Feringhees, that he might die with honour,—the spirit-stirring appeal fell on the listless ears of men determined to purchase safety by desertion; and, attended by a few faithful followers, Dost Mohammed in despair turned his horse's head towards the Hindoo-Koosh, leaving his guns standing.

Cabool opened its gates with "sullen, surly submission;" and Shah Soojah entered the Balla Hissar or palace-citadel in triumph, while his British allies sounded a long loud note of triumph, the European echoes of which were destined to die away in the very saddest cry of anguish and humiliation ever uttered by the proud conquerors of India. The authorities at Cabool soon discovered that the foreign bayonets and foreign gold which had been the means of replacing Shah Soojah on the throne of Afghanistan, were likewise the sole method of keeping him there. Lord Auckland desired the return of the entire "army of the Indus;" but the unpopularity of the Shah was too evident to admit of such a step, unless we were willing to confess the whole affair a

* Of 100,000 camp followers, only 20,000 reached Candahar.—(Capper's *Three Presidencies*, p. 212.)

† *Vide* John William Kaye's graphic and fearless *History of the War in Afghanistan*, i., 445.

‡ *Idem.*, 561.

failure, and escort his majesty back to Loodiana, or if he thought fit, leave him to take his chance among his own countrymen. An open confession of error, however mortifying, would have been incalculably wiser than following up one false step with a multitude of others. In 1839 a portion of the troops returned to Calcutta. The commander-in-chief, Sir John Keane, immediately proceeded to England, where he was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Keane of Ghuznee, and further remunerated by a pension of £2,000 per ann. for himself and his two next heirs male. The governor-general, from a baron, was made an earl. Mr. Macnaghten was created a baronet, and orders of the Bath were bestowed, not with the most discriminating hand.*

The winter of 1839 passed in tolerable tranquillity. The British took military possession of the country by establishing garrisons in the cities of Cabool and Candahar, and in the principal posts on the main roads to Hindoostan—viz., Ghuznee and Quettah on the west, Jellalabad and Ali-Musjid on the east. Some minor detachments were left in various other isolated positions; thus dividing a force which, united, was scarcely sufficient for its own protection. Moreover, the military authorities in Cabool, instead of retaining their position in the Balla Hissar, were induced to build costly and indefensible cantonments on the adjacent plain, in compliance with the scruples of Shah Soojah, who soon began to feel his throne somewhat too closely hedged in by foreign troops. The first flush of triumph over, he could not but find it a weary thing to live shut up in a fortress, despised by his own subjects; and as he looked forth from the Balla Hissar on the city beneath, he said "everything appeared to him shrunk small and miserable; and that the Cabool of his old age in no respect corresponded with the recollections of the Cabool of his youth."

The yearnings of romance were soon swallowed up in real dangers. Insurrections took place in various quarters. Dost Mohammed again appeared in arms, and several sharp encounters took place in the course of the year 1840; but the Afghans, despite some partial successes, offered no combined or systematic resistance. The Dost, after making a brave and successful stand at Purwan in November, thought the time had arrived when he might, with a good grace, surrender himself to the English (into whose hands the ladies of his family had already fallen.) Turning from the field of battle in despair, he galloped towards Cabool, and twenty-four hours spent on the saddle, brought him face to face with the British envoy, who was returning homeward from an evening ride. Dost Mohammed sprang to the ground, tendered his sword, and claimed protection as a voluntary captive. The kindly peace-loving nature of Sir William had been sadly warped since he had exchanged the ordinary routine of official duties and scholarly recreations for the arduous post of counsellor to Shah Soojah; and immediately before this unlooked-for greeting, he had been inquiring with regard to the Dost—"Would it be justifiable to set a price on this fellow's head?" for "it appears that he meditates fighting with us so long as the breath is in his body." But the chivalrous bearing of the defeated Ameer banished all harsh thoughts. Sir William refused the proffered sword; and when the Dost was sent as a state prisoner to Hindoostan, actually advocated his being provided for by the British authorities "more handsomely than Shah Soojah had been," for the following memorable reason: —"The Shah had no claim upon us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas, we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim." Lord Auckland tacitly admitted the fact by receiving the deposed ruler with extreme courtesy, and burdening the Indian population with a new pension of two lacs, or about £20,000 per ann. for his support. At this time the revenues of Cabool, gathered by force of arms, did not exceed fifteen lacs, and barely paid the ordinary expenses of government. The Anglo-Afghan treasury was well-nigh exhausted, and there were grounds for doubting whether the E. I. Cy. would not think a million and a quarter a-year too dear a price to pay for the maintenance of their nominee at Cabool. The reduction of outgoings was attempted by the diminution of the "black mail" paid to certain Khilji chiefs for checking the excesses committed by the predatory tribes who infested the passes. The experiment proved very dangerous; the Khiljies assumed a haughty tone; the Kojucks, and many tribes of whose very names the English had until now remained in happy ignorance, rose in

* Dennie's services at Ghuznee were overlooked.

what was misnamed "rebellion" against Shah Soojah. In Kohistan and the Khyber, that region of snowy precipices and roaring torrents, where every man is a good marksman behind his native rock, more than usual excitement prevailed. The British envoy, considering with some reason the state of Afghanistan to be at the best of times one of chronic unrest, paid too little heed to the numerous signs of an approaching crisis which alarmed Shah Soojah. The noses of the Dourani Khans (or lords) had, Macnaghten said, been brought to the grindstone, and all was quiet, from Dan to Beersheba.* Impressed with this agreeable conviction, he prepared to resign his position, and return to Hindoostan to fill the honourable station of governor of Bombay. His intended successor, Sir Alexander Burnes, had long ardently desired the office of envoy; but from the conflicting and contradictory character both of his official and private statements, it is difficult to say what his actual opinions were concerning the condition of the country and the feelings of the people. He must have known that the military occupation of Afghanistan (of necessity sufficiently unpopular) had been rendered peculiarly hateful and galling by his own unbridled licentiousness, and by that of other officers, whose example was closely imitated by the mass of the European soldiery. Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and other Englishwomen resided within the cantonments, yet their presence did not check the excesses, the terrible retribution for which they were soon to share. Shah Soojah, whom Macnaghten declared to be "the best and ablest man in his dominions,"† and whose fidelity was evinced by the warnings he repeatedly gave the English authorities of the impending danger, and his entreaties that they would take up their abode in the Balla Hissar, remonstrated forcibly against the immorality of the officers, and pointed out the indignation which it excited among his countrymen. "I told the envoy," writes the Shah to Lord Auckland, January, 1842, "what was going on, and was not listened to. I told him that complaints were daily made to me of Afghan women being taken to Burnes' moonshee (Mohun Lal), and of their drinking wine at his house, and of women being taken to the chaonee, and of my having witnessed it."‡ Kaye states, "the scandal was open, undisguised, notorious. Redress was not to be obtained. The evil was not in course of suppression. It went on till it became intolerable; and the injured then began to see that the only remedy was in their own hands."§

That remedy was the death of the leading offender, and the expulsion of the English from Afghanistan. Warnings of various kinds were not wanting; but they passed unheeded. The week fixed for the departure of the envoy arrived, and preparations were made for his journey, and for the comfort of his successor in office, and of the other functionaries during the coming winter, which was expected to pass like the two former ones, in a succession of pastimes, including shooting, card-playing, drinking,‖ and various amusements, innocent or otherwise, according to the tastes and habits of those concerned. On the evening of the 1st November, 1841, Burnes formally congratulated Macnaghten on his approaching departure during a period of profound tranquillity.¶ At that very time a party of chiefs were assembled close at hand discussing in full conclave the means of redressing their national and individual wrongs. At daybreak on the following morning, Burnes was aroused by the message of a friendly Afghan, informing him of approaching danger, and bidding him quit the city and seek safety in the Balla Hissar or the cantonments. The vizier of Shah Soojah followed on the same errand, but all in vain; the doomed man sent to ask mili-

* News had arrived at Cabool, in the course of the summer, which greatly relieved the apprehensions of Macnaghten and Burnes, both of whom had a tendency to look out for dangers from afar, rather than guard against those by which they were immediately surrounded. The raising of the siege of Herat had only temporarily allayed their fears of Russian aggression, which were soon aroused by the dispatch of a powerful force, under General Peroffski, ostensibly directed against the man-stealing, slave-holding principality of Khiva, but it was believed, intended to act offensively against the English. Whatever the true design may have been, it was frustrated by the intense cold and inaccessible character of the country, which, together with pestilence, nearly destroyed the Russian army, and compelled Peroffski to turn back without reaching Khiva.

† Kaye, i., 533. ‡ *Idem*, ii., 364. § *Idem*, i., 615.

‖ Dost Mohammed prohibited the sale of a fiery spirit distilled from the grape. The English restored the Armenian manufacturers to full employment.

¶ It is asserted, that on the same day, intelligence so clear and full of a hostile confederacy had been given to Burnes, that he exclaimed the time had come for the British to leave the country. Burnes was impulsive, vacillating, ambitious, and unprincipled It is possible that he deceived himself sometimes: it is certain that he constantly misled Macnaghten.

tary support, and persisted in remaining in his own abode, which adjoined that of Captain Johnson, paymaster of the Shah's forces. This officer was absent in cantonments, but the treasury was under the care of the usual sepoy guard, and they were ready and even desirous to fire on the insurgents. Burnes refused to give the necessary orders, in the hope of receiving speedy succour; meanwhile the crowd of stragglers grew into an infuriated mob, and his attempted harangue from the balcony was silenced by loud clamours and reproaches. Two officers had slept that night in the house of Sir Alexander: one of them, Lieutenant Broadfoot, prepared to sell his life dearly, and it is asserted, slew no less than six of his assailants before a ball struck him to the ground a corpse; the other, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, remained beside his brother while the latter offered redress of grievances, and a heavy ransom to the populace as the price of their joint lives. But in vain; the outraged Afghans loved vengeance better than gold; and after setting fire to the stables, a party of them burst into the garden, where they were fired upon by the sepoys under Lieutenant Burnes. Sir Alexander disguised himself in native attire, and strove to escape, but was recognised, or rather betrayed by the Cashmerian who had induced him to make the attempt. A fearful shout arose from the party in the garden on discovering his presence — "This is Secunder (Alexander) Burnes!" and in a few moments both brothers were cut to pieces by Afghan knives. The sepoys in charge of the treasury fought desperately, and surrendered their charge only with their lives. Massacre followed pillage; every man, woman, and child (Hindoo and Afghan) found in the two English dwellings perished:* finally, the buildings were fired; and all this with 6,000 British troops within half-an-hour's march of the city. The only energetic attempt made to check the insurrectionary movement emanated from the Shah, and was performed by one of his sons; but it proved unsuccessful, and the British authorities displayed an apathy quite inexplicable, even supposing the outbreak to have been directly occasioned by the ill conduct of its chief victim. General Elphinstone, the commander-in-chief, was an officer of high character, and of brave and kindly bearing; but increasing physical infirmities pressed heavily on him; and before the catastrophe he had applied for his recall from Afghanistan, where, indeed, he ought never to have been sent. Between him and Macnaghten no sympathy existed: they could not understand each other, and never acted in concert. The one was despondent and procrastinating, the other hopeful and energetic, but too much given to diplomacy. The consequence of this tendency was the adoption of various compromising measures when the occasion loudly called for the most active and straightforward policy. Post after post was captured from the British in the immediate vicinity of Cabool, and it soon became evident that the out-stations were in extreme peril; for the insurrection, from being local, speedily became general. The "frightful extent" of the cantonments (erected before Elphinstone's arrival), the loss of a fort four hundred yards distant, in which the commissariat stores had been most improvidently placed, together with the deficiency of artillery, so disheartened and unnerved the general, that he suffered day after day to pass without any decisive effort to gain possession of the city, and began to urge on Macnaghten the propriety of making terms with the enemy. The king remained shut up in the Balla Hissar, "like grain between two millstones." He was a man of advanced age and weak purpose, and the hostility of his subjects being avowedly directed against the Feringhees, he strove to keep his crown upon his head, and his head upon his shoulders, by a trimming policy, which rendered him an object of distrust to both parties, and cost him eventually life as well as honour. Avarice had grown on him, and he beheld with extreme annoyance the sums of money lavished by the British envoy in the futile attempt to buy off the more influential of the confederate chiefs. The urgent solicitations of Elphinstone, the growing difficulty of obtaining supplies for the troops, the unsatisfactory results of daily petty hostilities, and the non-arrival of the reinforcements of men and money solicited by Macnaghten from Hindoostan, at length induced him to offer to evacuate Afghanistan on honourable terms. The tone adopted by the chiefs was so arrogant and offensive, that the conference came to an abrupt termination; both parties being resolved to resume hostilities sooner than abate their respective pretensions. During the interview a strange

* Moonshee Mohun Lal, who did "the dirty work of the British diplomatists," made his escape.—(Kaye.)

scene took place outside the cantonments. Thinking that a treaty of peace was being concluded by their leaders, the British and Afghan soldiery gave vent to their joy in mutual congratulations. The Europeans lent over the low walls (misnamed defences), conversing familiarly with their late foes, and even went out unarmed among them, and thankfully accepted presents of vegetables. The result of the meeting between the envoy and the chiefs was the renewal of strife, and the men whose hands had been so lately joined in friendly greetings, were again called on to shed each other's blood for the honour of their respective countries. The English troops showed so little inclination for the work, that Macnaghtan angrily designated them a "pack of despicable cowards," and was soon compelled to reopen his negotiations with the enemy. Affairs were in this precarious condition when Akber Khan returned to Cabool, after more than two years of exile and suffering. His reappearance caused no additional anxiety to the beleagured English; on the contrary, the fact that the ladies of the family of the young Barukzye were, with his father, prisoners in Hindoostan, inspired a hope that he might be made the means of procuring favourable terms from the hostile leaders who, on their part, welcomed the return of the favourite son of the Dost with extreme delight. Akber (styled by Roebuck the "Wallace of Cabool") was, beyond doubt, a favourable specimen of an Afghan chief, strikingly handsome in face and figure, full of life and energy, joyous in peace, fearless in war, freedom-loving, deeply attached to his father and his country, susceptible of generous impulses, but uneducated and destitute of self-control. For some time he took no leading part against the English, and neither aided nor opposed the dominant party in formally setting aside the authority of Shah Soojah, and proclaiming as king in his stead the Nawab Mohammed Zemaun Khan, a cousin of the late Cabool chief. The selection was fortunate for the English, the Nawab being a humane and honourable man, well inclined to grant them acceptable terms of evacuation; and his turbulent and quarrelsome adherents were, after much discussion, induced to sign a treaty, the stipulations of which, mutual distrust prevented from being fulfilled by either party. The English consented to surrender the fortresses they still retained in Afghanistan, and their cannon, on condition of receiving a supply of beasts of burden from the enemy, to facilitate their march. Shah Soojah was to be allowed to return with them or to remain in Cabool, with the miserable stipend of a lac of rupees per annum; and one moment he resolved on accompanying the retreating army, while the next he declared it his intention to remain where he was, and wait a new turn of events. In either mood, he declaimed, with reason, against the folly of his allies in divesting themselves of the means of defence, asking indignantly whether any people in the world ever before gave their enemies the means of killing them? The officers in charge of Candahar and Jellalabad (Nott and Sale) took the same view of the case; and, arguing that the order of surrender must have been forcibly extorted from General Elphinstone, positively refused to abandon their positions. The treaty was thus placed in abeyance, and the troops in cantonment lived on from day to day, frittering away their resources, and growing hourly more desponding; while Macnaghten, Elphinstone, and the second in command, Brigadier Shelton, passed the precious hours in angry discussion. The ill-health of the general, increased by a painful wound caused by a musket-ball, obliged him to delegate many duties to Shelton, an officer of great personal courage, but overbearing and prejudiced, with the especial defect of being unable to sympathise with the sufferings, or appreciate the noble devotion of the much-tried native troops. The civilian is said to have been the truest soldier in the camp; but he had no confidence in his colleagues, and his own powers of mind and body were fast sinking beneath the load of anxiety which had so suddenly banished the delusion (sedulously cherished by the unhappy Burnes to the last day of his life) of the tranquil submission of Afghanistan to a foreign yoke. Never had day-dreamer a more terrible awakening. Incensed by the refusal of the holders of inferior posts to obey his orders, and by the non-fulfilment of the promises made by the Barukzye chiefs of carriage cattle, Macnaghten, chafed almost to madness, was ready to follow any *ignis fatuus* that should present a hope of escape for himself and the 16,000 men whose lives trembled in the balance. Although ostensibly bound by treaty with the Barukzyes, he was ready to side with Doorani or Populzye, Khilji or Kuzzilbash, or, in a word, to join any native faction able to

afford cordial co-operation. In this mood he lent a willing ear to a communication made to him on the evening of 22nd Dec., 1841. The proposal was that Akber and the Khiljies should unite with the British for the seizure of the person of Ameen-oollah Khan, a leading Barukzye chief, and a party to the late agreement, whose head, for a certain sum of money, would be laid at the feet of the envoy. Happily for his own honour and that of his country, Macnaghten rejected the proposition so far as the life of the chief was concerned,* but was prepared to aid in his capture without the preliminary measure of declaring the treaty void. The envoy gave a written promise for the evacuation of Afghanistan in the coming spring; Shah Soojah was to be left behind, with Akber for his vizier; and the representative of the British government further guaranteed to reward the services of Akber by an annuity of £40,000 a-year, and a bonus of no less than £300,000.

On the following morning Macnaghten sent for the officers of his staff (Capts. Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie), and, in an excited but determined tone, bade them accompany him to a conference with Akber: lastly, he informed the general of his intentions, desiring that two regiments might be got ready for service, and, to some extent, explaining the matter in hand. Elphinstone asked what part Nawab Zemaun Khan, and other leading Barukzyes, were expected to take? "None," was the reply; "they are not in the plot." The old general was scrupulously honest, and the word grated on his ear. But Macnaghten would listen to neither remonstrance nor entreaty. Impatiently turning aside from the feeble but chivalrous veteran, he exclaimed—"I understand these things better than you;" and rode off to the fatal interview,—not, however, without some misgiving as to its result; for he declared to his companions, that come what would, a thousand deaths were preferable to the life he had of late been leading. The meeting commenced in apparent courtesy; Macnaghten offered Akber a noble Arab horse, which the young chief accepted with thanks, at the same time acknowledging the gift of a pair of double-barrelled pistols, sent on the previous day, which he wore at his girdle. The whole party, English and Afghans, dismounted, and seated themselves on cloths spread on some snow-clad hillocks, near the Cabool river, and about 600 yards from the cantonments. Macnaghten stretched himself at full length on the bank; Trevor and Mackenzie seated themselves beside him; but Lawrence knelt on one knee, ready for action. There was abundant cause for suspicion: the presence of a brother of Ameen-oollah, the excited and eager manner of the Afghans, and the numbers gathering round the English, drew from Lawrence and Mackenzie a remark that such intrusion was not consistent with a private conference. "They are all in the secret," said Akber; and, as he spoke, the envoy and his companions were violently seized from behind. Resistance was hopeless: their slender escort of sixteen men galloped back to cantonments to avoid being slain, save one who perished nobly in attempting to join his masters; the three *attachés* were made prisoners; but Macnaghten commenced a desperate struggle with Akber Khan, and a cry being raised that the troops were marching to the rescue, the young Barukzye, in extreme excitement, drew a pistol from his girdle, and shot the donor through the body. A party of fanatical Ghazees came up, flung themselves on the fallen envoy, and hacked him to pieces with their knives. Trevor slipped from the horse of the chief who was bearing him away captive, and shared the fate of his leader; and the other two officers were saved with difficulty by Akber Khan, who, remorseful for his late act, "drew his sword and laid about him right manfully"† for the defence of the prisoners against the infuriated crowd.

While the mangled remains of the victims were being paraded through the streets and great bazaar of the city, the military leaders remained in their usual apathetic state; nor was it until the morrow that authentic information was received of the catastrophe. Major Eldred Pottinger, on whom the office of political agent devolved, entreated the authorities assembled in

* The same right principle had not been invariably adhered to during the Afghan war, and the chiefs had good grounds for suspecting that blood-money had been offered for their lives. John Conolly (one of three brothers who followed the fortunes of their uncle, Sir W. Macnaghten, and like him, never lived to return to India), addressed from the Balla Hissar repeated injunctions to Mohun Lal, to offer from ten to fifteen thousand rupees for the heads of certain leading chiefs; and, in the cases of Abdoollah Khan and Meer Musjedee, the rewards were actually claimed but not accorded; nor do the offers of Conolly appear to have been made with the concurrence or even cognizance of Macnaghten, much less with that of Elphinstone.—(Kaye, ii., 57—104.)

† Capt. Mackenzie's words.—(Lt. Eyre's *Journal.*)

council, either to take refuge in the Balla Hissar, or endeavour to force a way to Jellalabad, and there remain until the arrival of reinforcements from India, tidings of which arrived within two days of the massacre. But his arguments were not regarded, and new terms were concluded, by which the representatives of the Indian government engaged to abandon all their forts, surrender their guns, evacuate Afghanistan, restore the deposed Dost, and pay a ransom of £140,000 in return for the supplies necessary for the retreat. Hostages were demanded and given for the performance of these humiliating conditions; but Lawrence and Mackenzie were released. Akber Khan desired that the English ladies should be left behind, as security for the restoration of the female members of his family; but the married officers refused the advantageous offers made from head-quarters to induce them to consent, and "some (says Eyre) declared they would shoot their wives first." On the 6th of January, 1842, though deep snow already lay on the ground, the troops quitted the cantonments, in which they had sustained a two months' siege, to encounter the miseries of a winter march through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty, swarming with mountain tribes predatory by profession, and bitterly incensed against the foreign invaders. The records of that terrible journey are written in letters of blood. No circumstances could possibly have occurred under which regularity and discipline were more needed to ensure the safety of the retreating force; yet even the semblance of it was soon abandoned in one general attempt to keep on with the foremost rank: to lag behind was certain death from Afghan knives or Afghan snows. In the dark and terrible pass of Koord Cabool, five miles in length, through which a roaring torrent dashed on between blocks of ice, while its heights were crowned by the pitiless Khiljies, 3,000 persons perished. The Englishwomen rode through, on horseback or in camel-paniers, uninjured, except Lady Sale, who received a bullet in her arm; but, brave-hearted as they were, it seemed scarcely possible they and their infant children could long continue to bear up against the intense cold and incessant fatigue.* The only alternative was to accept the protection of Akber Khan, who, it is said, promised to convey them to Peshawur; and to him the whole of the married Englishwomen, their husbands, and children, with Lady Macnaghten and her widowed companions, were confided. It was a tempting opportunity for barbarian revenge. The wives and babes of the proud Feringhees were at the mercy of the Afghans; yet there is no record of any insult having been offered to them, or any attempt to separate them from their natural protectors, now defenceless as themselves. On the contrary, Akber Khan earnestly craved the forgiveness of Lady Macnaghten, assuring her he would give his right arm to undo what it had done; while, in many ways, he strove to alleviate the hardships of the march by bearing the weaker of the party over fords on his own steed, binding up the wounds of the officers with his own hands, and suffering the ladies to encumber the march with the costly baggage which two or three of them still retained. The voluntary surrender of such a prize was of course not to be expected while his father, brothers, and wives were retained in exile. As it was, his "guests," as they were termed, had every reason to rejoice at finding in temporary captivity an alternative for the loss of life. On the very next day (10th January), the remnant of the doomed force was intercepted on the road to Jellalabad, in a narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills, and the promiscuous mass of sepoys and camp followers were hewn down by the infuriated Afghans. Elphinstone sent to Akber Khan, who, with a body of horse, still hovered on the flanks of the retreating force, to entreat him to stop the massacre; but he replied, that it was impossible,—at such times the Khiljies were uncontrollable even by their immediate chiefs: there was but one chance for the English—an immediate and unconditional surrender of arms. The general sadly resumed his march to the Jugdulluck

* Some of them had just become, or were about to become mothers. The widow of Capt. Trevor had seven children with her, and an eighth was born at Buddeeabad. The idea of a grand military promenade was certainly carried out, when not only ladies and children, but a pack of foxhounds, and one of Broadwood's best pianos, were brought through the Bolan Pass.—(Fane's *Five Years;* Ex-political's *Dry Leaves.*) The troops in Cabool, though in many respects needlessly encumbered, do not seem to have been attended by a single chaplain; an omission which tends to justify the description given by a Beloochee of the Feringhee force, of whom one sort (the Hindoos) were idolaters; the white (English) had no religion at all; but the third were good Mussulmen, "and say their prayers as we do."—(*Idem.*)

heights, and there the troops who remained—of ranks all but destroyed by death and desertion—found a brief respite, and strove to quench their burning thirst with handsful of snow, and to still the cravings of hunger with the raw and reeking flesh of three newly-killed bullocks. The night was spent at Jugdulluck; on the following day Akber Khan requested a conference with the General, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson. It is strange, with the recollection of the Cabool plot fresh in their minds, that the three military authorities should have accepted this significant invitation; but they did so, were courteously received, refreshed with food, provided with a tent, and—made prisoners. They entreated their captor to save the survivors of the force, and he really appears to have exerted himself for that purpose, but in vain. Captain Johnson, who understood the Persian language, heard the petty chiefs of the country between Jugdulluck and Jellalabad declaiming, as they flocked in, against the hated Feringhees, and rejecting large sums as the price of a safe conduct to Jellalabad. On the evening of the 12th, the wreck of the army resumed its perilous march. The sepoys had almost wholly perished, and of the Europeans only 120 of the 44th regiment and twenty-five artillerymen remained; but their movements were still impeded by a comparatively large mass of camp followers, who "came huddling against the fighting men," thus giving free scope to the long knives of the Afghans. The soldiers, after some time, freed themselves from the helpless rabble, turned against their foes with the bayonet, drove them off, and pursued their way to the fatal Jugdulluck Pass, where their sufferings and struggles found a melancholy termination. A barricade of boughs and bushes arrested further progress; officers, soldiers, and camp followers desperately strove to force a passage, though exposed to the deliberate aim of the "jezails" (long rifles) of the enemy. Anquetil, Thain, Nicholl, and the chief of the remaining leaders fell here. About twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers cut their way through, hoping to gain Jellalabad; but weak and wounded, with only two rounds of ammunition left, they could not make head against the armed villagers who came crowding forth against them from every hut. The majority fell at Gundamuck; a few escaped and struggled onwards: but even they fell—one here, one there; until a single European (Dr. Brydon), wounded and worn out by famine and fatigue, mounted on a jaded pony, alone survived to announce to the gallant garrison of Jellalabad the total annihilation of the force of 16,500 men which had quitted Cabool only seven days before.*

The terrible tidings reached Lord Auckland at Calcutta while awaiting the arrival of his successor in office. He had previously seen reason to regret bitterly that ever British troops had crossed the Indus: he knew that the E. I. Cy. had consistently opposed the Afghan war, and that the Peel cabinet, now in power, were of the same opinion; and he therefore refused to follow up the abortive attempts already made for the relief of the beleaguered garrisons by any efficient measures, lest his proceedings should controvert the views and embarrass the projects of his expected successor. The arrival of Lord Ellenborough, at the close of February, released Lord Auckland from his painful position, and he quitted India in the following month, leaving on record a finance minute which proved the war to have already inflicted a burden of eight million on the Indian treasury. The only remaining circumstances which occurred under his sway, were the annexation of the little principality of Kurnoul† and of Cherong, a fortified place in Bundelcund.

ELLENBOROUGH ADMINISTRATION: 1842 TO 1844.—The opinions held by the new governor-general were well known. His lordship had been for years president of the Board of Control: he was a conservative, and agreed with his party and the majority

* A few straggling sepoys and camp followers afterwards found their way to Jellalabad.

† The Nawab (or nabob) of Kurnoul was suspected of entertaining hostile intentions against the English; the chief, though not very satisfactory evidence of which rests on his having accumulated a large quantity of warlike stores. He was likewise said to be a very oppressive ruler. At the close of the year 1848, the capital was seized by a British force without opposition, and the nabob, who had abandoned the place, was pursued, taken prisoner, and became a dependent on the British government. He retired to Trichinopoly, and became a frequent attendant on the mission church. On the last occasion he was mortally stabbed by one of his Mohammedan followers. His eldest son, Uluf Khan, received a pension of £1,000 a-year until his death in 1848. The English had the entire revenues of Kurnoul, estimated, in 1843, at £90,000 per annum, and control over a territory between 2,000 and 3,000 square miles in extent, with a population stated in a Parl. return for 1851, at 273,190.—(Thornton's *Gazetteer*.)

of unbiassed men, in considering the Afghan invasion "a blunder and a crime;" but he had likewise declared, that "India was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword." These opinions, coupled with his adoption of an axiom of unquestionable truth, that "in war reputation is strength," served to convince the Indian public that his policy would probably aim at the complete and speedy evacuation of Afghanistan, performed in such a manner as to prove beyond question that England voluntarily resigned a position which an erroneous view of the feelings of the Afghans had induced her to assume; and this object, despite some glaring errors and inconsistencies, was, in the main, carried through by Lord Ellenborough. The first event in his administration was the surrender of Ghuznee, by Colonel Palmer, to Shums-oo-deen Khan, nephew to Dost Mohammed, on the 6th of March; the fear of a failure of water and provisions being the reasons alleged for the relinquishment of this strong fortress and the surrender of the officers,* who were treated with faithless cruelty by the conqueror. Nott and Sale still held their ground at Candahar and Jellalabad, against bitter cold, scarcity of fuel and provisions, and repeated though unskilful assaults, as did also the little garrison of Kelat-i-Khilji, under Captain Craigie. At Jellalabad, repeated minor shocks of earthquake were succeeded on the 10th February by a terrible convulsion, which levelled with the ground the defences which had been erected and rendered efficient at the cost of three months' intense labour of mind and body. Akber Khan, with the flower of the Barukzye horse, was at hand, ready, it was expected, to enforce the fulfilment of Elphinstone's order of surrender. But "the illustrious garrison," as Lord Ellenborough justly styled the brave band, did not abate one jot of hope or courage. The spade and pickaxe were again taken in hand, and the work of restoration went forward so rapidly that Akber, deceived as to the extent of the damage sustained, declared that English witchcraft had preserved Jellalabad from the effects of the mighty shock. The Afghans, having little inclination for a hand-to-hand encounter with Sale's brigade, contented themselves with striving to maintain a rigid blockade; but the garrison sallied forth under Dennie, and swept away sheep and goats in the very front of the foe. The political agent, Capt. Macgregor, an able and energetic man, contrived to establish a system of intelligence far superior to that generally maintained by the English. Tidings arrived on the 5th of April, that General Pollock, with 12,000 men and supplies of all kinds, was fighting his way to their rescue through the Khyber Pass, opposed by Akber Khan. The garrison gallantly resolved to assist their countrymen by issuing forth to attack the Afghan camp. This unlooked-for enterprise was attended with complete success. The blockading troops were completely routed, and fled in the direction of Lughman. The victors lost only thirteen men; but that number included the gallant Colonel Dennie, who fell at the head of the centre column. On the 11th April, the army under General Pollock reached Jellalabad, and the garrison, whose five months' beleaguerment had been already so brilliantly terminated, sent the band of the 13th light infantry to meet the troops, and marched them in to the fort to the tune of an old Jacobite song of welcome, of which the refrain runs, "Oh! but ye've been lang o' coming." General England was not successful in his early attempts to succour Nott and his "noble sepoys"† at Candahar. Having been repulsed in an attack on the Kojuck Pass, he fell back upon Quetta, and commenced fortifying that town; but General Nott imperatively demanded his renewed advance, and sent the best part of his force to aid England through the pass, who thus assisted, marched to Candahar, which place he reached with little loss; for the Afghans, though strongly posted at Hykulzie (the scene of his former discomfiture), were rapidly dispersed by a vigorous attack, and did not muster in any force to oppose his further progress.

No impediment now remained to the junction of the forces under Nott and England with those of Pollock and Sale. The only consideration was, what to do with them. Lord Ellenborough had wisely re-

* Kaye says—"If there had been any one in Ghuznee acquainted with the use and practice of artillery, the garrison might have held out till April." He adds, "That among the officers of Nott's army [by whom the place was reoccupied in September], the loss of Ghuznee was considered even less creditable than the loss of Cabool."—(ii., 428–'9.)

† "My sepoys," Nott writes to Pollock in April, "have behaved nobly, and have licked the Afghans in every affair, even when five times their number." In the same letter he states that they had had no pay since the previous December. The fidelity and privations of the native troops throughout the Afghan war well deserve a special narration.

solved on the evacuation of Afghanistan; but he left to the military authorities the choice of "retiring" by the line of Quetta and Sukkur, or by that of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad. Nott chose the latter alternative; and in communicating his resolve, repeated with quiet sarcasm his lordship's phrase of "retiring" from Candahar to India by way of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad; the said retirement, says Kaye, being like a man retiring from Reigate to London *viâ* Dover and Canterbury. Pollock entirely sympathised with General Nott. The former marched to Cabool, which he reached on the 5th Sept., after having encountered and put to flight the Afghans under Akber,* in the valley of Tezeen and the adjacent passes of Koord Cabool, where the English had been slaughtered in the previous January. General Nott proceeded to Ghuznee, which was evacuated on his approach; and after destroying the town as well as citadel by fire, he proceeded to the tomb of Mahmood, in obedience to the special instructions of the governor-general, to bear away the famous idol-destroying mace of the conqueror, suspended above the tomb, and a pair of sandal-wood gates, embossed with brass, which were said to have been carried away by him from the temple of Somnauth, in Guzerat, A.D. 1024. Burdened with these trophies, the general proceeded to Cabool, which city Pollock had entered unopposed on the 15th Sept., and planted the union-jack on the Balla Hissar.†

In the interval between the evacuation and reoccupation of the capital of Afghanistan by the English, another melancholy tragedy had been enacted. Shah Soojah, abandoned by his allies, for some months contrived to maintain himself in the Balla Hissar; but his position becoming at length insupportable, he resolved to attempt to join Sale at Jellalabad. Early on the morning of the 5th of April, the Shah left the citadel, escorted by a small party of Hindoostanees, intending to review the troops and quit Cabool; but his passage was opposed by a body of Afghans, who opened a volley upon the royal *cortége*, which struck down the bearers of the state chair, and killed the king himself. Throughout his whole career, Shah Soojah had been a pompous man, speaking and thinking ever of "our blessed self." Now his lifeless body was stripped of its costly array, of its sparkling head-dress, rich girdle, and jewelled dagger, and flung into a ditch. His eldest son, Prince Timur, then about twenty-three years of age, was with the British at Candahar. The next in succession, Futteh Jung, was courted by the Barukzye chiefs, who hoped to find in him a shield from the vengeance of the advancing foe. The prince listened with undisguised distrust to the protestations made to him by the Seyed deputies; and in reply to offers of allegiance, to be sworn on the Koran, caused several exemplars of the sacred volume to be placed before them, bearing the seals of the Barukzye, Dourani, Kuzzilbash, and Kohistanee chiefs, with oaths of allegiance to his murdered father inscribed on the margin. "If there be any other Koran sent from heaven," he said bitterly, "let the Barukzyes swear upon it: this has been tried too often, and found wanting." The ambassadors were dismissed; but Futteh Jung, unable to maintain his ground, soon fell into the hands of the chiefs he so avowedly mistrusted, and after being robbed of the treasure which his father had contrived to accumulate, made his escape, and joined General Pollock at Gundamuck on the 1st of September, with only two or three followers.

The next feature in the campaign was a joyful one—the recovery of the captives. The ladies and children were alive and well, but General Elphinstone had expired in the month of April, worn out by incessant bodily and mental pain. On learning the approach of Pollock, Akber‡ confided his unwilling guests to the care of one

* The Goorkalese infantry fought most manfully, clambering undauntedly the steepest ascents, beneath the iron rain poured on them from Afghan jezails. —(Kaye, ii., 579.) It must have been a strange sight to see these daring, sturdy, but diminutive men, driving before them their stalwart foes; but stranger still the thought, how recently these valuable auxiliaries had done battle on their native hills, against the people for whom they were now shedding their life-blood, and ably wielding the British bayonet.

† *Balla Hissar*, the Persian for High Fort.

‡ The trials of the captives began when Akber became again a fugitive, and could no longer retain them under his immediate protection. About this time an accident occurred which placed them in jeopardy. A servant in attendance on the chief, wounded him in the arm by the accidental discharge of a musket. No difference took place in the conduct of Akber himself; and even when weak and wounded, he gave up his litter for the accommodation of the ladies on their removal from Budeeabad. His countrymen, more suspicious, attributed the disaster to English treachery; and had the young Barukzye died, the lives of all the male captives and hostages would probably have been sacrificed as an act of retribution. Ameen-oollah Khan, especially,

Saleh Mohammed, who was directed to deliver them to the charge of a neighbouring Usbeck chief, styled the Wali of Kooloom, who had proved a stanch friend to Dost Mohammed. Saleh Mohammed had formerly been a subahdar in the service of the E. I. Cy., but being (by his own account) disgusted with the abusive language used towards natives by the European officers, he deserted with his company to the Dost. It was not a difficult matter to induce him to play the traitor over again, provided the risk were small and the temptation great. Tidings of the progress of the English army calmed his fears; and offers on behalf of government, backed by the written pledge of the captives to pay him 1,000 rupees a-month for life, and a present of 20,000 rupees, stimulated his hopes: from gaoler he turned confederate; and the soldiers (250 in number) were, by the promise of four months' pay as a gratuity, metamorphosed from guards to servants. Eldred Pottinger assumed the direction of affairs, levied contributions upon some merchants passing through Bamian, and hoisted an independent flag on the fort the party had entered as prisoners. To remain at Bamian was, however, deemed even more perilous than to attempt to join the army at Cabool; and on the 16th of September, the officers, ladies, and children set forth on their march. The next day Sir Richmond Shakespear, at the head of 600 Kuzzilbash horse, met the fugitives, who thus escorted, joyfully pursued their route, till, on the 20th, near Urghundeh, the column sent by Pollock to support Shakespear appeared in sight, and its veteran commander, Sir Robert Sale, came galloping on to embrace his wife and widowed daughter.*

The objects of the campaign were fully accomplished: the beleaguered garrisons had been relieved, the captives rescued; the last of them (Captain Bygrave) being voluntarily released by Akber; and the orders of the governor-general were stringent for the return of the entire English force to Hindoostan without incurring any unnecessary peril. The various Afghan chiefs, whose blood-feuds and factious dissension had prevented any combined action, now earnestly deprecated the vengeance of the Feringhees. The hostages left at Cabool were restored,

said that he knew a reward of a lac of rupees had been offered by Macnaghten for his life. Mohammed Shah Khan, and a "young whelp," his son, took advantage of the absence of Akber to pillage the captives, and is said to have obtained from Lady Macnaghten alone, shawls and jewels to the value of £20,000; but the jewels were soon voluntarily restored (Johnson and Eyre.) Considering that the daughter and sister of the plunderers (Akber's wife) had been carried into exile by the countrymen of Lady Macnaghten, there was nothing very extraordinary in their thus seeking means to carry on the war. Before the late crisis, the captives had enjoyed advantages very unusual for even state prisoners in Afghanistan. Five rooms in the fort of Budeeabad, furnished by Mohammed Shah Khan for his own use, were vacated for their accommodation. During the three months spent here four European infants were born. The elder children passed the time in blindman's-buff and other games befitting their age; their parents in writing long letters to India and England, carrying on a great deal of cypher correspondence with Sale's garrison, and playing backgammon and draughts on boards of their own construction, and cards, by means of two or three old packs preserved among their baggage. From "a Bible and Prayer-book picked up on the field at Boothauk," the services of the established church were read every Sunday, sometimes in the open air; and this observance was, we are told, not lost on their guards, who, wild and savage as they were, seemed to respect the Christian's day of rest, "by evincing more decorum and courtesy than on the working-days of the week."—(Kaye ii., 489.) Who that really desires the spread of vital Christianity, can read this account without regretting that the captives of Budeeabad had not been inspired with more of the devotional spirit which burned so

strong and clear in the bosoms of two other English captives, then dying by inches in filth and misery at Bokhara, but evincing such unmistakable indications of true piety, that sorrow for the suffering is lost in veneration for the enduring faith of Colonel Stoddart and Arthur Conolly. The former I deeply respected on the ground of personal knowledge; the latter I know only by the touching records made public since his execution. The history of both is yet fresh in the minds of the existing generation. Colonel Stoddart had gone in an official position to Bokhara, and was detained by the Ameer, who had been angered by some real or apparent slight shown him by the British authorities; Conolly sought to procure the release of Stoddart, but was condemned to share his imprisonment. The touching letters written at this period, and forwarded to India through the intervention of a faithful servant, still remain to attest the patience in adversity of these illustrious sufferers. Stoddart, in a moment of weakness, after being lowered down into a deep dark well, tenanted by vermin, was forced into making a profession of belief in the false prophet; but Conolly never wavered. On the 17th of June, 1842, the two friends were brought forth to die, clothed in the miserable rags which five months' incessant wear had left to cover their emaciated and literally worm-eaten frames. The elder captive was first beheaded, and an offer of life was made to his companion as the price of apostasy, but without effect. "Stoddart," he said, "became a Mussulman, and you killed him: I am prepared to die." The knife of the executioner did its work, and another name was added to the glorious army of martyrs—the true soldiers of the Cross.—(Kaye, Wolfe, &c.)

* The widow of Lieutenant Sturt, of the engineers, a very active officer, who was mortally wounded by the Khiljies in the Koord Cabool Pass.

and bore testimony to the good treatment they had received from the nabob, Zemaun Shah. The "guests" of Akber Khan told the same tale; and Colonel Palmer and Mohun Lal* were almost the only complainants;—the one having fallen into the hands of the instigator of the murder of Shah Soojah, the unworthy son of Nawab Zemaun Khan; the other having provoked personal vengeance by repeated offers of blood-money for the heads of the leading Barukzyes. The principal Cabool leaders proposed that a younger son of the late king's, named Shahpoor (the son of a Populzye lady of high rank), should be placed on the throne; and to this the British authorities consented. The object of the proposers was not accomplished; they hoped to turn away the vengeance of the invaders, but in vain. The military leaders pronounced that the destruction of the fortresses of Ghuznee, Jellalabad, Candahar, Khelat-i-Khilji,† Ali-Musjid, and many others of inferior note,—the sacrifice of thousands of villagers armed and unarmed, the wanton destruction of the beautiful fruit-trees (which an Afghan loves as a Kaffir does cattle, or an Arab his steed), with other atrocities almost inseparable from the march of an "army of retribution," were all too trifling to convey a fitting impression of the wrath of the British nation at the defeat, disgrace, and ruin which had attended its abortive attempt at the military occupation of Afghanistan. It is idle to talk of the savage ferocity‡ of the Khiljies, as displayed in the horrible January massacre, since that very massacre had been wantonly provoked. The English originally entered those fatal passes as foes; they marched on, in the pride of conquerors, to rivet a rejected yoke on the neck of a free, though most turbulent nation: their discipline and union were at first irresistible; yet subsequently, strife and incapacity delivered them over into the hands of their self-made enemies. They had (to use an Orientalism) gone out to hunt deer, and roused tigers. What wonder that the incensed people, heated with recent wrongs, should crush with merciless grasp the foe in his hour of weakness, under whose iron heel they had been trampled on so recently. It was a base and cruel thing to slay the retreating legions; but have civilised nations—France and England, for instance—never done worse things in Africa or the Indies, and vindicated them on the plea of state necessity? The defeated invaders fell with weapons in their hands: they fought to the last—at a heavy disadvantage, it is true; but still they did fight; and the physical obstacles which facilitated their overthrow, surely could not make the difference between the combatants greater than that which has enabled nations acquainted with the use of cannon to reduce to slavery or deprive of their land less-informed people.

The English refused to surrender, and paid by death the penalty of defeat, which would, in all probability, have been inflicted by them in a similar case. The captives and hostages were, generally, remarkably well used; even the little children who fell into the power of the Khiljies were voluntarily restored to their parents.§

Yet now the military authorities, not content with the misery wrought and suffered in Afghanistan,‖ gravely deliberated on the most

* Moonshee Mohun Lal was educated at the Delhi college, where the experiment of imparting secular education, without any religious leaven, was being tried by the British government. This system was afterwards adopted throughout India. Mohun Lal was one of its first-fruits, and his cleverly-written work on Cabool is well worthy of the attention of all interested in tracing the effects of purely secular instruction. Shahamet Ali (author of the *Sikhs and Afghans*), the fellow-student of Mohun Lal, was a different character, and not a Hindoo, but a Mohammedan. His new acquirements were not, therefore, likely to have the effect of producing the same flippancy and scepticism which was almost sure to be occasioned by proving to such men as Mohun Lal, that modern Brahminism was the offspring of superstition and ignorance, without inculcating a knowledge of those doctrines which Christians hold to be the unerring rule of life, the only wisdom.

† Kaye, ii., 599. Khelat-i-Khilji, or "the Khilji Fort," situated between Candahar and Ghuznee, must not be confounded with the famous Khelat-i-Nuseer near the Bolan Pass, taken by Major-general Willshire in November, 1839, and in the defence of which the Beloochee chief, Mehrab Khan, with hundreds of his vassals, perished. Several women were slain to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy: others fled on foot with their infants.

‡ The author of one of the numerous *Narratives* of the war, relates an anecdote of an Afghan boy of six years old, being found by an English soldier striving to decapitate the corpse of a colour-sergeant who had fallen some time before when Pollock fought his way through the Khyber Pass. The soldier came behind the child, "coolly took him up on his bayonet, and threw him over the cliff." Lieut. Greenwood narrates this incident in "the war of retribution" as evidence of *Afghan* ferocity.—(176.)

§ The daughter of Captain Anderson, and the son of Captain Boyd, fell into the hands of the Afghans in the Boothauk Pass.

‖ Lord Brougham sternly denounced the destruction of the "hundred gardens" of Cabool, by "our incendiary generals."

efficient mode of perpetuating in the minds of the Cabool chiefs the memory of deeds which all parties might have been glad to bury in oblivion. The peaceable inhabitants of the city had been induced to return and resume their occupations; and when they beheld the son of Shah Soojah on the throne, and the English in daily intercourse with the leading chiefs, and making avowed preparations for final departure, they might well think that the worst was over. But it was yet to come. General Pollock considered the death of the envoy still unavenged, and resolved on the total destruction of the Great Bazaar and the Mosque. These orders were executed, but with difficulty, owing to the massiveness of these magnificent buildings, which it was found impossible to destroy in any reasonable time without the use of gunpowder. As might have been expected, the victorious soldiery and licentious camp followers did not content themselves with fulfilling their destructive commission, but rushed into the streets of the city, applied the firebrand to the houses, and pillaged the shops; so that above four or five thousand people (including many Hindoos who had been enticed into the town by express promises of protection) were reduced to utter ruin. The excesses committed during the last three days of British supremacy in Cabool, were far more disgraceful to the character of England, as a Christian nation, than the expulsion and extermination of the ill-fated troops to her military reputation.

Popular feeling, both in India and in England, was strongly expressed against the needless injury done to the Afghans by the razing of the Great Bazaar, and especially against the extensive destruction of trees, by order of the commander-in-chief, by deeply ringing the bark, and leaving them to perish. Lord Ellenborough appears to have regretted these outrages; but this and all other drawbacks were for the time forgotten in the grand display with which he prepared to welcome the returning army. The homeward march commenced on the 12th of October, and proved singularly peaceful and uneventful. The old blind king, Zemaun Shah, with his nephew Futteh Jung, and the chief part of the family of the late Shah Soojah, accompanied the troops. The gates of Somnauth were not forgotten; and the governor-general gave vent to his delight at their attainment in a proclamation, in which he declared the insult of 800 years to be at length avenged, and desired his "brothers and friends," the princes and chiefs of Sirhind, Rajwarra, Malwa, and Guzerat, to convey the "glorious trophy of successful war" with all honour through their respective territories, to the restored idolatrous temple of Somnauth.

For this strange "song of triumph," as the Duke of Wellington styled the effusion, Lord Ellenborough may perhaps be excused, in remembrance of the honest and manly recantation of error which he published on behalf of the Indian government on the 1st of October, 1842, when directing the complete evacuation of Afghanistan,—this announcement being made from Simla precisely four years after the famous warlike manifesto of Lord Auckland. The whole of the Afghan captives were released. Dost Mohammed returned to Cabool to take possession of the throne vacated by the flight of Shahpoor immediately after the departure of the British force; Akber joyfully welcomed home his father and family; the Persians again besieged Herat; and all things returned to much the same position they occupied before thousands of lives (including that of the forsaken Shah) and about fifteen million of money had been wasted, in an abortive attempt at unauthorised interference. The only change effected was, that instead of respect and admiration, the Afghans (generally, though perhaps not justly, considered an unforgiving race) learned to entertain towards their powerful neighbours emotions of fear and aversion, excited by the galling memories inseparably connected with the march of a desolating army, whose traces were left everywhere, "from Candahar to Cabool, from Cabool to Peshawur."*

The annexation of Sinde—the next event in Anglo-Indian history—has been termed by its chief promoter "the tail of the Afghan storm." Such is the light in which Sir Charles Napier avowedly desired to place it; and his brother, General William Napier, in his account of the *Conquest of Sinde*, plainly declares the open encroachment on the in-

* Kaye, ii., 669. Among other authorities examined, in writing the above sketch of the Afghan war, may be named Eyre's *Cabool*, Havelock's *Narrative*, Dennie's *Campaigns*, Outram's *Rough Notes*, Hough's *British at Cabool*, Fane's *Five Years in India*, Osborne's *Court of Runjeet Sing*, Taylor's *Scenes*, Nash's *Afghanistan*, Barr's *Cabool*, Burnes' *Cabool*, Allen's *Diary*, Thornton's *India*.

dependence of the Ameers, made by order of Lord Auckland, to have been a measure of which "it is impossible to mistake or to deny the injustice." Major Outram, the then political Resident at Hyderabad, to some extent defended the proceedings which, though occasionally under protest, he was instrumental in carrying through; and brought forward a considerable body of evidence to prove that Sir Charles Napier, when vested with complete military and diplomatic authority in Sinde, while denouncing the unauthorised aggression committed by Lord Auckland, used the despotic power vested in him by Lord Ellenborough to sap the resources of the Ameers, and then drive them to desperation; the results being their ruin, the annexation to British India of a fertile and valuable boundary province, and the gain to the invading army of prize-money to an enormous extent—the share of Sir C. Napier (an eighth) amounting, it is asserted, to £70,000. Taken together, the admissions and accusations respectively made and preferred by the two leading authorities, can scarcely fail to leave on the mind of the unprejudiced reader a conviction that the Ameers were very illused men, especially the eldest and most influential of them, the venerable Meer Roostum. They were usurpers; but their usurpation was of above sixty years' standing: and the declaration of Lord Ellenborough is not equally correct, that what they had won by the sword they had lost by the sword; inasmuch as their earliest and most important concessions were obtained amid "a sickening declamation about friendship, justice, and love of peace;" which declamation was continued up to the moment when Meer Roostum, bending under the weight of eighty-five years, and his aged wife (the mother of his eldest son) were driven forth into the desert, not by English bayonets, but by English diplomacy.

Such at least is the account given by Napier of the opening negotiations with Sinde, and by Outram of their abrupt termination. To enter into the various points of dispute would be manifestly incompatible with the brief sketch of the leading features attending our occupation of the country, alone consistent with the objects and limits of the present work: even that sketch, to economise space, must be given in small type.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Kalloras, military fanatics from Persia, became dominant in Sinde, and though compelled to pay tribute to the Dourani conqueror of Afghanistan, retained their position as rulers until about 1771, when a conflict arose between them and the chiefs of the Beloochee tribe of Talpoors, who had come from the hills to settle in the fertile plains. After some years' fighting the Talpoors became undisputed masters of Sinde. Their head, Meer Futteh Ali, assigned portions of the conquered territory to two of his relations, and thus gave rise to the separate states of Khyrpoor and Meerpoor. The remaining part of Sinde, including the capital Hyderabad, he ruled until his death, in amicable conjunction with his three brothers. The Talpoors, like their predecessors the Kalloras, evidently dreaded the encroaching spirit of the powerful Feringhees, and quietly but firmly opposed their early attempts at commercial intercourse. At length, in 1832, the pertinacious resolve of the English to open up the navigation of the Indus, prevailed over their prudent reserve, and a new treaty was formed through the intervention of Colonel (after Sir Henry) Pottinger, by the fifth article of which the contracting parties solemnly pledged themselves "never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." The very words betrayed the apprehensions of the Ameers; and that these were shared by their subjects is proved by the exclamation recorded by Burnes, as uttered in the previous year by the witnesses of his approach—"Alas! Sinde is gone since the English have seen our river!"

The prediction was soon verified. In 1836, the ambitious designs of Runjeet Sing gave the Anglo-Indian government an opportunity of interference, which was availed of by the proffer of British mediation. At this time the original Talpoor rulers were all dead, and their sons reigned in their stead. Noor Mohammed wore the puggree or turban of superiority, and was the acknowledged rais or chief at Hyderabad; Sheer Mohammed at Meerpoor, and Meer Roostum at Khyrpoor, in Upper Sinde. Meer Roostum was eighty years of age, and was assisted in the government by his numerous brothers. He was, however, still possessed of much energy; and so far from fearing the hostility of Runjeet Sing, or desiring the dangerous aid of the English, he exclaimed confidently—"We have vanquished the Seik, and we will do so again." It was, however, quite another thing to compete with the united forces of Runjeet Sing and the English; and the intimate connexion so unnecessarily formed between these powers in 1838, proved pretty clearly that the choice lay between mediation or open hostility. The Ameers chose the former, and consented to the permanent residence at Hyderabad of a British political agent, with an armed escort. Two months after the conclusion of this arrangement, the Tripartite Treaty was signed at Lahore, and involved a new question as to the route to be taken for the invasion of Afghanistan. Runjeet Sing, stimulated by his distrustful durbar or court, would not suffer his sworn allies to march through the Punjab. Advantage was therefore taken of the weakness of the Ameers to compel them to sanction the passage of the British troops; and the island-fortress of Bukkur was obtained from Meer Roostum, to be held "during the continuance of the war." These concessions paved the way for fresh exactions, and the Ameers were next required to contribute towards the expenses of the expedition. The demand was first urged on the plea of arrears of tribute claimed by Shah Soojah as their suzerain, but this was refuted by

the production of a formal release made by the Shah of all claims upon Sinde or Shikarpoor. The next pretext for oppression was, that the Ameers had tendered professions of submission to Persia, the evidence being a document of doubtful authenticity, ostensibly addressed by Noor Mohammed to the Persian monarch, and which, when freed from Oriental hyperbole, contained little more than expressions of unbounded respect for the Shah of Persia as the head of the Sheiah sect of Mohammedans. It was so improbable that the Ameers would comply with the present demands, except under the sternest compulsion, that preparations were made to punish their refusal by the storming of Hyderabad, and the army of the Indus turned out of its way for the express purpose, and menaced Sinde at four different points. Sir John Keane designated the anticipated siege of the capital, "a pretty piece of practice for the army;" and the officers generally indulged in sanguine expectations of pillage and prize-money. The Ameers were divided in opinion; and one of them proposed that they should defend themselves to the last, and then slay their wives and children, and perish sword in hand—the terrible resolve carried out not many months later by Mehrab Khan, of Khelat-i-Nuseer. More temperate counsels prevailed. Meer Roostum confessed that in surrendering Bukkur he had given the heart of his country into the hands of the foe; and the Ameers, with utter ruin staring them in the face, consented to the hard terms imposed by the treaty signed in February, 1839, which bound them to receive a subsidiary force, and contribute three lacs (afterwards increased to three and a-half) for its support, to abolish all tolls on the Indus, and provide store-room at Kurrachee for military supplies. In return, the Anglo-Indian government promised not to meddle with the internal affairs of the Ameers, or *listen to the complaints of their subjects* (a very ominous proviso.) These concessions, together with a contribution of £200,000, half of which was paid immediately, did not satisfy Lord Auckland. Kurrachee had been taken possession of during the war; and he now insisted on its permanent retention, despite the promises made by his representatives.

The Ameers had no alternative but to submit: yet, says General Napier, "the grace with which they resigned themselves to their wrongs, did not save them from the cruel mockery of being asked by Colonel (Sir H.) Pottinger, 'if they had the slightest cause to question the British faith during the last six months?' and the further mortification of being told, 'that henceforth they must consider Sinde to be as it was in reality a portion of Hindoostan, in which the British were paramount, and entitled to act as they considered best and fittest for the general good of the whole empire.'"

Colonel Pottinger, created a baronet, continued Resident in Sinde until the beginning of 1840. He was succeeded by Major Outram, who, by the death of his coadjutor, Mr. Ross Bell, became political agent for the whole of Sinde and Beloochistan. Major Outram found the Ameers in precisely the state of feeling which might have been expected;—deeply irritated against the English, disposed to rejoice at any misfortune which might overtake them, and ready to rise up and assert their independence if the opportunity offered; but constantly let and hindered by the fear of consequences, and by the divided counsels arising from separate interests. With anxious care the Resident watched their feelings and opinions—warning one, counselling another, reasoning with a third; and in the perilous moment when General England fell back on Quetta, after a vain attempt to succour Nott at Candahar, Outram strained every nerve to prevent the rulers of Sinde from making common cause with their Beloochee countrymen against the invading army. "Even their negative hostility," he writes, "evinced by withholding supplies, would have placed us in a position which it is fearful even to contemplate." The recollection of past wrongs did not, however, prevent the majority of the Ameers from actively befriending the troops in their hour of need; but some of them were suspected of being concerned in hostile intrigues; and though Meer Roostum behaved with accustomed candour, his minister, Futteh Mohammed Ghoree became implicated in certain suspicious proceedings. Towards the conclusion of the Afghan war, Major Outram proposed to Lord Ellenborough (the successor of Lord Auckland) a revision of the existing treaties, which were very vaguely worded, urging that precautions should be taken against the possible machinations of such of the Ameers as had betrayed hostile intentions during the late crisis, and advised that Shikarpoor and its dependencies, with Sukkur and the adjacent fortress of Bukkur, should be demanded in complete cession, in return for the relinquishment of the yearly tribute of £350,000, and of arrears due of considerable amount.

Lord Ellenborough was not content with this arrangement: he desired to reward the good service done to the forces in the late war by a neighbouring prince, the Khan of Bhawalpoor,* by the restoration of certain territories captured from him some thirty years before by the Ameers, who were considered to have rendered themselves "most amenable to punishment." To this Major Outram assented; but when his lordship proceeded to write denunciatory letters to the Ameers, threatening them with punishment for past offences, should any such be clearly proved, the Resident withheld these communications, believing that their delivery would gravely imperil the safety of the troops still scattered in isolated positions in dreary Afghanistan. The governor-general admitted the discretion of this procedure; but he had taken up, with the energy of a strong though often prejudiced mind, the popular notion of the day against political agents; and the prudence displayed by Colonel Outram did not exempt him from the sweeping measures enacted for the supercession of political by purely military functionaries.

Sir Charles Napier had just arrived in India, and to him was entrusted the task of gaining the consent of the Ameers to concessions amounting to their virtual deposition.† The sudden recall of the Resident, and the arrival of a military leader, at the head of a powerful force, alarmed the Ameers, and they strove to deprecate the impending storm by every means in their power. The testimonies of many British officers and surgeons are brought forward by Major Outram, to confirm his own evidence with regard to the characters of the unfortunate chiefs of Sinde, whom he describes as decidedly favourable specimens of Mohammedan princes, ruling after a very patriarchal fashion,—merciful, accessible to complainants, singularly temperate, abstaining not only from drinking and smoking, but likewise rigidly eschewing the accursed drug, opium, even as a medicine.‡ The

* *Vide* Shahamet Ali's *History of Bahawalpoor.*

† Thornton's *India*, vi., 423.

‡ Outram's *Commentary*, 529. Dr. Burnes' *Sinde.*

mere fact of so many chiefs living and bearing sway in the domestic fashion described by Pottinger, burnes, and Outram, was a strong argument in their favour; yet Sir Charles Napier unhappily lent a credulous ear to the mischievous rumours which a longer residence in India would have taught him to sift narrowly, or reject wholly: and his entire conduct was in accordance with his undisguised opinion, that the Ameers were "thorough ruffians" and "villains," drunken, debauched, capable of fratricide, "any one of them," and determined to assassinate him and "Cabool" the troops. Accustomed to the courtesy of British officials (one of whom had stood unshod in their presence, some ten years before, to crave permission to open the navigation of the Indus), they were now startled by the tone of contemptuous distrust with which they were treated by the dark-visaged little old man, who, despite his unquestioned courage in the field of battle, avowedly suffered personal fear of treachery to prevent his according a friendly hearing to the "benign and grey-headed monarch who had conferred the most substantial benefits on the English nation."

Major Outram states that Sir Charles Napier scrupled not to add exactions to the treaties not desired by Lord Ellenborough: and further, that he incited the most ambitious and able of the Khyrpoor brothers (Ali Morad), to intrigue against their venerated rais or chief, Meer Roostum, who, perceiving the offensive and threatening attitude assumed by the British forces, asked the advice of the general what to do to preserve peace, and offered to take up his residence in the camp. Sir Charles Napier advised, or rather commanded him to join his brother. The aged rais complied, and the result was his being first, as Sir Charles said, "bullied" into resigning the puggree to Ali Morad, and then induced, by artfully-implanted fears of English treachery, to seek refuge with his family in the wilderness. This step was treated as an act of hostility, and immediate preparations were made for what was vauntingly termed "the conquest," but which was expected to be little more than the occupation of Sinde. The customary form of a declaration of war was passed over; and it being suspected that the fugitives had taken refuge in Emaunghur, Sir Charles marched, with 400 men mounted on camels, against that fortress in January, 1843. Emaunghur belonged to a younger brother of Roostum—Mohammed of Khyrpoor, one of the reigning Ameers, who had never "been even accused of a single hostile or unfriendly act,"* but who had the unfortunate reputation of possessing treasure to the amount of from £200,000 to £360,000, stored up in Emaunghur.† No such prize awaited the general; he found the fort without a living inhabitant, but well supplied with grain, of which the troops took possession, razed the walls, and marched back again.

At this crisis, Major Outram returned to Sinde, at the especial request of both Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, to aid as commissioner in settling the pending arrangements. Having vainly entreated the general not to persist in driving the whole of the Ameers of Upper Sinde to open war, by compelling them to take part with Meer Roostum and his fugitive adherents, Major Outram centred his last efforts for peace in striving to persuade the Ameers not yet compromised by any manifestation of distrust, to throw themselves at the feet of the English, by signing the required treaty. The task is best described in the words of the negotiator:—"I was called upon to obtain their assent to demands against which I had solemnly protested as a positive robbery: and I had to warn them against resistance to our requisitions, as a measure that would bring down upon them utter and merited destruction; while I firmly believed that every life lost, in consequence of our aggressions, would be chargeable on us as a murder."‡

The arguments of Major Outram succeeded in procuring the signature of the chiefs of Lower Sinde; but the prohibition he had received against any promise of protection for Meer Roostum, however clearly his innocence might be proved, excited uncontrollable indignation on the part of the Beloochee feudatory chiefs; and but for the efforts of the Ameers, the commissioner and his party would have been massacred on their return to the Residency. Major Outram was warned to quit Hyderabad. The vakeels or ambassadors dispatched to the British camp to offer entire submission, failed to procure even a hearing; and they sent word to their masters—"The general is bent on war—so get ready." In fact, Napier had been so long preparing to meet a conspiracy on the part of the Ameers, that he seems to have been determined either to make or find one, if only to illustrate his favourite denunciation of—"Woe attend those who conspire against the powerful arms of the company: behold the fate of Tippoo Sultan and the peishwa, and the Emperor of China!" Therefore he continued his march; and the terrified Ameers, on learning their last and deepest humiliations had been endured in vain, gave the rein to the long-restrained fury of their followers,—just fifty-three days after the commencement of hostilities by General Napier. On the 15th of February, a horde of armed Beloochees attacked the residence of the British commissioner. After a few hours' resistance, Major Outram and his escort evacuated the place, and retreated in marching order to meet the advancing army, which continued its progress to a village called Meanee (six miles from Hyderabad), which he reached on the 17th. Here the Ameers had taken up their position, with a force stated by Sir C. Napier at 25,862 Beloochees, hastily assembled and ill-disciplined; but than whom, he says, "braver barbarians never gave themselves to slaughter." And very terrible the slaughter was; for, if General W. Napier may be trusted, the Ameers "were broken like potsherds," and 6,000 men "went down before the bayonets of his (brother's) gallant soldiers, wallowing in blood." The English lost 264 killed and wounded.

Immediately after the battle, Meer Roostum and two others of the Khyrpoor family, with three of the Ameers of Hyderabad, influenced by the representations of Major Outram, abandoned all intention of defending Hyderabad, and delivered themselves up as prisoners; and on 20th of Feb., Napier entered the capital as a conqueror. Although there had been no declaration of war, and no sign of defence,—not a shot fired from the walls,—the prize-agents immediately set about the plunder of the city, in a manner happily unparalleled in the records of Anglo-Indian campaigns. The ladies of the imprisoned Ameers were exposed to the insulting search of one of the most abandoned of their own sex, the concubine of an officer on duty in Sinde. Everything belonging to them, even to the cots on which they slept, were seized and sold by public auction; and several of

* Outram's *Commentary*, 39. † First Sinde *B. B.*, 469.

‡ Outram deemed himself "bound to vindicate his (Napier's) conduct in my communications with his victims."—(*Commentary*, 325.) § *Idem*, 439.

these unfortunates, driven to desperation, fled from the city barefoot, overwhelmed with shame and terror.

On the 24th of March, the army marched from Hyderabad against Sheer Mohammed, Ameer of Meerpoor, with whom a pitched battle took place near that city, in which the British were victorious, but lost 267 men in killed and wounded. Meerpoor was occupied without resistance, and the desert fortress of Amercot (the birthplace of Akber, conquered by the Ameers from the Rajpoots) surrendered at the first summons. The brothers Shah Mohammed and Sheer Mohammed were defeated in the month of June, by detachments respectively commanded by captains Roberts and Jacob; and the success of these officers in preventing the junction of the brothers, and defeating them, materially conduced to the triumphant conclusion of the campaign; for had their forces been able to unite and retire to the desert, and there wait their opportunity, heat, pestilence, and inundation (in a land intersected by canals), would have been fearful auxiliaries to the warfare of predatory bands, against an army already reduced to 2,000 effective men, who could only move in the night, and were falling so fast beneath climatorial influences, that before the intelligence of Captain Jacob's victory, orders had been issued for the return of all the Europeans to head-quarters.

The Ameers were sent as prisoners to Hindoostan, and stipends were eventually granted for their support, amounting in the aggregate to £46,614. Ali Morad was rewarded for his share in sending his aged brother to die in exile, by an addition of territory, which was soon afterwards taken away from him, on a charge of forgery urged against him, and it was thought clearly proved, by a vengeful minister. The rest of the province was annexed to British India, and divided into three collectorates—Shikarpoor, Hyderabad and Kurrachee. There is some consolation in being able to close this painful episode, by stating that eventually accounts represented the country as improving in salubrity, the inhabitants (considerably above a million in number) as tranquil and industrious, canals as being reopened, waste land redeemed, new villages springing up, and even the very mild form of slavery which prevailed under the Ameers, as wholly abolished. This is well; for since we were incontestably usurpers in Sinde, it is the more needful we be not oppressors also.*

The sword had scarcely been sheathed in Sinde before it was again drawn in warfare against the Mahratta principality formed by Mahadajee Sindia. The successor of Dowlut Rao, and the adopted son of Baiza Bye, died childless in 1843. His nearest relative, a boy of eight years of age, was proclaimed Maharajah, with the sanction of the British government; and the regency was nominally entrusted to the widow of the late prince, a wayward and passionate, but clever and sensitive girl of twelve years of age. Great disorders arose in the state; and the turbulence of the mass of 40,000 soldiers, concentrated at Gwalior, rendered them an object of anxiety to the governor-general. The doctrine openly inculcated by Lord Wellesley—of the rights and obligations of the British government, as the paramount power in India—was urged by Lord Ellenborough as the basis of his proposed movements with regard to Gwalior. An army was assembled at the close of 1843; and while one division, comprising about eight or nine thousand men, marched from Bundelcund, and crossed the Sinde river at Chandpoor, the main body, about 14,000 strong, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, accompanied by the governor-general, crossed the Chumbul near the town of Dholpoor, and on the 26th of December encamped at Hingona, twenty-three miles north-west of the fort of Gwalior. Marching thence on the 29th, the British force came in front of a Mahratta host, about 18,000 in number, encamped fifteen miles from Gwalior, near the villages of Maharajpoor and Chonda. The details of the ensuing engagement are unsatisfactorily recorded. That the British came unexpectedly on the enemy, is proved by the fact that Lord Ellenborough (not a military man, as he sorrowfully said) was on the field, and also the ladies of the family of the commander-in-chief. The conflict was desperate, and the English suffered severe loss from the numerous and well-served artillery of the foe; but they prevailed, as usual, by sheer hard fighting, marching up under a murderous fire to the mouths of the cannon, bayoneting the gunners, and driving all before them. Flinging away their matchlocks, the Mahrattas fell back on Maharajpoor, where they held their ground, sword in hand, until General Valiant, at the head of a cavalry brigade, charged the village in the rear, and dispersed the foe with much slaughter. The survivors retreated to Gwalior, leaving on the field fifty-six pieces of artillery, and all their ammunition waggons. The total loss of British troops was 106 killed and 684 wounded. On the same day, Major-general Grey encountered 12,000 Mahrattas at Puniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, captured all their artillery, and slew a large number of them, his own loss being twenty-five killed and 189 wounded. The victorious forces met beneath the walls of the ancient stronghold, which, on the 4th of January, 1844, was taken possession of by the contingent force commanded by British officers. At the base of the temple stood the Lashkar, or stationary camp, where about 5,000 Mahrattas, being amply

* *Vide* Napier's *Sinde*; and Outram's *Commentary*.

supplied with artillery, held out until the offer of liquidation of arrears, and three months' additional pay, induced them to surrender their arms and ammunition, and disperse quietly.

The native durbar attempted no further opposition to the views of the governor-general, and a treaty was concluded on the 13th Jan., 1844, by which the Maharanee was handsomely pensioned, but excluded from the government; and the administration vested in a council of regency, under the control of the British Resident, during the minority of the Maharajah. The fortress of Gwalior was ceded in perpetuity, and the sum of twenty-six lacs, or an equivalent in land, was demanded by Lord Ellenborough, in payment of long-standing claims; the subsidiary force was increased, and the maximum of the native army fixed at 9,000 men, of whom not more than one-third were to be infantry. The good conduct of the young rajah led to his being permitted to assume the reins of power before the expiration of the stated interval, and at its close, in 1853, he was formally seated on the musnud, and confirmed in the authority he had previously exercised on sufferance.*

The hostilities carried on with China, however important in themselves, have no place in the already overcrowded history of India; but it would be unjust to Lord Ellenborough, to omit noticing his vigorous and successful exertions for the dispatch of troops and stores to the seat of war. The reasons for his recall by the E. I. Directory in July, 1844, were not made public; and it would be superfluous to speculate upon them in a work the object of which is to state facts, not opinions.

HARDINGE ADMINISTRATION: 1844 TO 1848.—Lord Ellenborough's successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, employed the brief interval of tranquillity enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian government in promoting public works, in improving the discipline of the army, ameliorating the condition of the native troops, and endeavouring to produce a more friendly spirit between the military and civil services.

The progress of much-needed reforms was soon arrested by the outbreak of war on the north-western frontier, which was met by the governor-general in a firm and decisive spirit. Upon the death of the old Lion of the Punjab—the mighty robber-chief who had raised himself from the leadership of a small Jat tribe to the rank of Maharajah of the Seiks,—the kingdom he had founded was shaken to its base by a series of durbar intrigues and midnight assassinations, exceeding in atrocity the worst crimes committed at the worst periods of Hindoo or Mohammedan history. Kurruck Sing, the successor, and, it was generally believed, the only son of the deceased ruler, was deprived, first of reason and then of life, by the hateful machinations of the minister Rajah Dehra Sing and his profligate and abandoned son Heera (the pampered minion of Runjeet), the leading members of a powerful family, generally known as the Lords of Jummoo, a principality conquered from the Rajpoots.† The incremation of Kurruck Sing was scarcely ended, when some loose bricks fell on the head of his son No Nehal Sing, who was placed in a litter and carried off by the arch plotter Dehra, before the extent of the injury could be ascertained by the bystanders, and kept from the presence of his family until the crime had been completed, and the young rajah was a corpse. Murder followed murder: men and women, the guilty and the innocent, the vizier in the council-chamber, the general at the head of the army, the lady at her toilette, the babe in its cradle, were by turns the victims of unscrupulous ambition, covetousness of wealth, lust, cowardice, or vengeance. Dehra and

* Churut Sing founded the fortunes of his family by establishing a sirdaree or governorship, which his son, Maha Sing, consolidated by the capture of the fort and town of Ramnuggur, from a strong Mohammedan tribe called Chettas. Maha Sing died in 1780, leaving one son, a child then four years old, the afterwards famous Runjeet Sing. The mother and mother-in-law of the young chief ruled in his name until the year 1793, when Runjeet became impatient of control, and sanctioned, or (according to Major Smyth) himself committed the murder of his mother, on the plea of her shameless immorality—a procedure in which he closely imitated the conduct of his father, likewise a matricide. The conquest of Lahore, in 1798, from some Seik chiefs by whom it was conjointly governed, was the first step of the ladder by which Runjeet mounted to power. Moultan and Peshawur were captured in 1818; Cashmere in the following year; and Runjeet's career of plunder and subjugation ceased not until a wall of impenetrable mountains closed its extension northward, in a manner scarcely less decisive than the check to his progress southward and eastward, previously given by the English, when their prudent interference compelled him to find in the Sutlej a barrier as impassable as the Himalayas themselves.—(Prinsep's *Seiks;* Smyth's *Reigning Family of Lahore;* Shahamet Ali's *Seiks and Afghans;* Hügel's *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab.*)

† The almost independent power which Runjeet Sing suffered the Lords of Jummoo and other favourite chiefs to assume, was one of the causes of the fierce civil war for which his death gave the signal.

Heera Sing fell, each at a different crisis, while holding the office of vizier. Sheer Sing, the son of one of Runjeet's wives, obtained for a time the throne; but was murdered in 1843, after which a state of wide-spread anarchy prevailed throughout the Punjab, the chief remaining semblance of authority being vested in the person of Ranee Chunda, a concubine of the late Runjeet Sing, and the mother of a boy named Duleep Sing, who, though notoriously not the son of the Maharajah, had been in some sort treated by him as such. Dehra Sing, wanting a puppet, had drawn this child from obscurity; and his mother, under the title of regent, became the head of a faction, the opposers of which took their stand by declaiming truly against the spurious origin of Duleep Sing, and the shameless immorality of Ranee Chunda; and untruly, with regard to her alleged efforts to intrigue with the English against the independence of the Seik nation. Now, in fact, the only point upon which the various Seik parties had ever shown any degree of unanimity, was that of enmity to the British; and much evidence has gradually been brought to light of the actual treachery, as well as passive breach of treaty committed by them during the Afghan war. The intemperate language of Sir Charles Napier in Sinde, and his undisguised anticipation of war in the Punjab, had been published, doubtless with exaggeration, throughout that kingdom; and the general feeling of the Seiks was anxiety to assume an offensive position, and meet, if not anticipate, the expected invasion. The French officers in the Seik service (Ventura and M. Court), appear to have borne little part in the past commotions; but their exertions, together with those of Allard and the Neapolitan Avitabile, on whom Runjeet conferred the government of Peshawur, had been sedulously and successfully employed in casting cannon, organising artillery, and disciplining troops after the European fashion.

The preparations made at Lahore for the passage of the Sutlej by a Seik army, could not long be concealed from the governor-general, who, with all practicable expedition and secrecy, concentrated 32,000 men and sixty-eight guns in and about Ferozepoor, Loodiana, and Umballa. Towards the middle of December, the Seiks crossed their boundary, bringing with them large quantities of heavy artillery; and one body of 25,000 regulars and eighty-eight guns, took up a position near the village of Ferozshah; whilst another force of 23,000 men and sixty-seven guns, encamped opposite Ferozepoor. Both divisions commenced throwing up earthworks around their camps, and preparing for a vigorous contest.

The governor-general had hastened to the frontier to superintend the necessary preparations at the various cantonments. On learning the passage of the Sutlej by the Seiks, in direct contravention of existing treaties, he issued a declaration of war, and, in conjunction with the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, advanced with the main column from Bussean (the military depôt) towards Ferozepoor. On reaching the village of Moodkee (18th December, 1845), tidings were received of a hostile encampment some three miles off, comprising a large body of troops, chiefly cavalry, supported by twenty-two guns. It was mid-day, and the English were weary with marching; nevertheless they started forward, after a brief interval for refreshment. The Seik artillery being advantageously posted behind some low jungle, fired briskly upon the advancing columns, but could not hinder the approach of the British horse artillery and light field batteries, which opened on them with steady precision, and caused a degree of confusion in their ranks, soon utterly broken by a sweeping charge of cavalry, closely followed by a continuous discharge from the muskets of the infantry. The Seiks were driven off by the bayonet whenever they attempted to make a stand, and fled leaving seventeen guns and large numbers of their dead comrades on the field. The slaughter would have been greater but for the weariness of the victors and the gathering darkness. The British returned to their camp at midnight, with the loss of 216 killed and 648 wounded, out of a force of 1,200 rank and file. Among the slain was Sir Robert Sale, who fell with his left thigh shattered by grapeshot. The victory was followed up by an attack on the intrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozshah. The Seiks were estimated at 35,000 rank and file, and eighty-eight guns; while the British numbered less than 18,000 men, and sixty-five guns. The disparity was sensibly felt, for the Seiks had proved themselves far more formidable opponents than had been expected; and their artillery (thanks to the labours of Ventura, Allard, Avitabile, and Court, and to the policy of encouraging foreign adventurers to enter

the service of native princes, and prohibiting Englishmen from a similar proceeding) excelled ours in calibre as much as in number, was in admirable order, and thoroughly well served. The British advanced from Moodkee, and reached the hostile encampment about eleven o'clock on the 21st of December. The engagement commenced with an attack by the artillery on the Seik lines, which extended nearly a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. An order was given to the infantry to seize the enemy's guns; and the terrible task was effected with so much success, that the battle seemed almost gained, when the sudden fall of night obliged the combatants to cease fighting, because they could no longer distinguish friend from foe. The main body of the British forces was withdrawn a few hundred yards, and while resting under arms, some of the Seik guns which had not been taken possession of, were brought to bear on the recumbent troops. The governor-general mounted his horse and led the gallant 80th, with a portion of the 1st Bengal Europeans, against the hostile guns, carried them at a charge, caused them to be spiked, and returned to his previous station. The remainder of the night was one of extreme anxiety to the British commanders: their loss had been most severe; and the reserve force, under Sir Harry Smith, had been compelled to retire; while reinforcements were believed to be on their way to join the Seiks. The "mettle" of the troops and of their dauntless leaders was never more conspicuous: at daybreak they renewed the attack with entire success, secured the whole of the seventy-six guns opposed to them, and cleared the entire length of the hostile works; the enemy falling back on the reserve, which arrived just in time to prevent their total destruction. Thus strengthened, the vanquished Seiks were enabled to recross the Sutlej without molestation. The English found full and melancholy occupation in burying their dead and nursing the wounded. Nearly 700 perished on the field; and of above 1,700 placed in hospital at Ferozepoor, 600 died or were disabled from further service.

The great loss thus sustained, and the want of a battering train, prevented the conquerors from marching on Lahore, and bringing the war to a summary conclusion. Many weeks elapsed before the arrival of reinforcements enabled Sir Hugh Gough again to take the field; and in the interval, the Seiks threw a bridge of boats across the Sutlej, and encamped at Sobraon, on the left bank of the river, where, under the direction of two European engineers, they constructed an almost impregnable *tête-du-pont*. Another body crossed the river and took post at the village of Aliwal, near Loodiana. Sir Harry Smith was dispatched from Ferozepoor to relieve Loodiana, which having effected, he marched against Aliwal with a force of about 10,000 men, and advanced to the attack on the 28th Jan., 1846, with his entire line. A brief cannonade and a cavalry charge was followed by the onset of the infantry: the village was carried by the bayonet, the opposing guns captured, and the foe driven with great slaughter across the river. Smith returned to Ferozepoor on the 8th of February, and on the following day the long-expected heavy guns reached the British camp. Before daybreak on the 10th the troops marched forth to attack the formidable intrenchments of an enemy estimated at 54,000 men, and supported by seventy pieces of artillery. The British numbered 16,000 rank and file, with ninety-nine guns. They advanced under a murderous fire from cannon, muskets, and camel guns, and in more than one place were repeatedly forced back, but the charge was invariably renewed. Line after line was carried, in the accustomed manner, by the bayonet, and the victory was completed by the fierce onslaught of a body of cavalry, under General Thackwell. The Seik guns, camel swivels, and standards were abandoned, and the retreating mass driven over their bridge of boats across the river, hundreds perishing by the fire of the horse artillery, and many more being drowned in the confusion. The English lost 320 killed (including the veteran Sir Thomas Dick, with other officers of note), and the wounded amounted to 2,063. The victorious army marched to Lahore; and there, beneath the city walls, dictated the terms of peace. The governor-general was disposed to recognise the claims of the boy Duleep Sing as Maharajah, and 10,000 men were left at Lahore (under the command of Sir John Littler) for his support and the preservation of peace. The Seik government, or durbar, consented to defray the expenses of the war, amounting to a million and a-half sterling, and agreed to the disbandment of their turbulent soldiery, of whom the majority had been already temporarily dispersed. Sir Henry Hardinge returned to England, and was rewarded for zealous and successful service by eleva-

tion to the peerage; a similar mark of royal favour was conferred on Sir Hugh Gough.

Dalhousie Administration: 1848 to 1855.—The recent Seik treaty was not carried out, and appears to have been merely signed as a means of gaining time. A new series of crimes and intrigues commenced; and, as before, hatred of the English was the only common feeling of the various leaders of factions. The first signs of open hostility appeared in the ancient city of Mooltan, the capital of a petty state between the Indus and the Sutlej, conquered by Runjeet Sing in 1818. The British assistant Resident (Mr. Vans Agnew) and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army, were assassinated in the fortress by Moolraj the governor, against whom hostile operations were immediately commenced; the earlier of which were characterised by a remarkable display of energy and judgment on the part of Major Herbert Edwardes, then a subaltern, "who had seen but one campaign."* The strong fortress of Mooltan was besieged in August, and would probably have been captured in the following month, but for the treacherous defection of a large body of Seik auxiliaries, which, with other unmistakable indications of hostility, left (in the words of Lord Dalhousie) "no other course open to us than to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our troops."

In November, 1849, a British army, under Lord Gough, again took the field, and marched from Ferozepoor to Ramnuggur, near the Chenab, where a Seik force lay encamped. The attack of the British proved successful, but their loss was heavy, and included the gallant General Cureton, Colonel Havelock, and Captain Fitzgerald. The Seiks retreated in order towards the Jhelum, while Lord Gough prepared to follow up his victory by an attack on Lahore. The siege of Mooltan, conducted by General Whish, was brought to a successful issue on the 2nd of January, 1849. The fortress was most vigorously defended, until its massive fortifications were completely undermined, and several practicable breaches effected. Orders had been given to storm the citadel at daybreak, and the troops were actually forming, when Moolraj presented himself at the chief gate, and proceeding straight to the tent of the English general, surrendered the keys and his own sword.

* *Year on the Punjab Frontier*, pp. 381–'2.

A garrison was left in Mooltan, and the remainder of the army marched off to join the commander-in-chief, but arrived too late to share the peril and the glory of the much-criticised battle of Chillianwallah. Events so recent are interesting subjects of history. But seldom, until the chief actors have passed way from the stage, does the evidence brought forward give a sufficiently clear account to enable the most diligent investigator to form a correct judgment on their merits and demerits.

Early in January, Lord Gough proceeded towards the Chenab, and found, as he expected, the Seiks strongly posted near Chillianwallah, with their artillery planted in a commanding and safe position, under cover of some low but dense jungle. The British marched to the attack, as they had often done before, amid a storm of grape and shell, and after a long and sanguinary engagement, which lasted till after nightfall, carried the murderous guns with the bayonet, and purchased victory with the loss of 757 killed and above 2,000 wounded. The carnage among the Seiks must have been yet more terrible; nevertheless, being joined by a body of Afghan horse, they prepared to renew the contest. The final struggle took place on the 21st of February, a few miles from the town of Gujerat. The battle was opened by Lord Gough with a fierce cannonade, which was maintained without intermission for nearly three hours. At the expiration of that time the Seiks made a retrograde movement, upon which the whole British force rushed forth on the foe, and with bayonet, lance, and sword completed the overthrow commenced by the heavy guns. Chutter Sing, Sheer Sing, and other leaders, surrendered to the victors; the Afghans fled across the Indus; the Seik forces were disbanded; and there being in truth no legitimate heir to the usurpations of Runjeet Sing, the Punjab was unavoidably annexed to British India. Its subsequent satisfactory and improved condition shows the prudence of this annexation.

Second Burmese War.—Nearly two years were passed by the governor-general in active usefulness, without any interruption of the general tranquillity; the only occasion for military interference being to suppress the inroads of the Afredees and other predatory tribes in the vicinity of Peshawur. The sole quarter from which hostility was anticipated was Burmah, the very one from which it was most earnestly to be depre-

cated by all inclined to take warning by past experience.

The Earl of Dalhousie was deeply impressed with this conviction, and scrupled not, with characteristic frankness, to declare his opinion, that "conquest in Burmah would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war."* The deeply disordered finances of India had been rapidly improving under his peaceful and able administration, and he looked forward with sincere repugnance to a contingency which would assuredly produce "exhausted cash balances and reopened loans."† Nevertheless, a series of unfortunate events produced the renewal of war. The treaty of Yandaboo had been preserved inviolate by the sovereign with whom it was made; but his deposition, in 1837, gave a new turn to affairs. His usurping brother, known to the English as a military leader by the name of Prince Therawaddi, manifested great annoyance at the presence of a political agent at Ava, and the residency was in consequence removed to Rangoon, and subsequently altogether withdrawn from Burmah. The British continued to trade with Rangoon for the following twelve years; and during that time many complaints of oppression and breach of treaty were brought against the Burmese government, but none of these were deemed of sufficient extent or significancy to call for the interference of the Calcutta authorities, until the close of 1851, when the commanders of two British vessels laid before Lord Dalhousie a formal statement of oppressive judgments delivered against them by the governor of Rangoon in his judicial capacity. Commodore Lambert was dispatched from Calcutta with full and very clear instructions regarding the course to be pursued—namely, first to satisfy himself regarding the justice of these allegations, and then to demand about £900 as compensation.

On reaching Rangoon, numbers of resident traders (styled by Lord Ellenborough the Don Pacificoes of Rangoon) pushed off in their boats with a strange assortment of complaints against the governor; whereupon Commodore Lambert, without waiting to consult Lord Dalhousie on the subject, broke off all intercourse with the local functionary, and commanded him, in very peremptory language, to forward a letter to the King of Ava, stating the object of the British mission, and demanding the disgrace of the offending intermediary. The letter was dispatched, and an answer returned, that the obnoxious individual had received his dismissal, and that the required compensation would be granted. A new governor arrived at Rangoon, whose conduct induced the commodore to doubt the sincerity of the professions made by the Burmese authorities; and so far he was probably correct. But, unfortunately, his peculiar position as a Queen's officer,‡ is alleged to have given him a sort of independence, which induced the violation of Lord Dalhousie's express injunction, that no act of hostility should be committed by the British mission, however unfavourable its reception, until definite instructions had been obtained from Calcutta. The refusal of the governor to receive a deputation sent by the commodore at mid-day on the 6th Jan., 1852,—offered by the Burmese attendants on the plea that their master was asleep, according to custom, at that hour (and afterwards excused on the plea that the deputies were intoxicated, which has been wholly denied), —was immediately resented by a notice from the commodore for all British subjects to repair to the squadron—an order which was obeyed by several hundred men, women, and children. No opposition was made to their embarkation, but those who remained behind were thrown into prison. The next and wholly unauthorised measure was to take possession of a painted war-hulk, styled the "yellow ship," belonging to the King of Ava, which lay at anchor a little above the British vessels. This procedure, which had been almost universally censured, produced a declaration from the governor of Rangoon, that any attempt to carry away the property of the king, would be forcibly resisted. The British persisted in towing the vessel out of the river; and on passing the great stockade, or battery, a fire was opened on them, but soon silenced by a broadside from the squadron, which "must have done great execution."§ Commodore Lambert declared the coast of Burmah in a state of blockade, and left in a steamer for Calcutta, to seek other instructions than those he had violated in ill-judged retaliation.

The notoriously hostile spirit of the Burmese government, probably induced Lord Dalhousie to confirm the general proceedings of Lambert, despite his undisguised disapproval of the seizure of the "yellow ship."

* Further (Parl.) Papers on Burmese war, p. 44.
† *Idem*, p. 87.
‡ Cobden's *Origin of Burmese War*, 7.
§ Lambert's Despatch. Further Papers, 4[1].

The previous demand for compensation was reiterated and received with a degree of evasion which was deemed equivalent to rejection; and both parties made ready for an appeal to arms. The British commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, was absent at Simla; but though a brave soldier, he was a man of advanced age; and the ability of Lord Dalhousie and his council abundantly sufficed to overcome all deficiencies, including those encountered in the raising of the Madras contingent, through the insubordination of the governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who tacitly opposed Lord Dalhousie at every point,—not through any conscientious feeling regarding the war, but simply from personal irritation, caused by some petty jealousy of office.* The Bombay authorities, aided by the head of the Indian navy (Commodore Lushington) and his able subordinates, captains Lynch and Hewett, bestirred themselves actively in the preparation of the steam fleet, and on the 2nd of April the Bengal division arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river; the previous day having been fixed by the governor-general as that on which the King of Ava was to decide whether he would avoid war by the payment of £100,000 in consideration of the expenses incurred by the British, and sanction the residence of an accredited agent at Rangoon, in compliance with the treaty of Yandaboo. The steamer dispatched to Rangoon to receive the reply of the Burmese government, was compelled to retreat under a shower of shot from the stockades lining the river; and the campaign commenced. Martaban was stormed with little loss, and occupied by a strong garrison. The Madras division arrived soon after; and the united forces amounted to about 8,000 men, commanded by General Godwin, an active and fearless veteran, who had served under Campbell in the previous war, but whose projects were sadly fettered by an exaggerated respect for the proceedings of his predecessor. Rangoon was blockaded on the 10th of April, 1852, and the following day (Easter Sunday) witnessed a desperate and prolonged struggle. The intense heat, under which many officers dropped down dead, impeded operations; and it was not until the 14th that the fall of the Golden Pagoda completed the capture of Rangoon, which was obtained with the loss to the victors of about 150 killed and wounded. Bassein (once the head-quarters of the Portuguese in Eastern India) was carried with ease in June, and strongly garrisoned; but the dilapidated city of Pegu, which next fell into the hands of a British detachment, though evacuated on their approach, was abandoned by them, owing to insufficiency of troops. General Godwin sent to Calcutta for reinforcements, and especially for light cavalry, horse artillery, and a field battery. These were assembled and dispatched with all possible celerity; and the governor-general, probably dissatisfied with the progress of hostilities, himself visited the seat of war. Prome was taken possession of in July, but abandoned, like Pegu, for want of men, upon which the enemy returned, and made preparations for its defence. The reinforcements which reached the British cantonments in September, raised the army under General Godwin to nearly 20,000 efficient troops, and might, it was considered, have amply sufficed for more extensive enterprises than were attempted. Prome was recaptured, with little difficulty, in October, and Pegu in November; and both places were permanently occupied. An effort was made for the recovery of Pegu by the Burmese, which proved ineffectual; and an engagement with a body of the enemy, near Pegu, was chiefly remarkable for the gallantry displayed by the irregular Seik horse, who proved valuable auxiliaries to their late conquerors.

In December, 1852, the governor-general declared the province of Pegu annexed to the British empire, and intimated that no further hostilities would be pursued by the Anglo-Indian government, if the Burmese were content to submit quietly to the loss of territory which, it must be remembered, they had themselves acquired by usurpation. A new revolution at Ava, caused by the deposition of the king, Therawaddi, by one of his brothers (a procedure similar to that by which he raised himself to the throne), occasioned a cessation of foreign hostilities,† and it would appear that the Burman court and people were really solicitous for the

* *See* an able article entitled "Annals of the Bengal Presidency for 1852," *Calcutta Review*, Mar., 1853.

† The assassination of Captain Latter, the deputy commissioner at Prome, in December, 1853, has been variously attributed to the treachery of the Burmese government, and to the vengeance of a petty chief, in whose subjugation to British authority he was personally instrumental. The murder was committed in the dead of night, and nothing but life was taken. The assertion that a woman's garment was found on the body, though often repeated, has been authoritatively denied; and of the whole mysterious affair nothing is certain but the death of a brave, scientific, and energetic officer.

continuance of peace. Some disappointment was occasioned by the embassy voluntarily dispatched by the King of Ava to the governor-general, and the mission sent in friendly reciprocity to Ava, resulting in no treaty of alliance or commerce. The governor-general, however, had from the first "deprecated the reconstruction of any treaty relations with the court of Ava at all;" and at the close of his administration, he declared, that he still considered "peace with Ava as even more likely to be maintained in the absence of all commercial or friendly treaties, than if those conventions had been renewed as before."*

Sattara.—On the death of the rajah, on the 5th of April, 1848, the principality was annexed to the British territories by right of lapse, the rajah leaving no male heir.

Jhansie, a small Mahratta state in Bundelcund, lapsed in a similar manner to the British government on the death of its last chief, in November, 1853.

Hyderabad.—On the 21st of May, 1853, the Nizam signed a treaty, which provided for the liquidation of his heavy and long-standing debt to the company, and for the maintenance of the stipulated military contingent, by the cession of the districts of Berar Payeen Ghaut, the border districts from thence down to Shorapoor, and the territory of the Dooab between the Kistna and the Toombuddra.†

Nagpoor, or Berar.—This kingdom, which had been made over to Rajah Ragojee by the British government after it had been forfeited by the treachery of Appa Sahib, was left without an hereditary heir on the death of the rajah in December, 1853. There remained no male of the line, descended from the stock, and bearing the name of Bhonslah. The dominions of Berar, or Nagpoor, were therefore considered to have lapsed, and were incorporated in the Anglo-Indian empire. There were other annexations of less importance, such as the raj of *Ungool* (in the Jungle Mahals), and a portion of the land of the rajah of *Sikkim* (a hill chieftain, on the borders of Nepaul.)

In *Sinde,* Ali Morad, of Khyrpoor, was accused of having forged a clause in a treaty, whereby he had wrongfully obtained possession of land which of right belonged to the British government; and his guilt being held to be proved, his lands were confiscated.

Oude.—The closing act of Lord Dalhousie's administration was the annexation of Oude, the government of which country was assumed by his lordship, February 7th, 1856. The reasons for this measure, and the mode of its accomplishment, have been so much discussed in connexion with the military mutiny of the Bengal army, which broke out in the following year, that it may perhaps best suit the convenience of the reader, to postpone for the second volume the relation of this annexation.

As the "Farewell Minute" issued by Lord Dalhousie on his leaving India, presents an admirably clear account of the state of that country early in 1856, preceding the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, full descriptions of which will be found in the second volume of this work, the following abstract cannot fail to be of deep interest.

In paragraph 10 of this Minute, Lord Dalhousie observes that, in regard to the internal tranquillity of the Empire, no man can presume to warrant its continuance, with certainty, for a day. "In territories, and among a population so vast, occasional disturbance must needs prevail. Raids and forays are, and still will be, reported from the Western frontier. From time to time marauding expeditions will descend into the plains, and again expeditions, to punish the marauders, will penetrate the hills. . . . . With respect to the frontier raids, they are, and must, for the present, be viewed as events inseparable from the state of society which for centuries past has existed among the mountain tribes. They are no more to be regarded as interruptions of the general peace of India than the street brawls which appear among the every-day proceedings of a police-court in London are regarded as indications of the existence of civil war in England."

After entering into statistics of the then revenue, expenditure, and trade of India, showing a deficiency of revenue in 1856 of £1,850,000, Lord Dalhousie remarks that "these apparent deficiencies are caused by the enormous expenditure which the Government is now annually making upon public works, designed for the general improvement of the several provinces of the

* Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie, dated 28th February, 1856, reviewing his administration in India from January, 1848, to March, 1856.—(Parl. Papers, 16th June, 1856).—An abstract of this minute is given in the next column.

Indian Empire. Wherefore, a large annual deficiency must, and will continue to appear, unless the Government shall, unhappily, change its present policy, and abandon the duty which I humbly conceive it owes to the territories intrusted to its charge. The ordinary revenues of India are amply sufficient, and more than sufficient, to meet all its ordinary charges; but they are not sufficient to provide for the innumerable and gigantic works which are necessary to its due improvement. It is impracticable to effect, and absurd to attempt, the material improvement of a great empire by an expenditure which shall not exceed the limits of its ordinary annual income."

Lord Dalhousie draws attention to two important subjects which had received considerable development during his government—viz., Prison Discipline and Education. With respect to prison discipline, he states that it was in the North-west Provinces, under the administration of Mr. Thomason, that the first effectual effort was made for the improvement of prisons and their discipline. Consequent on the success of that attempt an Inspector of Prisons was appointed in the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Governments, and also in the Punjab; this arrangement was also extended to Oude. The question of education, which had long been neglected, had also its first impetus from the hands of Mr. Thomason, who obtained permission to establish a government school in every tehsildaree, within eight districts of Hindostan. Although this measure was experimental, it had a great success, and the extension of vernacular education consequently became general through most parts of the Empire. The establishment of colleges and universities followed with the most beneficial results. A distinct department for the superintendence of education was constituted. A Director-General of Public Instruction was appointed by each governor and lieutenant-governor, in the Punjab, and other arrangements made to facilitate educational progress.

But one of the most interesting subjects of Lord Dalhousie's "Minute," more especially as bearing on the same questions in recent years, is that of the material improvement of India. He divides this into three branches—viz., railways, uniform postage, and telegraphs.

In regard to railways, he states that so early as 1843, Mr. Rowland Stephenson laid the subject of railway communication before the Supreme Government. In 1849 the East India Company engaged in a contract with the East Indian Railway Company for the construction of an experimental line, at a cost not exceeding £1,000,000 sterling. Subsequently, in 1853, the question of the extension of railways throughout the most important parts of India was entertained, and numerous schemes were sanctioned. Into this subject we need not further enter, as the railway system of the present day is very far advanced in practice beyond even the proposals made for that purpose in 1856—a subject to which attention will afterwards be called.

In respect to the Postal System, Lord Dalhousie describes the imperfection which had existed up to 1850. A Commission was appointed in that year to report on a new scheme. Consequent on their report, the Directors of the East India Company decided on the following alterations:—viz., 1st. The institution of the post-office throughout India as a distinct department. 2nd. The establishment of a uniform single rate of postage, irrespective of distance. 3rd. The substitution of postage-stamps for cash payments; and 4th, the restriction of the privilege of "franking" to the utmost extent possible. As regards the advantages of this system, we quote the noble Lord's own remarks:—"In England (1856) a single letter is conveyed to any part of the British Isles for one penny. In India, a single letter is conveyed over distances immeasurably greater . . . . for no more than three farthings. The postage chargeable three years ago, in India, would not have been less than one shilling, or sixteen times the present charge. . . . It has rarely happened that a departmental revolution, so complete, having consequences so wide-spread, and so generally beneficial, could be recorded in so few lines as have sufficed to exhibit the reform of our Indian post-office, and its excellent results."

We next turn to the Electric Telegraph. Lord Dalhousie states that in April, 1852, Dr. (afterwards Sir) W. O'Shaughnessy, reported on the successful working of the experimental line of electric telegraph previously authorised by the Court of Directors. It was determined to commence a series of telegraphic lines throughout India, and Sir W. O'Shaughnessy was sent to England to carry out details. Here we