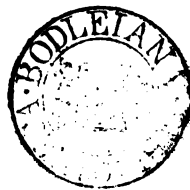


THE HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH SETTLEMENTS
IN INDIA.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF HINDOOSTAN—EARLY HISTORY.

(B.C. 300—A.D. 1767.)

HINDOOSTAN, or the land of the Hindoos, is an appellation borrowed from the Persians, and generally applied to a tract of country south of the Himalaya mountains, which, gradually assuming a form almost triangular, slopes downwards towards the island of Ceylon, and terminates in the point known as Cape Comorin. The eastern boundary of this region may be considered the Brahmaputra river, its western limits the Indus, and the distance between the two can scarcely be less than 1,500 miles. The length of the peninsula varies very much owing to the curve made by the Himalaya chain in a northerly direction, which of course renders the distance of that range from Cape Comorin greater or less, according as the point taken lies eastward or westward. If we select Cashmere as the opposite limit to the most southern extremity of Hindoostan, the interval between them will measure about 1,900 miles, while, reckoning from Nepaul, the extent would be

considerably diminished. The surface of the Indian continent may be distributed into five or six divisions, of which the Deccan only seems to require particular notice in a work like the present. Under this appellation are included the Malabar, Canara and Concan coasts to the west, with the Carnatic and the Circars, bordering on the bay of Bengal. The Vindya mountains cross the peninsula from Gujerat to the Ganges; while a chain of eminences, called the Ghauts, run through the southern part of India from north to south, terminating in a narrow ridge at Cape Comorin. In most of these elevated regions three distinct gradations of vegetation may be observed. At the foot of the mountains are discerned the fruits and flowers of the tropics; on advancing higher up we encounter the productions of the temperate zone; while lichens and mosses luxuriate in graceful profusion around the more lofty summits.

The rivers of India form no inconsiderable part of its physical characteristics. The Indus and the Ganges are too well known to require much notice; the Kistna derives its name from one of the most popular members of the Hindoo Pantheon; while the Mahanuddy, the Godavery, the Nerbudda, and the Cavery, are distinguished by their size, extent and mythological associations. As most Indian streams take their rise in the mountainous regions, they are liable to continual changes. During the dry season they seem reduced to the rank of a small rivulet, pursuing a quiet course between two extensive strips of sand, the extreme boundaries of which mark the periodical width of the river when, swollen by rains and the melting of mountain snows, it rolls onward to the sea a rapid and resistless volume of water, inundating, frequently, the surrounding country on each side, and bearing along with it every obstacle that offers resistance to its impetuous career. India is no less celebrated for its fertile and extensive table-lands, which are principally devoted to the cultivation of the sugar-

cane, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and Indian corn. In the plains, rice is the chief article produced, as a large supply of this grain is needed for the support of the people, the majority of whom scarcely use any other kind of food.

The early history of India seems, as far as the accounts of the Hindoos are concerned, so deeply imbued with a legendary character, that it is extremely difficult to separate the facts themselves from the imaginative clothing in which tradition has invested them. It appears, however, from the Hindoo Epic entitled the *Ramayana*, that a flourishing Indian kingdom existed in Oude at a period of remote antiquity. A son of the then reigning monarch, Rama, is represented by the poet as making an expedition against Ceylon, in which he was assisted by the Monkey king, *Hunnamān*.

Besides the romantic narrative contained in this poem, there are more authentic testimonies to the establishment, in the north, of a second empire, the capital of which was denominated *Pratishthana*. In early times three kingdoms, also, of some importance, occupied the southern part of the Hindoo peninsula. The *Pandion*, *Cholan*, and *Cheran* dynasties, who ruled over them, are said to have come originally from Oude, introducing for the first time into the Carnatic the learning and civilization of the north. Under the auspices of these sovereigns an university was founded at *Madura*, one of the members of which was *Tiroo Vullavan* (the sacred *Pariah*), whose writings are still extant, and to whom his countrymen have assigned a high place among Hindoo classical writers. *Pliny*, *Arrian* and *Ptolemy*, mention the *Pandion* monarch, and thus confirm the statements of native historians. It seems probable, however, that India was conquered and colonized by successive tribes of invaders, at a period anterior to the earliest history which is known to us; and this hypothesis, if correct, may serve to explain the division of the people into castes, and the physical dissimilarity

which prevails between the races composing the four principal classes, termed respectively Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. The Sudras were possibly the first who entered India from Central Asia; after them followed the Vaisyas, the Kshatriyas, and the Brahmins. This ancient arrangement, however, has since its commencement undergone numerous modifications, and the four pure castes seem at the present day almost lost in the crowd of distinctions, to which their endless subdivisions have given rise. Besides these four chief castes, which may perhaps represent the successive conquerors of Hindoostan, a numerous class, or rather collection of classes, exists, who may be looked upon as the descendants of the vanquished aborigines of India. If this race has survived at all, it must be sought for among the wild and savage tribes inhabiting the mountain regions, such, for instance, as the Bheels, the Gonds, and the Todors, who still maintain in their elevated table-lands the habits and freedom of a totally uncivilized age.

To the above might be added the Pariahs of the plains, with their multifarious offshoots, since the difference which prevails between the depressed Hindoo outcasts and the high-spirited hill tribes can be easily accounted for by the centuries of degradation and oppression to which the former have been subjected. Yet in broaching this theory upon the authority of the learned and acute Heeren, candour demands the admission, that the system of caste prevailed in ancient times among a people more homogeneous than the Hindoos. Herodotus found seven of these divisions existing in Egypt,* while his description of the persons composing them warrants the supposition that they differed very little from the various Hindoo castes. It is also worthy of notice, that the Greek writers enumerate seven of the latter, a circumstance which if well authenticated would

* Enterpe, clixr.

go far to establish a very early connexion between Egypt and Hindoostan.

The invasion of India by Alexander, casts some light upon the habits and country of a people but little known before to the great nations of the west. Commerce had indeed made the latter familiar with the productions of Hindoostan,—such of them, at least, as ministered to the requirements of luxury and the offices of religion. Its jewels and its perfumes were equally prized with its myrrh, its incense and cinnamon, while the embalmers of Egypt drew from thence their richest spices and choicest gums. The roots of its mother language, the Sanscrit, are still to be traced in the dialects of polished Greece, and victorious Latium; and the fables of Pilpay may, perhaps, have suggested those compositions which bear the name of *Æsop*. Nor was this all: tradition spoke in obscure and faltering tones of the expeditions of Bacchus and Semiramis, although these conquests, even if authentic, could hardly have risen above the rank of mere incursions, not being followed by the lasting subjugation of any portion of the Indian territory.

Alexander crossed the Indus near Taxila (the modern Attock), and encountered on the banks of the Hydaspis (the Jhyllum), the gallant though unfortunate Porus, in whose fearless bearing and magnanimous reply we behold manifested in a striking manner the characteristics of his modern Rajpoot descendants. But the great Macedonian conqueror did not permanently obtain possession of any portion of this noble country. His advance to the East was opposed by numerous independent chiefs, who compelled him to direct his march towards the South. When he reached the Hyphasis, his soldiers refused to proceed any farther, and he was at length obliged to give up, though reluctantly, the design of conquering India. Sailing down the Indus to the sea, he despatched Nearchus with his fleet along

the shores of the Persian gulf to the Euphrates, while he himself conducted the army to Babylon, by land.

Seleucus, one of the successors of Alexander, who had obtained possession of Syria and the provinces near Babylon, next attempted to subjugate some portion of Hindoostan. But during an expedition set on foot against the Prasii, a numerous and warlike Punjaub tribe, he was informed that his rival, Antigonus, had taken advantage of his absence to menace the territories of the Seleucidæ, in Western Asia. Hastily concluding a treaty of peace, therefore, with Sandracottus or Chandragupta, the Rajah of the Prasii, he marched homewards, and never again resumed his schemes of conquest. Two embassies were subsequently despatched by the Seleucidæ to the Prasian monarch, and one of the envoys, Megasthenes, remained for some time at Palibothna, on the Ganges; but soon after these transactions the Macedonians lost entirely their possessions in India, and from this period we derive little or no information respecting that country through the medium of foreign writers. The inhabitants, indeed, of the Grecian kingdom of Bactria, which lasted about 130 years, carried on a large commercial intercourse with India; but this power was finally overwhelmed by an irruption of Tartar tribes, who afterwards invaded Hindoostan, concerning whose history and actions we have no information handed down to us.

The enterprising merchants of Alexandria were not slow in availing themselves of the advantages which their position conferred upon them with respect to the Indian trade. Sailing down the Red Sea into the ocean, Hippalus discovered the properties of the monsoons or trade winds, and this circumstance gave a fresh impetus to the valuable and important traffic now carried on between the Indian coast and the capital of Upper Egypt. The navigators first proceeded to Ocelis, or Cane, in Arabia, crossing over from thence by the aid of the south-west

monsoon to Mangalore, a period of forty days being occupied in the voyage. At the beginning of January they returned with the north-east monsoon, and conveyed their rich Indian freights upon the backs of camels from Berenice, the place of debarkation, to Koptos, a distance of nearly 260 Roman miles. From Koptos, the merchandise was despatched to Alexandria, and thence diffused through the ports of Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Greece.

During the domination of the Romans, but few additions were made to the knowledge of India acquired by the Greeks; the Geography of Ptolemy, however, describes with tolerable accuracy some of the principal maritime provinces of Hindoostan: although the acquaintance of the ancients with this distant country was limited in the extreme. The accounts transmitted to the west by the merchants and seamen who visited the Hindoo coasts are too largely mingled with fables and legends to have conveyed to the minds of the historians and geographers of those times true and faithful impressions of the countries which the narrators had traversed.

Various Chaldean writers of early date ascribe the first planting of Christianity in India to St. Thomas the Apostle. Tradition reports that he preached the Gospel on the Malayalim coast, where the Portuguese found upon their landing about fifteen thousand families professing the Christian faith, and differing in many important particulars from the Roman church. From these extreme parts of Southern India, it is said that St. Thomas proceeded to Meliapore, near the modern Madras, at which place the Eastern writers relate that he suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ. A small mound eight miles from the present city bears his name, and is revered by the Roman Catholic Christians as a sacred locality.

After the decline of the Roman empire we read little of India in the pages of western writers; but during the

eighth century the Mohammedans seem, for the first time, to have invaded its soil. The commercial intercourse subsisting between Arabia and Hindoostan, tended to direct the attention of the warlike inhabitants of the former to a country abounding in wealth, and professing a religion most hateful in the eyes of a Moslem.

The wild legends of Arabian romance invested the imperfectly known region with the richest hues of fiction: they told of its massive pearls, of its countless diamonds, of the rich texture of its silks, and the costliness of its perfumes. Sitting in the public places of Baghdad or Cairo, the Eastern story-teller transferred to India the scenes of his most extravagant narrations, being satisfied, that in so distant a locality the personages of his tale could enact no wonders too exalted for the credulity of his astonished listeners. Fired by these tales, and by the scarcely less romantic reports of travellers and voyagers, the zealous votaries of Islam soon crossed the frontiers of Hindoostan, to propose to its trembling inhabitants the option of the Koran or the sword. Respecting their first invasion, however, we know little more than the date. About the middle of the tenth century, however, history records less obscurely the invasion of Sabuktaghin. This prince, originally a military adventurer, had usurped the throne of Khorassan, from whence he cast a longing eye upon the rich plains and well watered pastures of the Punjaub. Crossing the Indus, his victorious arms broke through all opposition, and the zeal of the invader for the creed of Islam was exhibited by the ruined and desecrated temples which marked his route. It was in vain that the King of Lahore attempted to divert the attention of his enemy by an expedition against his own capital; Sabuktaghin penetrated the design, and pursuing the Hindoos came up with them on the western side of the Indus, which river they had recently crossed. Night drew on as the armies approached each other, the in-

tended action was postponed till the dawn, but during the hours of darkness a heavy storm of hail descended upon the Indians, who, struck with an unaccountable panic, abandoned their monarch and betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Deserted by his army, the Indian rajah sued for peace, which Sabuktaghin seemed not indisposed to grant, though the intended truce met with violent opposition from his son Mahmoud. Fearful, however, of driving his enemy to despair, the invader at length consented to accord favourable terms; but after his return to Lahore, the Indian prince shrank from fulfilling his part of the treaty, and thus afforded the Mohammedans a pretext for war, which they at once eagerly embraced. Followed by a numerous force, Sabuktaghin again crossed the Indus, and returned home from a campaign which had been completely successful, laden with spoils of immense value. His death and the contests of his sons for the vacant throne, gave some respite to the trembling Hindoos; but the removal of one of their most formidable scourges only prepared the way for another, who inflicted upon them even greater disasters. Mahmoud, commonly styled, of Ghuznee, had been the victor in that fraternal contest which arose after the death of Sabuktaghin; and the first act of his reign was the public utterance of a solemn vow, that he would give no rest to the idolaters of India, until he had destroyed their temples and laid prostrate their shrines. This sanguinary promise he fulfilled to the letter. Delhi, Kinnoge, Lahore, Moulton, and Gujerat, were subdued after a fierce resistance, in which the Hindoos had been stimulated alike by patriotism, and religious zeal. Among the numerous shrines that attracted the fanaticism or avarice of the conqueror, was a temple at Somnauth, in Gujerat, famed for its magnificence and the multitude of the Brahmins engaged in its service. Mahmoud besieged the well fortified sanctuary, stormed its defences, and, notwithstanding the most

determined resistance, succeeded at length in forcing an entrance into the inner shrine where stood the idol, surrounded by its trembling priests. Regardless of the entreaties of the Brahmins, who offered as a ransom for their image the large sum of ten millions sterling, the victorious Moslem broke it in pieces with his mace, and found concealed in the interior a valuable collection of jewels, diamonds, and rubies.

After the death of Mahmoud, the dissensions of his sons, and the rise of the Seljuk power, destroyed the flourishing empire which he had established in Khorasan. A rival dynasty arose at Ghor, or Gaur, and the princes of this line became, like their predecessors, the scourges of the Hindoos.

The Gauride dynasty were in their turn destroyed by the Sultans of Khowarezm, whose power afterwards sank in consequence of the invasion of Genghis Khan. The last sovereign of the Khowarezmian race, Jeleddin attempted to maintain in India the supremacy of his house, but the opposition he encountered obliged him to recross the Indus; and although the valour of his troops won back for their leader a portion of his own territory, he did not long survive this conquest, and finally perished in Kurdistan, by internal treachery.

The descendants of the Gauride dynasty, though deprived of their western dominions, still reigned at Delhi, and bore rule over some of the finest provinces of northern Hindoostan. The invasion of Timour desolated the country, and produced a state of anarchy and confusion, during the continuance of which the throne of Delhi became the prize of numerous daring adventurers in succession. The reigns of these princes contain little worthy of notice, until the time of Iskander, under whose rule the Portuguese, led by Francis and Alphonso Albuquerque, landed for the first time in the province of Malabar. As allies, and afterwards as enemies of the sovereign of Zamora, the strangers profited by the dis-

sensions of the native chiefs, and obtained from the Prince of Cochin, the rival of the Zamorin Rajah, permission to erect a fort within his territory. By intrigues and violence they extended their influence daily in the southern part of the peninsula, the independent rulers of which had not yet fallen under the yoke of the Moslem emperors of Delhi. The throne of northern India was soon after seized by Baber, a descendant of Timour, who transmitted it to his Mogul posterity. Among these, Akbar distinguished himself by his virtues and valour, but his unworthy sons embittered his declining years with their mutual animosity; and one of them, Selim, was not ashamed to wage a parricidal warfare against his father and sovereign. The aged monarch, stung by the ingratitude of his offspring, addressed to Selim a touching letter, in which he bade him "hasten to pierce the bosom of that parent to whom he envied the possession of a few short years of tranquillity and repose." The unnatural rebel could not resist this pathetic appeal; he at once abandoned his army, and hastening to Delhi alone and unattended, rushed into his father's presence, acknowledged his past guilt, and humbly implored forgiveness. The aged monarch in reply raised his penitent son from the ground, and clasping him in his embrace gave free vent to the emotions of a paternal breast. But this excitement, however gratifying its cause, proved too violent for his frame, broken down by sorrow and years; Akbar only survived the reconciliation a few days, and finally breathed his last in the arms of the son whom he had forgiven.

The emotion of Selim had perhaps been sincere, but it was transient and short-lived. His accession revived the vanity and ambition which better feelings repressed for a season, and one of his first steps was to assume the pompous title of "Jehanghir," or Conqueror of the World. His reign was troubled by the rebellion of his

son, in whom his own example had taught the lesson of filial disobedience, and by the conquests of the Persians in Candahar. The grandson of Jahangir was the celebrated Aurangzeb, whose perverted genius first displayed itself in attacking piety against his father, Shah Jehan, and in pursuing his brothers with unrelenting hatred. Towards the close of this prince's career the English power began to extend itself in Bengal, and sixty years after his death, in 1707, the last of the Mogul family, Shah Alom, became a pensioned tributary of the East India Company.

In concluding this short sketch of the early history of Hindoostan, which seems necessary as an introduction to the first annals of Anglo-Indian rule; it may not be amiss to review briefly the nature of the Mogul government. Aliens in country and religion, these monarchs scarcely ever deigned to conciliate the affections of their Hindoo subjects. The precepts of the Koran taught them to regard intolerance as a virtue, and insults to the Hindoo creed as acts of positive duty. The gross polytheism of India could hardly claim our sympathy as Christians, but the plunder of its wealthy shrines by the Moslem rulers was as frequently the result of avarice as of religious zeal, while proselytism by violence cannot be defended on Evangelical principles. Under the Moguls the Hindoo became a wretched serf, degraded below the meanest of the conquering race, his property and his honour being invaded without scruple and without remorse. The selfish vanity, perhaps the luxurious taste, of these sovereigns led them indeed to patronize the arts, and to undertake occasionally works of architectural magnificence or public utility, but neither the splendour of their buildings nor the convenience afforded by their roads and bridges could compensate to their subjects for the turbulence of their disputed successions, and the civil commotions of which they were the cause. The rule of the English in

India, while attended with less outward splendour, has been, upon the whole, more beneficent and just. The Hindoo can at least enjoy the rewards of his industry without any fear that his property should be wrenched from him at the caprice of an imperious despot, while the numerous wars which distracted the peninsula during the contests waged by the Mahrattas, and other independent powers, with the sovereigns of Delhi, have been terminated for ever, we may hope, by the stern vigour and watchful vigilance of the English rulers of India.

Nor can the Christian historian feel otherwise than thankful that the sway of England over this fine country has led to the introduction of the Gospel among its Pagan and Mohammedan inhabitants. Much indeed remains to be done, but the blessings of a sound and scriptural education are already beginning to make themselves felt; ancient superstitions are waning before the steady light of truth; nor is the period probably far distant when a large proportion of the Hindoos will have renounced entirely the idolatry which they already regard with suspicion, if not with contempt. Nor, after reviewing carefully all these considerations, can we hesitate to maintain that, however defective it may be in some respects, the English government in India has no cause to fear a comparison with the Mogul rule, even if the brightest and most prosperous periods of the latter be selected for examination.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE PASSAGE—FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY—DUPLIX—AFFAIRS OF THE DECCAN—FIRST EXPLOITS OF OLIVE.

(1498—1752.)

In the year 1498, Vasco de Gama discovered a passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope. This achievement of the Portuguese navigator placed for a time the whole commerce of the farther East in the hands of his countrymen, but in the course of a century they found themselves obliged to encounter the rival efforts of the English, the French, and the Dutch. The success of the former gave rise to the formation of a company in London, for the special purpose of trading with India. Fifteen superintendents, or directors, were selected to manage the fund, which amounted at the commencement to 30,133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* but they did not obtain the Royal Charter till the close of 1600, and then for a period of fifteen years only. Their first expeditions, however, were directed more to the Spice, and other islands of the Indian Ocean, than to the continent itself, where they possessed no colony until the year 1612, when a firman issued by the Great Mogul, as he was popularly termed, gave them permission to erect a factory at Surat. Some naval victories over the Portuguese had gained for the English the respect of the native princes, and to augment this friendly feeling, James I. despatched Sir Thomas Roe in 1614 as ambassador to the court of Delhi. Jehanghir, the son of the great Akbar, then occupied the throne, and the splendour of his palace and retinue made a marked impression upon the English envoy. Sir Thomas was treated with unusual honours, but the intrigues of the Portuguese raised many hindrances in

his way, since they easily succeeded in exciting the jealousy or fears of the suspicious Orientals.

The massacre of Amboyna, in which some English merchants resident at that island were barbarously tortured and put to death by the Dutch, induced our countrymen to confine their attention more exclusively to the continent of India. Soon afterwards also Mr. Boughton, a surgeon in the service of the Company, having by his medical skill ingratiated himself with Shah Jehan, the reigning Mogul, that sovereign gave the English permission to erect factories on the Hooghly. About the same period, also, Mr. Francis Day constructed the fortress of St. George, around the walls of which sprang up eventually the modern city of Madras.

In 1668 the charter of the Company was renewed by Charles II. Seven years before, that monarch had made over to them the islands of Bombay and St. Helena, which formed part of the dowry he received with his consort, Catherine of Braganza. In 1687 the seat of government was transferred from Surat to Bombay, but the advantages derived from this new possession seemed at one period nearly forfeited by the disastrous results of an expedition unadvisedly undertaken against the Nabob of Bengal. The Mogul emperor supported his vassal, and some of his ships having been burnt by the English, he seized the factories of Surat, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam, put many of the Company's agents and officers to death, and threatened to expel them entirely from the continent. The changes of oriental policy, however, and the hope of obtaining the means of replenishing their exhausted treasury, induced the court of Delhi to lend a favourable ear to the humble entreaties of the Company. The English merchants were soon afterwards reinstated in their former possessions, while they added to these, in 1690, the fortress of St. David, situated near the native city of Negapatam. A few miles to the south of this new settlement lay the

city of Pondicherry, which had been recently colonized by the French. Eight years after, the Viceroy of Bengal sold the provinces of Chutametty, Govindpore, and Calcutta to the English, who erected in the last mentioned district a fortress, which they named after King William, then the reigning monarch of England.

The Dutch education of William III. had made him familiar with the advantages capable of being derived from the Indian trade, and at one time he seemed disposed to rescue this monopoly out of the Company's hands. Every effort was made by independent merchants for the purpose of obtaining a cessation of the monopoly, as well as redress for the ill treatment which they complained of having suffered from the Company's officers. Party spirit ran high, and the "interlopers," as they were termed, succeeded in gaining a charter, allowing them to incorporate a new and rival community. But the intrigues and contests of the two companies rendering their separate existence undesirable, they were at length amalgamated into one society, which received then, and has borne since, the appellation of "The United East India Company." The first advantage obtained by the new association, was a measure passed in 1708, by which Parliament extended to them several novel and important privileges, confirming at the same time those that they already enjoyed. The termination of party warfare at home, enabled the Directors to give their undivided attention to the affairs of the East, where new opportunities for aggrandizement were daily presenting themselves.

The death of Aurungzeeb, the disturbances occasioned by the disputes of his sons, and the bigoted fanaticism which led the Moguls upon the slightest pretences to oppress and insult their Hindoo subjects, had alienated the affections of the latter from their Mohammedan lords. The Seikhs, and the Mahrattas, warlike and predatory tribes, inhabiting the northern and western districts of

Hindoostan, devastated the country on every side, and insulted with impunity the feeble and degenerate sovereigns of Delhi. An imperial minister, Nizam-ool-Mulk, rendered himself independent by seizing upon the Deccan, while the Afghans and Rohillas invaded the provinces of the north. But all these calamities were eclipsed by the inroad of the Persians, under Nadir Shah. That fierce conqueror took and plundered the city of Delhi, carried off the magnificent peacock throne of its emperors, and after exercising every species of cruelty and extortion upon the terrified inhabitants, he returned to Ispahan, bearing with him treasures to an almost fabulous amount.

The English possessed at this period flourishing settlements in Surat, Bombay, Fort St. David, Calcutta, and Madras. Near the two places last mentioned, their territories had been recently augmented by grants of land, a favour which they owed principally to the gratitude of the Mogul emperor, and to the medical skill of one of their servants, who, when the monarch was attacked by a dangerous malady, succeeded in effecting his cure.

But the prosperity of these thriving colonies was threatened in 1744 by the war which then broke out between France and England. M. Dupleix had been appointed Governor of the French settlements in India, the capital of which was the town of Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast. He proved himself to be a man of aspiring and ambitious views, subtle, daring, and profoundly impressed with the advantages to be obtained by erecting in the Peninsula an independent French state. Being allied by marriage to a native lady, he possessed a thorough acquaintance with the habits, manners, language, and prejudices of the Hindoo and Mohammedan races. Although accused of want of personal courage in the field, he displayed in the cabinet all those qualities which are essential to the skilful arrangement of a campaign, while in negotiation and intrigue

he was incapable of being surpassed even by the wily natives of the East. The establishment of the Jesuit mission at Pondicherry tended to advance materially his plans for the aggrandizement of France. Representing themselves as Brahmins of the west, and the possessors of the lost Veda, the sons of Loyola penetrated un molested into the courts and towns of the interior, and, as was perhaps natural, used all the influence they acquired to forward the views of their French protectors. Such was the enemy with whom the English were obliged, during a lengthened period, to contend for the supremacy of the East.

Dupleix had been arranging in his thoughts a plan for the humiliation of his rivals, when a circumstance, unforeseen, it would appear, by him, led to a somewhat premature development of his schemes. The Governor of the Mauritius, Labourdonnais, acting upon his own responsibility, appeared suddenly off the coast of Madras, and putting to flight the English fleet, commenced the siege of Fort St. George. The garrison numbered only 200 men capable of bearing arms; the resistance, though sustained during a bombardment of five days, was by no means skilfully conducted, and at length the place surrendered to the French commander upon conditions which guaranteed that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be spared, and the town restored to the English after the payment of a moderate ransom. The warehouses which belonged to the Company, and their contents, were appropriated by the conqueror; who, however, as far as he was personally concerned, observed the stipulations of the treaty with honour and fidelity. Dupleix, however, who had from the commencement regarded Labourdonnais with jealousy and ill-will, refused his assent to the terms of capitulation, obliged the English governor and residents to renew their submission to himself, and finally caused them to be paraded through the streets of Pondicherry in a species of triumphal

procession. Enraged at the slight thus offered to him, the brave Labourdonnais repaired first to Pondicherry and then to Paris, to remonstrate against this breach of faith, and to protect himself from the intrigues of Dupleix, whose insidious representations had created considerable ill-will against him at the French court.

As many of the English considered that the conditions of the treaty had been violated by the proceedings of the French governor, they deemed themselves no longer bound by their parole, and some therefore attempted and effected an escape to Fort St. David, which still remained in the hands of the Company. Dupleix accordingly determined upon the reduction of this stronghold, and having seduced from the alliance of the English the Nabob of Arcot, he made three unsuccessful attempts to gain possession of the place. The garrison, however, headed by the brave Major Lawrence, and numbering among their officers the celebrated Robert Clive, then a young volunteer, defended themselves so gallantly that the French were unable to effect their purpose, and shortly afterwards the arrivals of Admirals Boscawen and Griffen off the coast with an English squadron, rendered Dupleix alarmed for the safety of his capital; nor were his fears groundless, for the British forces immediately laid siege to Pondicherry, but the season being unpropitious, the enterprise signally failed, and a cessation of hostilities in Europe between the two rival nations obliged Dupleix to restore the town and fortress of Madras to their former owners.

The only event worthy of notice that occurred during the truce, was the invasion of Tanjore, which took place under the following circumstances. In the reign of Aurungzeeb, a Mahratta chieftain, Sivajee, established himself at Tanjore on the Cavery, and transmitted the government of this territory to his descendants, who for four generations enjoyed peaceably the fruits of ancestral valour. Eventually, however, the rightful heir, a child,

having been murdered, his two uncles contended together for the vacant throne. The unsuccessful candidate, Sahijee, sought the aid of the English, and offered them as an inducement the town of Devicottah, situated near the mouth of the Coleroon. As the suppliant argued plausibly in defence of the justice of his title, and professed to be supported by the majority of his countrymen, the Council of Fort St. David determined to support his cause. They accordingly despatched Captain Cope with a force of 430 Europeans, and 1,000 sepoy, to invade the Tanjore territory. The expedition failed, and its commander discovered that Sahijee had not a single adherent in the whole province. Policy, however, dictated further exertions: a new force was collected, and Major Lawrence, an officer who gained for himself a most brilliant reputation in Indian annals, assumed the command. The aspect of affairs changed speedily, and Lawrence having stormed Devicottah, and taken a fortification near Tanjore, granted peace to the terrified Rajah, who allowed the English to retain their acquisition, while they in return pledged themselves that Sahijee should give him no further annoyance.

The disturbances which arose in the Deccan followed shortly after the expedition to Tanjore. The former region comprises all the southern parts of the Indian Peninsula, having for its northern boundary, the river Nerbudda. As the native chieftains of the several districts composing it acknowledged nominally the sovereignty of the Mogul Emperor, this territory had been for some years governed by viceroys nominated at Delhi.

Besides the Soubahdars, as they were termed, the subdivisions of the Deccan were successively ruled from very early times by native Hindoo princes, who though still subordinate to the Mogul Lieutenant, continued to govern with a show of independence their several hereditary domains. The principal of these feudatories were the Rajahs of Arcot, Vellore, Trichinopoly and

Tondiman, while a Mahratta family had recently established themselves at Tanjore. The Nabob of the lower Carnatic occupied the mediate grade between the native rulers and the Soubahdar, who derived his power more directly from the Emperor.

In the year 1710, Nizam-ool-Mulk filled the post of Soubahdar of the Deccan. He had been appointed to the office by Aurungzebe, but his skilful intrigues soon rendered him virtually independent of that monarch's feeble successors. Under this able minister was Saadat Allah, Nabob of the Carnatic, who kept his court at Arcot. Having no children, he adopted two nephews, Doost Ali and Bauker, the elder of whom at the death of the Nabob declared himself at once his successor. Although irritated that his permission had not been first obtained, the Soubahdar contented himself with keeping back the usual Imperial recognition, and Doost Ali, taking little notice of this circumstance, turned his whole attention to the celebration of his daughter's nuptials. The husband he bestowed upon her was Chunda Sahib, a man of considerable influence and ability, who obtained afterwards the post of Dewan, or Prime-minister, to the Nabob his father-in-law.

One of the new official's first acts was the seizure of Trichinopoly from the heirs of a Hindoo rajah recently deceased. The exiles threw themselves upon the protection of the Mahrattas, it was granted them, and 10,000 of these fierce warriors entered the Carnatic, carrying fire and sword wherever they came. At the instigation of Dupleix, Chunda Sahib, who had hitherto acted as the agent of the Nabob of the Carnatic, was endeavouring to establish an independent sovereignty for himself in the confiscated territory, when he found his prey thus suddenly snatched from his grasp. Doost Ali, upon learning the state of affairs, advanced against the Mahrattas; his forces were defeated and himself slain, while Sufder Ali, his son and successor, suspecting the

fidelity of Chunda Sahib, intrigued with the Mahrattas against him. But the subtle Dewan penetrated their designs, and although himself unwilling or unable to abandon Trichinopoly, he despatched his family and property to Pondicherry, to remain in the safe keeping of Dupleix. Subsequent events proved the wisdom of this course, for about four months afterwards the Mahrattas took Trichinopoly, and carrying away Chunda Sahib, imprisoned him at Sattarah.

But although freed from a formidable rival, Sufder Ali found himself beset with difficulties. The inroad of the Mahrattas had increased the imposts laid upon the people, discontent was excited, and a conspiracy being organized, Mortaza Ali, the brother-in-law of Sufder Ali and of Chunda Sahib, placed himself at its head. The assassination of the Nabob succeeded, and Mortaza Ali used every exertion to secure the vacant post, endeavouring among other things to obtain possession of the son of Sufder Ali whom his father had confided to the protection of the English at Madras. But his character was unpopular, and his motives suspected; the people reviled and despised the assassin of so near a relative, and even his own officers appeared inclined to revolt.

Such was the position of affairs when the Soubahdar Nizam-ool-Mulk entered the Carnatic with a large army. The rival chieftains at once suspended their disputes and awaited his decision in respectful silence. His first step was to treat with favour and kindness the child of the murdered Nabob, his next to annul the pretensions of the treacherous relative, Mortaza Ali, to the post of guardian, which office the Soubahdar conferred upon a soldier of fortune named Anwar-eddeen. But the choice proved extremely unfortunate, the unwary or treacherous guardian suffered the child to be murdered in his presence, and obtained afterwards from the Soubahdar the now vacant office of Nabob of the Carnatic.

Both the French and English had during the con-

tinuance of the war intrigued with Anwarddeen for his support. He assisted each in turn, but to little purpose; and his allies, when they had gained their ends, seemed by no means grateful for the imperfect aid which the Nabob afforded. On the side of the French, indeed, Dupleix relied most upon the ability and daring of Chunda Sahib.

That personage was still in captivity among the Mahrattas, when circumstances occurred which led eventually to his liberation. The death of Nizam-ool-Mulk in 1748 occasioned a contest for the post of Soubahdar between Nazir Jung, the son, and Merzapha Jung, the nephew, of the deceased. Dupleix determined to support the cause of the latter through the instrumentality of Chunda Sahib, for whose ransom he paid over to the Mahrattas the enormous sum of seven lacs of rupees. (70,000*l*.)

The late Dewan was no sooner at liberty than he opened communications with Merzapha Jung. His offers of service being thankfully received, he persuaded his new patron to apply to Dupleix for aid, and to place the fullest reliance upon the power of France. The wily governor of Pondicherry had now brought matters to the point he desired; he listened to the request of Merzapha Jung, and sent, at once, 400 French troops, and 2,000 sepoys to support his cause. Flushed with the successful issue of this negotiation, the adventurers sought eagerly an encounter with the forces of Anwarddeen. A battle ensued; the Nabob fell by the hand of a Kaffre soldier, his eldest son was taken prisoner, and the youngest, Mohammed Ali, escaped with difficulty to Trichinopoly.

But the conquerors took no measures to improve their victory. They refrained from assailing Trichinopoly, and wasted valuable time in levying contributions and publishing inflated manifestoes crowded with the epithets and titles of Oriental vanity. In the meanwhile Nazir Jung was advancing towards the Carnatic, fortified by the

alliance of the English, who had despatched to his assistance the brave Major Lawrence, at the head of 800 men. On the other side, Dupleix raised the amount of the French contingent to 2,000 men, a supply which rendered the army of Merzapha Jung so formidable, that Lawrence pressed his ally not to venture a battle. The proud Mussulman turned a deaf ear to this prudent advice, but his temerity did not meet with the reverse that might have been anticipated, for the French officers, discontented at some slight they had experienced, mutinied in a body, and left the field without striking a blow. Chunda Sahib retired to Pondicherry, and Merzapha Jung surrendered himself to his uncle, who immediately plunged him into a dungeon, regardless alike of the ties of relationship, and of a promise he had given that both life and liberty should be secured to his victim.

Nazir Jung had now attained the highest summit of his wishes, but his weak and vain character was alike destitute of gratitude and prudence. The English he defrauded of the privileges which he had promised them in his hour of need, while even the chiefs who originally supported him began to listen to the promises of Dupleix. The French governor and his indefatigable ally, Chunda Sahib, were now labouring with unremitted diligence to repair the loss they had sustained; one fort after another of the Carnatic fell into their hands, and the assassination of Nazir Jung by some Patan irregulars, enabled Merzapha to issue from his dungeon, and to seat himself without opposition on the musnud* of Southern India. Honours and privileges were now showered upon Dupleix, in the most lavish superabundance,—the Soubahdar appointed him Governor of all India, from the Krishna to Cape Comorin—he obtained also the command of 7,000 horse, and the exclusive privilege of coining money within the limits of the Carnatic. Chunda Sahib received as his share the much-coveted government of Arcot.

The new Nizam did not long survive his elevation,

* The throne of an Indian Prince.

being slain during a mutiny caused by his irregular troops in the vicinity of Hyderabad. M. Bussy, who had escorted him thither with a French corps, found considerable difficulty in escaping from the murderers, but at length he cut his way through their ranks, and lost no time in declaring Salabut Jung, a son of Nizamool-Mulk, Soubahdar of the Deccan. The new prince, like his predecessor, set no bounds to his gratitude. Fresh privileges were granted to the French, and Dupleix, elated by the success of his schemes, pleased his own vanity and irritated his neighbours of Fort St. David and Madras, by planting a number of white flags along the line of their boundaries. The supine inactivity which the English had manifested during the recent struggles might indeed have encouraged the idea that the time was now arrived when they could be braved with impunity. But the ingratitude of Nazir Jung and his wanton disregard of the mutual stipulations which were agreed upon, induced the Council of Fort St. David to remain quiet spectators of events, and thereby endangered the continuance of their power in India. So deep an impression, indeed, had their inertness produced upon the minds of our native allies, that Mohammed Ali, after making two or three ineffectual applications for assistance, contemplated the surrender of Trichinopoly, the siege of which Ohunda Sahib and the French were prosecuting with the most determined vigour. At length, however, the English authorities awoke from their slumbers, and determined to adopt a plan that had been laid before them by a young captain, whose subsequent career, and future reputation, as the founder of the British empire in India, require that his first introduction into these pages should be accompanied by a special and particular notice.

During the autumn of 1744, a young civilian, or writer, as they were then termed, presented himself at the entrance of Writer's Buildings, in Madras. He knew

no one in the Factory, since, on account of the unforeseen length of his outward voyage, the person to whom he was recommended had returned to England. The external appearance of the new-comer was not that which excites sympathy and procures recognition. To a dull unimpressive countenance and awkward mien, Mr. Robert Clive, for this was the young man's name, added the misfortune of a proud disposition and ill-regulated temper. His manners being the reverse of conciliatory, he met with few attentions, and these perhaps not of the most cordial and hearty nature. The shy, morose youth felt that he was slighted or disliked, and shutting himself up in his apartment, brooded sullenly over his wrongs. A quarrel with his superior drew down upon him the censure and rebuke of the Governor, a circumstance that increased the feelings of depression and disgust for the service under which he already laboured. The occupations indeed of a young civilian in those days differed widely from what would be required at his hands now. The East India Company still continued to be, in the strictest sense of the term, a company of traders or merchants, whose officials were more connected with the pursuits of commerce than with those of government or finance. The writer of 1744 seems to have been the counterpart of a modern clerk to some wealthy and flourishing firm at London or Manchester, his manners and habits were similar, while his education scarcely ever attained to the standard which would now be thought necessary for the assistants of a thriving merchant.

Such occupations, however, proved extremely repugnant to the future hero of Plassey. The cares which preyed upon his mind at one period, drove him to the verge of insanity,—he twice attempted self-destruction, and twice the pistol which he levelled against his forehead missed fire. With the fatalist feeling common to many men of great abilities, he exclaimed, "I feel I am destined for

some great end or other. I twice snapped that pistol at my own head and it would not go off."

Religion doubtless, if sincerely embraced, would have operated favourably upon these distempered fancies, but with religion, beyond a knowledge perhaps of its outward forms, Clive possessed no acquaintance: nor was he likely to gain much from the associates among whom he had been thrown. The Anglo-Indian of the eighteenth century left home before his mind could be imbued with the lessons of piety, to mingle in a society which, though hospitable and profuse, was worldly, licentious, and profane. Few clergymen or churches existed then in India, the majority of Europeans lived in a state of practical heathenism, while some dishonoured still more their baptism and their birth-place, by an outward profession of belief in the blasphemies of the Koran, and the puerile follies of Brahminism.

Under circumstances like these some allowance should be made for the conduct of one in whom strong eccentricity of character seemed sometimes bordering on insanity. When better known he was treated more kindly, the Governor grew interested in the culprit he had been obliged to reprimand, and allowed him free access to his own large and well-stored library, where Clive, much to his credit, spent the greater portion of his leisure time. But the hour was rapidly approaching when his energies were to be devoted to a profession more congenial with his disposition.

During the late war against the French and their allies, Clive had served with reputation in a subordinate post. When the insults of Dupleix and the pressing entreaties of Mohammed Ali rendered the English alarmed for the consequences of their apathy, the young ensign accompanied a detachment under Captain Gingen designed to relieve Trichinopoly. All his efforts, however, in that quarter proved entirely unsuccessful. Qhunda Sahib, assisted by a large number of skilful

French officers and European troops, was pressing the siege vigorously, and Dupleix, sensible that the fall of Trichinopoly would almost certainly prove the demolition of English influence in the Carnatic, kept his whole attention directed to this critical point. The eagle eye of Clive, as keen in strategy as in actual conflict, saw at once the difficulties of the enterprise in which the Council wished to engage, and suggested at once to Mr. Saunders, the governor of Fort St. David, that, abandoning Trichinopoly for the present, they should attract the attention of the enemy by a sudden and rapid attack upon Arcot. This city, the capital and residence of the Nabob of the Carnatic, stands upon the banks of the Palar, containing like most Indian towns, a citadel within its precincts. The fortifications of the place had not generally been esteemed impregnable, the walls were low and ill-built, while the ramparts scarcely allowed space for the operations of modern warfare. The town itself might be considered a prize worth contending for. Here was the magnificent palace, with the well-filled treasury of the Nabobs, the bazaars were crowded with merchants and their costly commodities, while some extensive cloth manufactures produced a large revenue to the prince, and a copious supply of wealth to the people. The garrison indeed numbered about 1,100 native troops, while the English barely mustered 500, but 200 of these were Europeans, and the wars of the Carnatic had already shown how little reliance could be placed on the undisciplined though brave Orientals.

On the 26th of August 1751, Clive quitted Madras, and halted near Arcot on the 31st, having encountered during his march a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This exploit, magnified doubtless by eastern credulity, so terrified the garrison of Chunda Sahib, that they at once evacuated the fort, and Clive took possession of it without striking a blow. His just and conciliatory behaviour secured the good will of the Hindoo inhabitants,

who even lent their aid towards repairing some of the dilapidations in the walls.

The fugitive garrison still remained in the neighbourhood; and Clive, foreseeing that he should not be permitted to hold his prize in peace, occupied himself in taking measures for the defence of the town. He sent for two 18-pounders from Madras, fitted up for use eight cannon which he had found on the ramparts, and laid in a plentiful supply of provisions. In a sortie made by him on the 4th of September he put the enemy to flight and completely routed them on the night of the 14th. They next made an attempt to seize the convoy that was now on its way from Madras. Despatching however the greater part of his men to the rescue, Clive kept near him only thirty Europeans, and about fifty sepoy, with whom he not only repelled the besiegers, but had soon the satisfaction of receiving safely the long-expected 18-pounders.

The foresight of Clive had not miscalculated the effect likely to be produced by the occupation of Arcot upon the tactics of Chunda Sahib. That chieftain immediately despatched his son, Rajah Sahib, with 4,000 native troops, and 150 Europeans to recover his late capital. Being joined by considerable reinforcements, the Indian commander used every effort to gain speedy possession of the town. His heavy guns repeatedly breached the walls, while an unintermitted fire of musketry cleared the ramparts and drove the defenders from their posts. In the thickest of the fight might be seen the form of Clive, his usually dull features lighted up with the fire of military enthusiasm, directing, urging and encouraging his men. Natives vied with Europeans in heroic endurance; and the sepoy by their own express desire, cheerfully surrendered their stock of rice to their English comrades, whose more robust frames were less qualified to sustain the fatigues of Eastern warfare when deprived of their wonted allowance of food.

Meanwhile, Clive found himself in a most critical position. A sally which he made lost him one of his best officers and fifteen of his English soldiers, while the deadly aim of the French marksmen told daily with fatal effect upon the reduced and straitened garrison.

One of the batteries opened a breach through which the besiegers rushed to the assault, but they were repelled by a trench with a parapet behind it that had been constructed by Clive in anticipation of their attack. He found within the town an enormous cannon, requiring for each charge about thirty pounds of powder; it was fired under his superintendence, at the Nabob's palace; and the ball entering the apartments where Rajah Sahib and his officers sat, drove them in precipitate haste from within the reach of so formidable an engine of destruction. But notwithstanding the skill of the commander and the bravery of his subordinates, it became daily more evident that without some special interposition the fate of Arcot was sealed. An attempt to succour the place had indeed been made by the authorities at Madras, but Lieutenant Innes, who commanded the inconsiderable force organized for this purpose, was compelled to retreat with loss. At this juncture, Clive succeeded in securing the aid of Morari Rao, a Mahratta chief, whose corps of 6,000 men had been engaged originally for the service of Mohammed Ali, and who was encamped on the frontiers of the Carnatic. His vanguard came in sight about the 9th of November, and Rajah Sahib perceived that he must either take the town by assault or break up the siege altogether.

On the 14th of November, the Mohammedans of the Shiite sect observe with the most fervent enthusiasm the anniversary of the murder of the Imaums, Hassan and Hussein. This pathetic spectacle, represented upon a species of stage or platform, stirs up to the utmost the sympathies of the beholders, who add fuel to their fanatical excitement by imbibing strong doses of opium and bang.

At these times Christians rarely escape insult in countries where Moslem authority is predominant, and the prospect of meeting them in conflict, and thus gaining, as they suppose, the crown of martyrdom, always raises the courage of a Mussulman to the highest pitch of desperation. Taking advantage of the wild devotion and infuriate zeal with which this anniversary inspired his troops, Rajah Sahib led them that day to the assault; but although their enthusiasm was seconded by the more scientific valour of his French allies, they were driven back from the breaches in confusion, and on the succeeding night their leader broke up his camp and abandoned entirely the siege.

A reinforcement from Madras, with a party of Mah-ratta horse, despatched by Morari Rao, joined Clive on the same day, and enabled him to gain a complete victory over the enemy at Arnee; after which achievement, having left a suitable garrison in Arcot, he returned to Fort St. David, thus relieving Mohammed Ali from a state of blockade, and enabling him to take further measures for the subjugation of the Carnatic. The French and their allies soon however reassembled a strong force, but the genius of Clive had now inspired the English party with energy and courage, while a fresh victory at Correpauk established still higher his military reputation, and made Chunda Sahib's troops tremble at his very name. On his way back to Fort St. David the victorious general passed through a town in which stood a column erected by Dupleix as the memorial of his late successes. Around the base were four tablets, designed to receive as many laudatory inscriptions in different languages, setting forth the exploits and conquests of the French governor. Knowing the influence of such things on the native mind, Clive demolished both town and column, and continued his march to Fort St. David, where he shortly afterwards received a summons to repair to Madras.

Chunda Sahib, assisted by a strong French force, had once more invested Trichinopoly, and it was in contemplation to despatch Clive thither. Before, however, he took his departure, Major Lawrence arrived, and by virtue of his seniority became entitled to the chief command. Lawrence himself, an able and clear-sighted officer, was far above the petty jealousy which might have actuated an inferior mind : he admired the genius of the rising soldier, and Clive accompanied him in the expedition. Dupleix in the meanwhile had not been idle. At the first tidings of the approach of the English, the French auxiliaries of Chunda Sahib retreated to Seringham, an island formed by two branches of the Coleroon. M. Law, their commander, was induced to take this step mainly because he expected that the English relief force would be joined by a strong body of Mahrattas and Mysoreans, amounting to about 26,000 men. Indeed throughout the whole campaign he showed himself singularly incompetent; while, although Dupleix sent M. d'Auteuil with a strong corps to reinforce him, this supply was intercepted, the French forces in Seringham being compelled by famine to surrender their post.

Finding his cause lost beyond redemption, Chunda Sahib gave himself up to the general of the Tanjore forces, who had come to the scene of action for the purpose of assisting Mohammed Ali, and who at first promised both liberty and life to the unfortunate chieftain. This promise, however, was, as usual, broken. The allies contended with each other for the possession of so important a prisoner, and by way of terminating the dispute the Tanjorines murdered their captive, and despatched his gory head to Mohammed Ali, who caused the sanguinary trophy to be placed on a lance and paraded through the ranks of his army.

But no disasters, however serious, could overwhelm or discourage the indefatigable Dupleix. He soon organized another army, the command of which was given to his

nephew. The English appointed Major Lawrence to oppose him, and this officer gained a complete victory near Buhoor, a place in the vicinity of Fort St. David. After this action, Clive hastened to reduce the fortress of Covelong, where the French garrison possessed thirty pieces of cannon and numbered about 350 men. The soldiers of Clive, or at least the European portion of them, consisted of new recruits recently arrived from London, of the lowest moral character, and most unsoldierlike in their habits. The first discharge of musketry made these unfledged heroes betake themselves to a precipitate flight; they trembled at the noise of their own guns, and during a panic one of the number concealed himself for two days in a deep well. Any other officer might have despaired of ever being able to effect anything with such defective instruments, but Clive at length succeeded in bringing them into excellent order. Under his directions they reduced successively the strong fortresses of Covelong and Chingleput, and having thus terminated the campaign favourably, the unwearied officer and his new-made warriors returned in triumph to Madras. The exertions and fatigues, however, which Clive had undergone, completely prostrated even his robust frame; he found himself compelled to quit the country for a while, and the absence of one so talented and energetic was speedily noticed and deplored by those whom he left behind.

The employment of native troops by the French and English first became general during the recent campaigns. The term *sipahi*, a Persian word signifying a soldier, and since corrupted into *sepoy*, was used to designate these levies which were drilled and organized by European officers in the European manner. Experience soon showed that, when led by good officers, the native troops rapidly mastered the discipline and necessary evolutions, nor on any occasion have they proved themselves inferior in the field to their European comrades,

CHAPTER III.

CAPTURE OF GHERIAH—AFFAIRS OF BENGAL—THE BLACK HOLE—
BATTLE OF PLASSEY—MERR JAFFIER.

1753—1757.

DUPLEIX and his able subordinate, M. Bussy, who still maintained his position at Hyderabad, endeavoured by intriguing with the native princes to regain once more the supremacy of the French in India. The Nizam Salabut Jung, alarmed at an inroad of the Mahrattas, purchased the assistance of Bussy by the cession of five provinces called the Northern Circars. This accession of territory would have added greatly to the power of Dupleix, but that restless schemer was doomed to experience in his own person the same reverses which his intrigues had brought upon the brave though unfortunate Labourdonnais. Recalled by the French East India Company, the proud and hitherto prosperous Viceroy discovered that neither his wealth nor his services availed to protect him from the persecutions of his enemies. No attention was paid to his projects; his plans were laid aside as chimerical; while his successor, M. Godheu, received orders to conclude immediately a peace with the English.

Before, however, these events took place, the Court of Directors, alarmed at the preponderance of French influence in the Deccan, had accepted an offer made by Clive to return once more to the scene of his former triumphs. A series of untoward events in his English career, and perhaps the natural craving for excitement which distinguished his character, and which only the vicissitudes of warfare could fully satisfy, prompted him.

to seek again for military employment. That he might go out with some distinction he was created a lieutenant-colonel in the Royal service; three companies of artillery, together with 300 European soldiers, being placed under his command. In conformity with his instructions, he proceeded to Bombay, but on his arrival he learned that by a convention ratified on the 26th December, 1754, peace had been concluded between the French and English, the former of whom agreed not to interfere hereafter with the native princes, and promised that Mohammed Ali should enjoy undisturbed the government of the Carnatic.

The termination of the war between the two European powers on the continent of India obliged Clive to change his plans, but notwithstanding the altered state of circumstances he did not long remain inactive. The fortress and town of Gheriah had for some time been occupied by a Mahratta race called Angria, who by their numerous piracies made themselves the terror of the Malabar coast. They attacked indiscriminately the trading-vessels belonging to all nations, and, like the Algerines of old, frequently landed on the coasts, burning the towns and villages, and returning to their ships laden with the plundered property of the unfortunate inhabitants.

In order to extirpate these rovers, an expedition was fitted out by the government of Bombay, the naval forces of which were under Admiral Watson, while Clive commanded the land troops. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas also placed a contingent of natives at the disposal of the English; but they rendered no essential service, having only accompanied the expedition with the intention of plundering either of the contending parties who might be overcome. Very little effectual resistance was offered; the pirate leader fled to the Mahratta camp, and his fortress and town were razed to the ground. Having accomplished this task, Clive, who had been appointed in England governor of Fort St. David, hastened to his

charge, and commenced the functions attached to it on the 20th of June, 1756. That very day news arrived of the capture of Calcutta, which led to the loss of the British settlements in the north, respecting which we must here say a few words.

In the month of April, 1756, Suraj-ood-Dowlah succeeded his grandfather Aliverdy Khan, as Nabob of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. These provinces constituted one of the most fertile and flourishing viceroyalties of the Mogul empire, and conferred upon their ruler a degree of influence that rendered him virtually independent of the feeble sovereign, to whom he condescended to acknowledge a nominal allegiance. During the reign of William III., the English had erected on the Hooghly a fortress called after their sovereign's name, which at the period of the new Nabob's accession, they were anxious to strengthen as much as possible, rumours being afloat that a rupture with France was impending. Suraj-ood-Dowlah, hearing of their proceedings, despatched a haughty message, requiring that the works should immediately cease, and soon after claimed a fugitive, whom he asserted the English had harboured and concealed. But the Nabob's real object was soon made manifest. His cupidity had been awakened by reports of the wealth treasured up within the walls of Calcutta, nor was the prowess of the English in the north calculated to inspire the weak tyrant with alarm. Hitherto, the agents of the Company in Bengal confined themselves to the peaceful avocations of commerce; their respect for the native powers was unbounded, nor had the genius of a Lawrence or the successes of a Clive, taught them practically the weakness of even the most numerous Indian army when confronted by a few disciplined Europeans or sepoys.

Refusing to listen to the excuses of the English, Suraj-ood-Dowlah assembled his forces, possessed himself without difficulty of the small fort of Cossimbazaar,

and then marched direct to Calcutta. The garrison of the latter place was weak and worthless, the majority being undisciplined natives, Portuguese, and Americans, who had never seen action, and felt little or no interest in the cause for which they were engaged. Notwithstanding a spirited sortie made by a young ensign, in which with a handful of men he compelled the enemy to give ground, the authorities, both military and civil, seem to have given themselves over to despair at the first sight of the Nabob's troops. A resolution was hastily agreed upon, to the effect that the town should be abandoned, but the chiefs took no measures to ensure an orderly removal of the inhabitants from the scene of danger, or to hold the besiegers at bay until a safe retreat could be effected. A mixed multitude of men, women, and children, Portuguese, natives, and Europeans, rushed to the water edge, screaming, shouting, and imploring the native boatmen to carry them off to the ships which lay within sight of the fort. Mr. Drake, the governor, was among the first who embarked, the two principal military officers followed his example, leaving on the beach, Mr. Holwell, 190 men, and one woman, who, notwithstanding all their efforts, had been unable to procure a boat. The only resource left to these unfortunate persons, was a negotiation with the Nabob, whose forces were now approaching the walls from every quarter. The native commander consented to a parley, but ordered his troops in the meantime to scale the defences. The bewildered garrison, without a leader of sufficient authority or experience to direct them, were unable to offer much effective resistance; a body of the Nabob's followers forced their way through the water gate, and thus succeeded in capturing the fort.

After interrogating his captives, Suraj-ood-Dowlah committed them to the care of a guard, who probably without orders, thrust them into an ill-ventilated room, of twenty feet square, formerly used as a prison, and

usually termed the "Black Hole." The tragedy which ensued is too well known to need a lengthened description. Almost maddened by heat, thirst, and the close stifling atmosphere of their dungeon, the miserable prisoners, in number 143, made every possible attempt to move the compassion of their gaolers. They entreated they might be removed to another and a larger prison, but the Nabob was asleep, and none of the officials would venture to disturb him. Bribes, prayers, and the raging of infuriate despair, proved equally ineffectual; the agonies of the unfortunate prisoners only afforded amusement to their barbarous captors, and when the break of day awakened the tyrant from his slumbers, the dungeon floor was strewn with 123 putrid corpses.

Being summoned before the Nabob, the miserable survivors could scarcely reply to the questions which he heaped upon them, with respect to the treasures that he imagined were concealed within the precincts of the fort. Their inability to satisfy him on this point caused them to be again imprisoned, while the native inhabitants and other residents in Calcutta suffered every species of insult and injury. Proud of his triumph, Suraj-ood-Dowlah transmitted the intelligence of it to Delhi, boasting that he had entirely extirpated the power of the English in Bengal. He then returned to his own capital, leaving behind him in Fort William a garrison of 3,000 men.

But while the tyrant was indulging in these self-complacent delusions, preparations for vengeance were being made at Madras. Tidings of the lamentable catastrophe in Bengal, arrived there on the 16th of August, but the dissensions of some of the officials delayed any decisive step until the 11th of October when ten ships of war set sail under the command of Admiral Watson, bearing with them Colonel Clive, 900 European infantry, 1,500 sepoys, and several field-pieces.

On the 2d of January, 1757, the fleet anchored before Calcutta; the Nabob's garrison fled, and the English once more occupied their old territory. But it was not Clive's intention to content himself merely with repairing former losses. Intelligence had reached him that the town of Hooghly, on the Ganges, contained merchandise of considerable value, protected by a feeble garrison. He resolved with Admiral Watson, that they would attempt the capture of this place. Accordingly, a small squadron sailed up the Ganges, having on board 350 men, under Major Kilpatrick and Captain Eyre Coote. The expedition was retarded by one of the vessels getting aground, and this delay enabled Surajood-Dowlah to strengthen the garrison, but finally the English triumphed over all obstacles, and planted their colours upon the ramparts of the fort.

Alarmed, and yet enraged by his loss, the Nabob pressed forward with a large army in the direction of Calcutta. Overtures of peace had been made by the Company, and although Clive's reputation was likely to acquire increased lustre by the continuance of the war, yet, to his honour it must be stated, that he strenuously advised measures of conciliation, and even abstained on this account from attacking the Bengal army when they placed themselves in several disadvantageous positions. But the Nabob, while at times he desired to resume his former connexion with the English, whose tributes and presents had so often enriched his treasury, was animated by a childish desire of vengeance for the loss of Hooghly. He negotiated in order to gain time, but while his envoys were treating with the Council of Calcutta, the vanguard of his troops endeavoured to occupy some outskirts of the town. It was obvious that a decisive blow must be struck at once. The battering train of the Nabob lay in an enclosure, called Omichund's garden, and Clive determined, if possible, to capture it. The attempt was made at three in the morning, and continued after sun-

rise, under the shelter of a thick fog, the land forces being joined by some sailors from the fleet. At first success favoured the English, whose steady and well-directed fire swept down the cavalry who attacked them, but by an ill-executed manœuvre, the corps were thrown into confusion, and while they gained some advantages over the enemy, they missed the main object of their enterprise, namely, the capture of the guns. The valour, however, exhibited on this occasion, together with the losses he had sustained, induced Suraj-ood-Dowlah to sue for peace. He obtained it, upon condition that he should restore to the English the rights, property, and privileges of which they had been deprived, and pledge himself to assist them, if necessary, against any enemy with whom they might be at war.

The last clause seems to have been drawn up with a view to an expected invasion by the French, whose position at Chandernagore gave them numerous facilities for harassing the English settlements on the Ganges. Clive determined that they should be driven from this place, the necessity of capturing it having been suggested to him before he quitted Madras. Mr. Watts, formerly head of the Cossimbazaar factory, but now resident in the Nabob's capital at Moorshedabad, sent continual intelligence to the Council at Calcutta of Suraj-ood-Dowlah's movements, from which it appeared that the fickle tyrant was already planning with M. Bussy and M. Law the expulsion of the English from Bengal. An armistice having been proposed by Clive to the French Governor of Chandernagore, the latter, while he offered to pledge himself to its due observance within the territory of Bengal, declined making it binding upon the authorities at Pondicherry. Under these circumstances, Clive resolved at once to strike a decisive blow. Chandernagore was accordingly invested, and capitulated on the 23d of March, the garrison being detained with some exceptions as prisoners of war.

The fall of Chandernagore irritated the Nabob extremely, since he had found it most conveniently situated for his communications with the French. His mind, naturally weak, now vacillated between hatred and fear. One moment, in impotent fury, he trampled the letters of Clive beneath his feet; the next he despatched epistles abounding in the most servile flattery; now he threatened to impale Mr. Watts, then he would load him with caresses and favours.

But the career of this worthless tyrant was rapidly approaching its termination. His principal officer, weary of his caprice, conspired with the leading Hindoo merchants and bankers against a rule which had now become odious to all. Among these last was a wealthy and influential Hindoo, named Omichund, formerly a merchant in Calcutta, and still connected with the English in numerous commercial transactions. Meer Jaffier Khan, commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, and the person selected by the confederates as a suitable successor to Suraj-ood-Dowlah, employed Omichund to carry on a secret intercourse with his former friends and patrons, while the crafty Hindoo also succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Nabob, and that of Mr. Watts. Being thus trusted by all parties, he resolved to make these political intrigues a source of private gain. He had already obtained from Suraj-ood-Dowlah a grant of £40,000; he was promised a handsome reward in case the conspiracy should succeed, but he now claimed in addition a sum of £300,000, threatening that if it were not immediately guaranteed, he would inform the Nabob of the plot which was being carried on against him. This behaviour of their agent threw the parties concerned into no small perplexity. The measures of the conspirators had hitherto been remarkably successful. Induced by the persuasions of Clive, the English Council at Calcutta agreed to recognise and to assist Meer Jaffier, while it was arranged that an army should be

advanced to Plassey, for the purpose of cooperating with the conspirators. The treachery of Omichund disconcerted the English authorities for a moment, but it was at length determined to meet it by an act of duplicity, as unprincipled as his own. To his dishonour, Clive proposed that two bonds should be drawn up, one containing the promise desired by Omichund, while the other omitted all mention of him—so that the grasping Hindoo, being shown the fictitious document, might imagine himself secure.

The proposition at first excited much disapprobation among the members of Council, and the Admiral protested against it to the last, but the subtle reasoning of Clive prevailed over his less able colleagues, and finding that no arguments could prevail upon the Admiral to append his name to the false bond, he coolly forged his signature and despatched the papers direct to Mr. Watts. Wary as he was, Omichund never suspected the artifice practised upon him, and his silence enabled the confederates to proceed securely with their machinations.

On the 13th of June, Clive issued from Chandernagore, having with him about 3,000 men, of which 1,000 were Europeans. Among the latter appeared a corps of the 39th regiment, whose colours still bear inscribed the word "Plassey," and the proud motto, "Primus in Indis."* The English commander despatched before his departure a letter to the Nabob, upbraiding that prince with his former cruelty and recent bad faith, and concluding with an announcement that the writer would personally demand satisfaction from him in his own capital of Meershedabad. The consternation of Suraj-ood-Dowlah upon receiving this missive, equalled his former arrogance. But he perceived that the English, having now thrown off the mask, no alternative remained except to meet them in the field. He therefore commanded Meer Jaffier to advance to Plassey, an order readily

* First in India.

obeyed by that traitor, who saw thus a speedy prospect of being able to act in concert with Clive. Yet his mind seems at that period to have been under the influence of various and conflicting emotions. Fear, loyalty, and ambition ruled by turns a soul which had never known the sway of firm or sound principles. He distrusted his allies, and trembled at the consequences of discovery; his vacillation alarmed both Clive and the Calcutta Council; the latter grew lukewarm and doubtful, while the former resolved to put an end to the present dubious position of affairs by taking a decisive step.

On the 17th, Major Coote had possessed himself of the fort of Outwah, by which the English acquired a large stock of rice and other provisions; on the 21st, for the first and last time in his life, Clive held a council of war. The object of their deliberations was whether the army should advance to Plassey or maintain their position. The majority, with whom Clive himself voted, determined upon the latter course. But after a period of deep thought, during which, having walked away alone from the camp, he sat plunged in anxious meditation under the shade of a clump of trees, he changed altogether his plan of operations, and returning, gave orders that the army should cross the river the morning of the ensuing day.

On the 23d of June, the British troops bivouacked in a grove near Plassey. The enemy, it was supposed, lay near Cossimbazaar, but Clive soon discovered that they had entrenched themselves in his immediate vicinity. The discordant sounds of their music broke upon the ears of the English as they prepared to snatch a few hours of hasty repose before the expected fight. At daybreak the Bengalese opened a brisk cannonade upon the wood, but their ill-manned and unskilfully directed artillery effected little damage. The English maintained their position, and Clive waited with some impatience for a demonstration on the part of Meer Jaffier

But the same influences which had produced former vacillation, were in active operation now. On the morning of the action the Nabob sent for his general, and in the most moving terms, besought and implored him to be faithful to his trust. The heart of the conspirator was touched, and the appeal to his honour, though it could not shake his purpose, inclined him towards a middle course. He retarded the manœuvres of his own side, and by inactivity contributed to their defeat.

The English continued to repel the attacks made upon their position till noon, when a retrograde movement being observed on the part of the enemy, Clive gave the order to advance. He directed his first effort against a small body of French auxiliaries, who being worsted, abandoned the redoubt which they held, leaving their guns in the hands of the victor. A tumultuous rush forward was then made by the Nabob's army; but these undisciplined and half-accountred troops could not resist the steady fire of the English, who in less than an hour found themselves completely masters of the field. So terminated the battle of Plassey, an engagement which secured the supremacy of the English in India, while it is no less remarkable for the few lives sacrificed both by victors and vanquished. The former numbered 22 killed and 50 wounded, the latter lost only about 500 men.

During the action, Meer Jaffier had made a manœuvre for the purpose, as he afterwards declared, of joining Clive; but his troops, exhibiting no signal of amity, were fired upon by the English. At its close, however, the Bengali general moved his tents nearer to the hostile lines, and the next morning he paid a visit to Clive, who welcomed and saluted him as Nabob of Bengal, Orissa and Bahar. His explanations and apologies were readily accepted if not internally believed, and the new potentate departed at once for Moorshedabad. Suraj-ood-Dowlah had already quitted it, but his flight remained

for some days undiscovered, when pursuers having been despatched after him, he was apprehended and dragged into the presence of his rival. Meer Jaffier appeared at first disposed to compassionate his former master, who, prostrate on the earth, pleaded for his life in the most abject terms. But eastern policy is rarely tempered with mercy, and the usurper suffering more selfish considerations to prevail, ordered the late Nabob to be at once executed. Thus fell the brutal tyrant whose apathy or cruelty had sacrificed so many English victims in the Black Hole of Calcutta.

His successor became speedily aware of the difficulties which hedge round a throne acquired by the aid of strangers. Meer Jaffier was no sooner seated on the musnud than the English called upon him to redeem the promises he had made when he first sought their assistance. They prosecuted their demands with the most greedy and disgraceful rapacity; but the funds lodged in the public treasury, which Mr. Watts had represented as inexhaustible, were discovered not to exceed 1,500,000*l*. The claims amounted to 3,500,000*l*., besides the sums that would shortly be needed for the payment of the troops. The native bankers, however, proffered their aid, and a meeting being held at which all parties were present, they at once proceeded to the settlement of the Nabob's affairs. The first preliminaries arranged, Clive determined at once to undeceive Omichund, who, led by the expectation of receiving his promised reward, had come with the other capitalists to the assembly. No notice was taken of his presence until the interpreter, by the direction of Clive, went up to him and said in a low tone, "Omichund, the bond shown you was a fictitious one, and we cannot, therefore, admit your claim." The Hindoo glared wildly for a moment at the speaker, and then dropped upon the earth senseless. His servants bore him into the air, which revived after some minutes his paralysed energies;

but reason had departed for ever, and he subsided into a state of hopeless idiocy. Pitying his condition, Clive spoke kindly to him, and recommended that he should try the effect of a pilgrimage to some noted shrine, this being a favourite remedy among the Hindoos. But the aged miser was beyond the delusive consolations of his idolatrous creed, and a few months afterwards, forgotten by all his former associates, he breathed his last, having squandered in childish ornaments and vestments nearly the whole of his ill-gotten wealth.

In the meantime the allies of Meer Jaffier were busily occupied in dividing their spoils. Clive's share amounted to 28,000*l.*, besides about 150,000*l.* which had been given him privately by Meer Jaffier. Each member of the Council obtained 24,000*l.*, and their subordinates were not forgotten. These prizes, however, produced heartburnings and jealousies of the most painful nature. The land officers demanded that their several shares should be paid over at once without the intervention of agents, and when Clive refused their request they appealed against his decision. He acted in this emergency, however, with his usual promptitude: the individuals presenting the appeal were placed at once under arrest, while their protest was answered by a stern letter of rebuke; and the officers, discovering the unbending nature of the man with whom they had to deal, withdrew their paper, and humbly apologised for the breach of discipline which they had committed.

CHAPTER IV.

BUSBY—ARRIVAL OF LALLY—SIEGE OF MADRAS—THE CIRCARS—
AFFAIRS OF BENGAL.

1757—1759.

MEER JAFFIER had granted to the English, in addition to the sums of money already mentioned, the exclusive possession of a large tract of country around Calcutta. They were also permitted to establish a mint, and received liberty to trade in the provinces under the rule of the Nabob. The French adventurer, M. Law, having made an incursion into Bahar, was dislodged by Coote, the terror of whose arms confirmed the wavering allegiance of several native chiefs, and induced them to maintain for the present their fidelity to Meer Jaffier. But the triumphs of Clive and his coadjutors were clouded by the decease of Admiral Watson, as well as by the intrigues and mismanagement of the Calcutta Council. The removal of the Admiral deprived the English of one of their ablest officers at a time when they could ill spare him, while the interference of the committee of Government with Clive's plans impeded materially the efforts of that able statesman and soldier. Meer Jaffier also displayed no great talents for legislation; his troops were mutinous, and his chiefs disaffected. On the other hand, the Madras authorities, alarmed by the progress of the French in the Deccan, grew importunate for the return of Clive, and seem to have transmitted complaints against him to the East India Directors in England. The latter forwarded to Bengal a scheme of government which the local authorities at once pronounced impracticable and injudicious. The working out of this plan was entrusted to ten members of council, presided over

by four of their number in rotation, but the directors carefully excluded the name of Clive from the list. At the request of the ten, however, he assumed the office of president, though with considerable reluctance, and tidings of the battle of Plassey having in the meantime reached England, he received from Leadenhall Street, shortly afterwards, a commission to act as Governor of Bengal. In fact, his presence seemed indispensable to success, for when he was absent the English almost invariably lost ground.

The influence exercised by M. Bussy in the affairs of the Deccan has been already mentioned. That able man speedily acquired, through his puppet, Salabut Jung, an almost absolute sway over southern India. He subdued the provinces called the Northern Circars, and obliged the English to surrender their factory at Vizagapatam. His career of success was soon, however, arrested by the imbecility of his superiors in France, who subjected him to the control of M. Lally, the new governor of Pondicherry, a person whose impetuous and ill-regulated behaviour proved eventually the cause of the downfall of French authority and influence in India.

The Count de Lally Tolendal was descended from an Irish family, who had settled in France during the troubles in their native country, occasioned by the unsuccessful efforts of James II. to recover the throne of England. Trained from early youth to the career of arms, Lally fought in the French ranks at Fontenoi, and highly distinguished himself on several important occasions. Unhappily for his fame and life he was now selected by the French East India Company to fill the dangerous post of Governor-General of Pondicherry, and all the French possessions in India. He arrived at the former place on the 28th of April, 1758, escorted by a squadron of twelve ships, under Admiral Count d'Aché. The infantry sent with him from Europe, numbered 1,100 men, besides

a corps of artillery directed by several officers of ability and known military reputation.

The new governor found the affairs of his nation on the Coromandel coast at a very low ebb. Captain Caliaud had been despatched by the English to Madura, which he captured, and then hearing that the French were advancing towards Trichinopoly, he returned thither by hasty marches, and throwing himself into the place, compelled M. d'Auteuil, the French commander, to retire with precipitation. Admiral Bouvet appeared off the coast on the 9th of September, with a well-manned squadron, but false intelligence having reached him that Admiral Watson's return was speedily anticipated, he suddenly put to sea again.

The impetuous nature of Lally thrust him at once into action. Scarcely allowing himself a few hours' repose, he rushed to Fort St. David, and commenced the siege of that place the very evening of his arrival. The squadron of d'Aché moved up to the coast for the purpose of co-operating with the French land forces, and although they suffered considerable loss from an attack made upon them by the English Admiral Pococke, who had sailed thither from the Hooghly, yet they contrived during the night to land reinforcements under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. Fort St. David was now closely invested, while Cuddalore surrendered to the Marquis d'Estaing whom Lally had despatched against it. The loss of this town preceded almost immediately that of Fort St. David, which capitulated on the 2d of June; the forces of d'Estaing subsequently made themselves masters of Devi-Cottah, and Lally, returning in triumph to Pondicherry, caused a solemn *Te Deum* to be chanted for his recent conquests. But his hasty temper speedily involved him in difficulties with the French civil authorities; money and provisions were wanting, and, irritated by the lack of these sinews of war, he accused his colleagues, either justly or unjustly, of direc-

peculation. The charge excited the indignation of those against whom it had been made; recriminations ensued, and Lally soon found it necessary to search elsewhere for the means which he required for the purpose of expelling the English from the Carnatic. In the treasury of Pondicherry, however, he discovered a bond for 5,000,000 of rupees, given to the French in times past by Chunda Sahib, who had received it originally from the Rajah of Tanjore: Lally therefore resolved that from this potentate he would now exact the payment of the obsolete guarantee. He accordingly set forth from Pondicherry with a numerous, brave, but ill-appointed army. Commissariat there was none; money had failed, nor could provisions be obtained without considerable difficulty. In this emergency Lally determined to extort from the inhabitants of the country those supplies which he found his own stores unable to furnish. This expedient, had he even been the most conciliatory of men, would have proved as unpopular as it was unjust and unmerciful. He not only however pillaged the inhabitants, but insulted and outraged privileges dearer to them than their extorted wealth. The divisions of caste are most sacred in the eyes of a Hindoo, but Lally wantonly disregarded and confounded these without the slightest hesitation. Brahmins, Sudras and Pariahs, classes who shrink from each other's contact more scrupulously than a man in health would avoid a plague-stricken patient, were driven together by his orders into the trenches, and compelled to labour there in the closest proximity. The feelings of contempt which he entertained for the natives, and perhaps the persuasions or suggestions of the Jesuit missionaries who accompanied the French camp, led him to outrage the Hindoo temples and priests, while he passed over unpunished the excesses of his soldiers. At Carical and Nagore he displayed the passions of a savage with the shameless rapacity of a common freebooter, actually obliging his troops to make over to him a share of their

plunder. Nor did he confine his exactions to the natives alone, but wrung from the fears of the Dutch and Danish settlements on the coasts large contributions of stores and provisions. Two pagodas or temples were ransacked by him; but their treasures, if ever they possessed any, had been removed before his arrival, and, enraged at his disappointment, he commanded some of the Brahmins to be blown from the mouth of a cannon.

Having reached Tanjore, the terrified Rajah endeavoured to open a negotiation with the besiegers. He offered them part of the bond, but Lally insisted upon the whole, and demanded an immediate supply of provisions. The Hindu artfully protracted the proceedings, until Lally, finding his means failing, resolved upon attacking the town. But by the time a breach had been effected, the French ammunition was exhausted, and the besiegers beheld themselves reduced to the necessity of making a speedy retreat. In addition, moreover, to the difficulties of his position, Lally had to sustain an attack on the night of the 7th of August from the Rajah's garrison, aided by 600 English sepoy, who were despatched to their assistance from Trichinopoly by Captain, now Major, Calliaud. In this sortie the French commander lost three cannon, and many of his best men. At one time he himself was ridden over by the Rajah's cavalry, who fell impetuously upon the French ranks, while hosts of irregulars and coolies attacked their entrenchments from behind. With considerable difficulty the assailants were driven back into the town, but Lally found that he must at once break up the siege. His retreat to Trivatore proved most disastrous and destructive; his past and present excesses had inspired the people with the most deadly hatred, and they now hung upon his rear, seizing every opportunity of cutting off the stragglers and wounded. When he reached Pondicherry another misfortune awaited him. The superiority of the English by sea, and a report that

Pococke with additional ships might soon be expected to attack the French squadron, made such an impression upon the mind of M. d'Aché, that in spite of the reiterated entreaties of Lally, he abandoned the Coromandel coast, and set sail for the Mauritius.

Had Lally added the cool sagacity of Dupleix to his own military experience and personal courage in the field, he might have proved a dangerous foe to the English. But one of his first actions manifested a thorough incompetency to conceive or act upon a well-concerted plan. Of all the French authorities in the peninsula, Bussy had most distinguished himself by his knowledge of the Indian character, and the influence which he exercised over the weak prince who now occupied in the Deccan the important position of Soubahdar. His measures deprived the English of Vizagapatam, and a well-concerted and harmonious combination between Lally and himself would perhaps have been productive of more marked successes. Impelled however by jealousy and the prejudices which had been excited against Bussy in France, the governor-general of Pondicherry despatched the Marquis de Conflans to supersede one whom he already considered as his rival. Bussy was proceeding to Golconda with almost regal pomp, attended by his nominal superior, but real vassal, Salabut Jung, when De Conflans, arriving in the camp, placed in his hands the instrument of recal.

Whatever might have been his feelings, the brave soldier obeyed without a murmur; and leaving with his successor a small body of troops to garrison Hyderabad and Masulipatam, he marched the greater part of his forces according to orders direct to Pondicherry. He found there an exhausted treasury, an incompetent superior, with a council divided in opinion, and violently opposed to the governor-general. His long services and well-established reputation commanded respect even from the haughty officers of the old regime; but Lally, dis-

contented and irascible, treated his lieutenant with ill-dissembled scorn. The siege of Madras had been resolved upon, but means were wanting; and although Lally strove to procure resources by seizing Arcot, he found that the wealthy inhabitants had removed both themselves and their treasures upon tidings of his approach.

At length, after the most arduous exertions, the French expedition against Madras departed from Pondicherry. Their military chest contained about 940*l.*, the two chief leaders were hostile, and the officers generally complained of Lally's proceedings. On the other hand, the English garrison, amounting to about 4,000 men under the command of Colonel Lawrence, were well supplied with stores, and expected shortly to be reinforced by a large detachment from England. The Council sent also pressing missives to Clive, urging his return to Madras, but feeling that there was no immediate necessity for his leaving the more important affairs in which he was then engaged, he took no notice of their importunities.

The French easily succeeded in forcing an entrance into Black Town, the native suburb of the city, in the vicinity of Fort St. George. Their excesses, and the confusion produced in the ranks by those who dispersed themselves throughout the narrow streets with a view to plunder, provoked a sortie, but the English were overwhelmed by numbers; and had Bussy and his superior in command co-operated cordially together, very few of their assailants would have returned in safety. But Bussy continued motionless, alleging want of orders as his excuse, and the English were thus enabled to effect their retreat, bearing off with them the Count d'Estaing as a prisoner.

It soon became evident that the siege could not be protracted for any length of time. An English squadron shortly hove in sight, and Lally learned with dismay that it conveyed 600 fresh troops from England, whos

landing he found himself unable to prevent. His army grew mutinous and insubordinate; provisions, money, even gunpowder, failed; and finally, being convinced of the hopeless nature of his undertaking, he broke up his camp in the night and retreated towards Pondicherry, harassed during his march by the attacks of the natives, whom his insults and extortions had excited to unwonted hostility.

At Conjeveram Lally halted, for the purpose of concentrating his scattered troops. Hither Colonel Lawrence followed him; and feigning an attack on Wandewash, induced the French to abandon their position, while by a dextrously executed flank movement, the English succeeded in possessing themselves of the strong fort of Conjeveram. The rainy season prevented any more important operations; and soon after its close the French Council at Pondicherry received some large supplies in money and diamonds, which had been recently captured by one of the cruisers belonging to M. d'Aché's squadron from an English vessel.

During this period the French were losing ground in the provinces termed the Northern Circars, that had been first acquired by the brave and sagacious Bussy. When applied to from Madras for succour, Clive determined upon effecting a diversion by attacking the French and their allies in Hyderabad. He knew that Fort St. George was capable of resisting for some months the efforts of Lally, while he foresaw that by occupying the Northern Circars, a wider and more extended influence might be eventually obtained. Colonel Forde, an able and trustworthy officer, was therefore despatched from Bengal with an army of 500 British troops, and about 2,000 natives, accompanied by a small park of artillery. The detachment landed at Vizagapatam, and Forde immediately opened a communication with the Rajah of that place, who hoped through the medium of the English to obtain the sovereignty of the Deccan.

He promised both men and money, but the former were worthless; and the latter, when the hour of payment came, he withheld most tenaciously, thus obliging Forde to rely mainly upon his own resources. But the English commander did not despair. Shortly after his landing he encountered the army of M. de Conflans, at Peddapore, and gained a complete victory over them, the baggage, ammunition, and artillery of the French falling into the hands of the conquerors. The vanquished general threw himself into Masulipatam, and invoked the assistance of Salibut Jung; but after a siege of twelve days the town capitulated to Forde, and the Nizam, finding that the star of his ancient allies was no longer in the ascendant, changed sides with prudent rapidity, and made overtures to the English. The latter obtained from him the perpetual expulsion of the French, with the surrender of a large tract of country in the vicinity of Masulipatam, while Forde promised to aid Salibut Jung against his insurgent chiefs. He soon claimed the fulfilment of this latter article, but the English commander preferred employing his force in strengthening and re-establishing the factories and settlements on the coast, the greater portion of which had been destroyed by Bussy.

The victories of Forde afforded Clive the liveliest satisfaction. Whatever were his other defects, jealousy could not be numbered among them; and the warm commendations bestowed by him upon his gallant subordinate, proved how deep an interest he had taken in his successes. Having now leisure for the affairs of Madras, he directed Forde to send thither a reinforcement, and to return himself with the remainder of the troops to Bengal, after his conquests in the Circars had been placed on a secure footing. Before the arrival of Forde, however, Clive was called upon to encounter a potentate whose once mighty name seemed now become but a mere shadow. This prince, the Shah Zadé or heir

apparent of the Emperor of Delhi, being persecuted by his father's ministers, took refuge in the region of Rohilcund, where he surrounded himself with an army composed of men drawn from the predatory tribes inhabiting those elevated table-lands. He was soon induced by the Nabob of Oude to advance against Moorshedabad; and Meer Jaffier, terrified for his throne, lost no time in communicating his fears to the Council at Calcutta. Experience had taught Clive to despise a prestige existing only in titles; he and his countrymen were no longer the timid merchants who trembled at the lowest satrap of the court of Delhi; and the intrepid commander marched boldly forth with a small though disciplined body, to meet in conflict the 40,000 troops enlisted under the banners of the Shah Zadé. That personage thought fit to address the hero of Plassey in one of those inflated epistles which have always proved so soothing to the vanity of Oriental princes. The contents of this missive presented a singular mixture of arrogance and flattery; Clive is entitled the "High and Mighty Protector of the Great," but he is reminded of his duty as a faithful servant, and exhorted to yield obedience to the Prince's firman. The reply was brief, though respectful. As an officer of the Mogul, Colonel Clive denied having received any orders respecting the Shah Zadé's coming from Delhi, and expressed the intention of the English to support their ally, Meer Jaffier. The writer continued his advance towards Moorshedabad, and from thence was proceeding to Patna, when merely the news of his coming sufficed to disperse the enemy, who at once broke up their ranks and abandoned their leader. The Shah Zadé retired to Oude, but the governor of that province, and the instigator of the war, endeavoured to make his peace with the English by betraying his guest. Under these circumstances the Mogul prince thought it best to appeal to the victor himself: his letters were now couched in the humblest,

not to say the most servile terms, and Clive, who had no wish to harm him, despatched a present with a letter counselling immediate flight. Overjoyed at his humiliation, the enemies of the prince in Delhi loaded Clive with commendations and honours. By a special firman of the Mogul the English were for the first time allowed to establish a factory in the imperial city of Delhi, a position which rendered them intimately acquainted with the weakness and degeneracy of the unworthy descendants of Timour.

Meer Jaffier proved himself still more grateful, by conferring upon Clive the annual rent, amounting to 30,000*l.*, that was paid to him by the Company for their territory near Calcutta. But while this weak prince seemed to court most eagerly the English alliance, which had given him his throne, and still enabled him to maintain his precarious seat upon it, he vainly attempted to render himself independent of their support. For this purpose he applied to the officers of a power which of late years had not specially distinguished itself in the Indian continent by any action worthy of record. The Dutch possessed indeed flourishing settlements in Batavia and Ceylon, but their dépôts along the coasts of India never aspired to any character above that of places of traffic. They held aloof from politics, and during the contests between the English and French, their chief aim had been to remain neutral. The Dutch settlement of Chinchura, not far from Chandernagore, escaped therefore unmolested by the English, when Clive captured the latter; and its governor, M. Bisdorn, always exhibited a most friendly feeling towards the Council of Calcutta. It was then with no small surprise that Clive heard of the intrigues set on foot between his old acquaintance and Meer Jaffier. A rumour that Great Britain and Holland would speedily be at war, excited still more men's minds, and gave rise in the Council to various discussions as to the propriety of taking some step against

the Dutch. From the universal opinion that this measure was necessary, Clive alone dissented; he derided the fears of his colleagues, and in answer to their representations that the Dutch were increasing their fleet in Batavia, he maintained that the destination of this armament was not the mouth of the Ganges, but the island of Ceylon. His calmness and confidence might have been feigned, but he gave the highest possible guarantee for the reality of his own convictions by transmitting the greater part of his private fortune to England, through the medium of the Dutch East India Company.

If indeed his credulity had been imposed upon, he was soon destined to be undeceived. Two or three Dutch vessels dropped quietly down the river, and made repeated attempts to land soldiers at Chinchura. These measures drew forth warm protests from Clive, who could now no longer afford credence to the excuses of the Dutch, or the plausible statements of Meer Jaffier. The latter had affected the greatest possible alarm at the intelligence that a Batavian fleet was coming to the mouth of the Hooghly, and complained at Calcutta, that the Dutch were allying themselves with the Nabob of Oude.

In October 1759 the much expected armament arrived. Eight hundred Europeans, with a strong subsidy of native troops and some artillery, had been embarked in five large vessels, three of which were fitted up as men of war. At this period, Clive's means of defence appeared unusually small. The majority of the Bengal troops had been despatched in various directions, to Masulipatam, Patna, and the Coromandel coast. The allegiance of Meer Jaffier was more than suspicious; and emboldened, perhaps, by the prospect of immediate assistance, he permitted the Dutch to collect recruits on every side; while his son Meeran displayed the most zealous activity on their behalf. But the influence of Clive supplied the place of an army. With his wonted

energy he compelled the vacillating Nabob to command the strangers to quit his territories, while he rigorously exercised the right of search upon every Dutch vessel ascending the Hooghly. Just as the crisis was becoming serious, Colonel Forde arrived from Masulipatam, having quitted the service in consequence of some ill feeling on the part of the authorities. Urged by Clive's representations, however, he consented to assume the command of a party directed against the Dutch factory of Chinchura.

The expedition proved completely successful. Intercepting the Dutch forces on their way from the ships, Forde placed himself midway between them and the factory, thus preventing their obtaining any succours from thence. He then despatched a messenger to Clive for an order of Council authorizing him to attack the enemy. The missive reached the Governor in the evening, and while he was unbending himself at an evening party, after the fatigues of the day. Without even rising from the table where he sat, Clive wrote on a slip of paper the following brief though characteristic sentence:—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately, and I will send you an order of Council to-morrow."

He had not miscalculated either the alacrity or the obedience of his subordinate. Forde engaged the Dutch forthwith at Bridona, routed them completely, and having made several important persons prisoners, laid close siege to Chinchura. Almost simultaneously, Clive fitted up three trading vessels, and sent them to attack the Dutch fleet. The result was a complete victory, and the factory, terrified at the consequences of their intrigues, strove by every means in their power to pacify the victors. They disavowed the proceedings of their officers, and gladly engaged to defray the expenses of the war. Another humiliation, not perhaps undeserved, awaited them a few days afterwards. The son of the Nabob, Meeran, hoping to share with the conquering party the plunder of the vanquished, had assembled an armed rabble in the

vicinity of Chinchura. According to the Indian fashion, his late allies were now fair game, the more especially since their disasters had left them without the means of resistance. They found themselves obliged therefore to supplicate the aid of Clive, who, sending a detachment to their succour, soon dispersed the Nabob's forces, and established tranquillity in the neighbourhood of the factory.

The daring of Clive had thus placed his countrymen in a position far above the jealousy of European rivals, or the intrigues of Indian princes. His personal risk and responsibility throughout this transaction was however of no ordinary kind. He himself said, "A public man must sometimes act with a halter round his neck;" and doubtless the success of his proceedings may partially at least have procured them exemption from censure. Yet in his public conduct at this time we have the germ of that policy which afterwards involved himself and Warren Hastings in so many disputes with the authorities at home. The necessity for prompt and vigorous action, unfettered perhaps by the constitutional ideas which restrict the measures of government in England, was gradually elevating the Chief of the Executive at Calcutta into an irresponsible Dictator.

CHAPTER V.

CLIVE IN ENGLAND—TROUBLES IN BENGAL—SUMROO.

1760—1765.

[THE departure of Clive from India at the commencement of 1760, leaves us leisure to review the proceedings of the English in the south. Eyre Coote had assumed the chief command in those parts, and concentrating his forces at Conjeveram, lost no time in laying siege to the fort of Wandewash, then garrisoned by French troops. Foiled in his attempts to relieve this place, Lally seized upon Conjeveram by a *coup de main*; but not finding there the treasures he expected, endeavoured to regain Wandewash, which the English had taken by storm shortly before. This effort brought on a battle, contested for some time with obstinacy, but terminating at last in favour of the English. Lally lost in the action 600 men with 24 pieces of cannon, the brave Bussy being among the prisoners. His defeat on this occasion proved but the first link in a series of disasters under which the French finally sank. Arcot, Vellore, Chillumbarum, and Cuddalore, fell successively into the hands of the English, and after a vain attempt to procure the aid of Hyder Ali, who at that juncture was first becoming prominent in the affairs of the Deccan, the French commander found himself thoroughly hemmed in by the English, and confined to the walls of Pondicherry. Coote commenced at once the siege of this place, and on the 4th of January, 1761, Lally was driven by famine to capitulate. The conquerors destroyed the town with its fortifications, and thus deprived their rivals of the last possession belonging to France upon the Indian continent.

Lally and Bussy, being liberated on parole, returned to France to meet a fate strikingly diverse. Bussy, respected by his foes, and in the enjoyment of a splendid fortune, was courted and caressed, while the unfortunate Lally became the scape-goat of popular indignation. All the reverses and losses in India were laid to his charge; he was imprisoned in the Bastile, and finally dragged forth in a dung cart to perish on the Place de Grève by the hand of the executioner.

While the sister presidencies (if we may anticipate that title) of Madras and Calcutta were being raised into independent states, that of Bombay advanced with equal steps in the career of prosperity. During the decline of the Mogul power, the once flourishing town of Surat suffered severely from the intrigues and factions of the local Mohammedan authorities. The English factory in the place participated in the general depression consequent on these turbulent dissensions; and its members, unable any longer to bear the extortions and misgovernment of the Emperor's officers, applied for aid to their countrymen at Bombay.

The Hindoo merchants gladly welcomed the security of English protection, and readily undertook to pay to the Bombay authorities a certain annual tribute, while the court of Delhi viewed with no adverse or hostile feeling the abasement of its overgrown vassals. An expedition soon brought these chiefs to reason, and the Mogul, or rather his minister, conferred upon the English commanders the title of Admirals of the Imperial fleet.

The reception of Clive when he reached England was calculated to excite the liveliest emotions in the mind of one who was by no means insensible to the voice of public approbation. His princely wealth, amounting it is said to £60,000 per annum, enabled him to enjoy all the advantages of which affluence is productive, while his merits secured for him a large share of those honours, the value of which is enhanced by the circumstance that

they cannot be purchased. The most flattering attentions were paid him by royalty itself, as well as by men of the highest rank; while the illustrious Lord Chatham spoke of him in public as a "heaven-born general." Elevated to the peerage as Baron Clive of Plassey, he did not forget his old acquaintances amid the splendid crowd who pressed around him and courted his intimacy. Upon several of his most deserving friends he conferred liberal annuities, and among these was his old patron Lawrence, whose wealth had by no means kept pace with his deserts.

But Clive soon found himself doomed to experience the hollow nature of mere popular favour. The causes which led to this sudden reversion of feeling require, however, a few preliminary observations, respecting the constitution of that Company of merchant princes who were now being exalted almost to the rank of independent sovereigns. Originally an association of traders, the rules and regulations of this body had been framed exclusively with a view to promote commerce, and to ensure the fair representation in their business meetings of every individual who contributed a capital of £500 to the funds of the Company. The Court of Proprietors was composed of these last, and from them were elected twenty-four members, whose stock exceeded £2,000 in value, and who formed, when chosen, the Court of Directors. As the proprietors met once a quarter, and possessed the power of making bye-laws on these occasions, it soon became evident that a constitution which might have suited admirably a trading community was not adapted to meet the necessities of a growing empire. The increase of the British domination in India, impressed in various ways the different individuals composing the unwieldy parliaments of Leadenhall Street. The timid trembled, remonstrated, and prophesied inevitable ruin to the funds from the proceedings of Clive and his associates; the bold and ambitious exulted in the splendid

visions now dawning upon their view; while a third party, composed of men with envious and carping minds, complained of the honours and fortunes that had accrued to the most deserving of their servants. The natural result of these differences of opinion in the deliberative body being unchecked by the existence of an independent executive, exhibited itself in the ill-judged and self-contradictory instructions forwarded to the Company's representatives in the East. Obedience to these missives on the part of the local authorities would have been ruin, and therefore their only alternative was to disregard them; but both reason and experience show that a State can never be well governed which owes its safety to insubordination. .

The keen statesman-like mind of Clive penetrated at once the nature of these difficulties and discerned their obvious remedy. Before he left India, he addressed a letter to Mr. Pitt, describing the position and probable future of the English in India, while he strongly urged the ministers of the Crown to take matters into their own hands. This communication became public, and excited against the writer the indignation of many at Leadenhall Street, who loved power, and resented the proposal of Clive to deprive them of it.

When the late governor reached England, he found a Mr. Laurence Sullivan, Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors. This gentleman, from his long residence in India, and undeniable abilities, both deserved and obtained the confidence of the majority among the proprietors: and although originally a supporter and admirer of Clive, he saw in his return home the approach of a powerful rival, who might eventually drive him from the position he had with so much labour acquired. To prevent this, became, henceforward, Mr. Sullivan's chief aim: Clive, he insinuated, was too powerful and too wealthy; the letter to Mr. Pitt appeared a decided act of insubordination, while the acceptance of a large grant

from Meer Jaffier, he characterised as the act of an unfaithful and covetous official bent upon enriching himself at the expense of the Company he served. The Deputy Chairman even hinted to Clive his wish that the latter should take no share in Indian politics, with the tacit understanding, that in that case, his revenue might be enjoyed without molestation.

For a time, the hero of Plassey maintained a prudent reserve, but various circumstances led him finally to break the restrictions which he had imposed upon himself. The claims of those who, having served under him in India, naturally sought his aid, and invoked his influence at home, tended to bring him into collision with Sullivan, by whom many of Lord Clive's friends were regarded with feelings of personal dislike. Political animosities added fuel to the flame. Mr. Sullivan was a warm supporter of Lord Bute, Clive adhered as firmly to the party of Granville. At length their mutual ill feeling came to a crisis, and Clive strained his influence to the utmost for the purpose of opposing Sullivan's election. His efforts failed, but the attempt drew down upon him the threatened vengeance of the adverse, and now triumphant party. The Court of Directors issued orders, that the Governor of Bengal should pay over to them the rent of the territory or *Jaghire*, granted to Clive by Meer Jaffier. He appealed against their proceedings to the Courts of Law, a bill was filed in Chancery, and the first lawyers in the country pronounced the ground taken by the directors untenable. At this juncture, however, came disastrous news from the East. Revolutions had broken out at Moorsshedabad; the misconduct of the local authorities was but too palpable; trade suffered materially, and the dividends remained in consequence unpaid. The proprietors trembled with alarm, they met in full court, and determined that Clive should be entreated to save them. Every inducement was to be offered him. The disputed jaghire should,

be restored, the fullest powers accorded. In vain the directors exerted their influence, they were manifestly outvoted, and there remained nothing but to wait with ill-dissembled anxiety for the reply of Clive. In that answer he professed himself willing to accept office upon one condition, the secession of Mr. Sullivan from the management of affairs. The latter thus openly and directly attacked, endeavoured, as was natural, to defend himself. He strove to induce the Court of Proprietors to alter their determination, but his representations met with no success, and finally the directors found themselves compelled to nominate Lord Clive, Governor and Commander-in-chief of Bengal. His opponent, Sullivan, contrived by a hard struggle to retain his seat at the next election, but the party of Clive formed the majority in the upper court, and they willingly acceded to the propositions which he laid before them, namely, that he should retain his jaghire for the ensuing ten years, be permitted to name his own Committee of Council, and recommend the different military officers to be employed under him.

The amount of confidence thus bestowed on Lord Clive was neither misplaced nor unnecessary. The affairs of Bengal had, by the mismanagement of the Committee of Council, reached the climax of confusion and disorder; nor, perhaps, could a governor invested only with ordinary powers, have stemmed effectually the torrent of corruption and political folly. In order, however, that the reader may understand the nature of these embarrassments, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospective view of the march of events, during the period that elapsed between the departure of Clive from India in 1759, and his return to it in 1765.

Mr. Vansittart, a Madras civil servant, had been appointed to succeed Clive as Governor of Bengal. With upright intentions and average abilities, this gentleman possessed no knowledge of the province, the affairs of

which he was called upon to administer; and therefore soon found himself under the guidance of the senior members of Council. Among these stood most prominent Mr. Holwell, the survivor of the Black Hole tragedy, who had discharged, during the interim, the functions of governor. The veteran civilian, whose view of public affairs seems to have been a narrow and contracted one, no sooner found himself freed from the checks that the clear judgment and unerring sagacity of Clive ever opposed to the prejudices and antipathies of his counsellors, than he began to give the reins to an old-standing animosity against Meer Jaffier. That wretched potentate was fast sinking under the troubles and difficulties which environed him on every side. Always poor, his revenues had been of late materially diminished, owing to the system of private traffic indulged in by the agents of the Company, and connived at by their superiors of Calcutta. The consequence was, that he could neither meet the demands of the English, nor satisfy his rapacious troops. To add to these embarrassments, he was suddenly called upon to repel an invasion from without. The Shah Zadé, mentioned a few pages back, had succeeded to his father's throne at Delhi, and once more resolved to possess himself of Moorshedabad. This prince, who, on his accession, assumed the lofty appellation of Shah Alim, or King of the World, won over to his side the powerful Nabob of Oude, upon whom he conferred the title of Vizier. With these was allied the Rajah of Purneah, a vassal of Meer Jaffier, who hoped to rise, by the downfall of his liege lord, to the vacant post from which the latter had been ejected.

The Mogul prince attacked Patna, of which Ramnarrain, a faithful ally of the English, was governor. Colonel Calliaud advanced to support the garrison, and encountering the Imperial forces in a pitched battle, defeated them with considerable loss, a disaster which induced Shah Alim to retreat with all possible celerity

to Delhi, and leave for the present the province of Bengal in peace.

During an expedition made against the Rajah of Purneah, by Meer Jaffier and his son Meeran, the latter lost his life by a stroke of lightning, a misfortune which hastened his father's downfall. Meeran, though cruel, dissolute, and an enemy to the English, had been noted among his people for good faith. Brave and energetic, these qualities endeared him to the army, and their confidence in the Prince's honour led them to wait with patience for the arrears of pay still due. This restraint, however, being removed, the soldiers broke out into open mutiny, assembled round the Nabob's palace, in Moorshedabad, and even threatened his life.

Accustomed to lean for support upon the strong mind and energetic arm of Clive, Meer Jaffier expected to derive from his patron's successors, the same amount of counsel and assistance. But he rested on a broken reed. The funds of the presidency were in a state of bankruptcy; the Council dreaded every moment a mutiny among their own troops, and Mr. Vansittart had been taught to regard Meer Jaffier as being, at least in part, the author of these calamities. In answer, therefore, to his appeal, the Council resolved to depose him, and replenish their exhausted coffers by an astute bargain with his successor.

In the provinces of India, candidates for vacant dignities were easily found. The one selected by Mr. Vansittart was Meer Cossim Ali, the son-in-law of the reigning Nabob, an ambitious and greedy man, who, in his eagerness to possess himself of his relative's authority, made the most extravagant promises to his allies. Mr. Vansittart's share of the booty amounted to 58,000*l.*, while 142,000*l.* was to be divided among eight members of the government. This necessary preliminary being arranged, the English governor, at the head of a large body of troops, waited on Meer Jaffier, with the view of

"*persuading*," as he himself phrases it, the Nabob to resign his power into the hands of his son-in-law. Persuasion under certain circumstances becomes command, and Meer Jaffier well understood the nature of his position, and the consequences of non-compliance with the governor's advice. He yielded with Oriental calmness to a necessity which he could not control, and retiring with his family to Calcutta, subsisted upon a pension allowed him by the English authorities.

The commencement of Meer Cossim's reign was stormy and troubled. The Mogul Shah Alim again invaded Bahar, aided by a resolute band of French adventurers under M. Law. This soldier of fortune, like the Free Lances and Condottieri of the middle ages, wandered about from place to place, disposing of the muskets of his followers to the best bidders among the turbulent princes of Hindoostan. His valour almost turned the fortune of the day, when the English under Major Carnac, engaged the Mogul on the plains of Bahar. But receiving little or no support from his Indian allies, the brave Frenchman deemed it useless to maintain a struggle that must ultimately fail, and seating himself cross-legged upon one of his cannons, he surrendered in that singular posture to the English commander.

The vanquished Mogul, at the request of his English victors, cast over their puppet, Meer Cossim, the sanction of his Imperial authority, investing him formally with the soubahdarship of Bengal and Bahar, while at the same time he privately offered the Company to grant them directly the Dewanee or chief rule in those regions. It was thought best, however, for the present to govern by proxy, and Cossim Ali therefore remained undisturbed in his new dignity. The first public act of the recently inaugurated Nabob, was the perpetration of an outrage which disgraced himself and dishonoured his English allies. Ever since the fall of Suraj-ood-Dowlah, Ramnarrain, Governor of Patna, had exhibited a rare instance

of good faith and unvarying adherence to the English government. His fidelity, however, proved no safeguard to himself, since Meer Cossim, under the mistaken idea that the Hindoo was in possession of large sums of money, planned an expedition against Patna, which was sanctioned by Mr. Vansittart. The military officers in Bengal, Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, positively refused to have any share in this nefarious transaction, but they were superseded by their superiors, and the unfortunate Ramnarrain, having been taken captive by the Nabob's troops, was imprisoned, tortured, and finally put to death.

This act of injustice brought with it its own punishment. The native chiefs, alienated from the English by the ingratitude manifested towards Ramnarrain, attached themselves to the Nabob, and soon persuaded that weak-minded prince, that he might, if he chose, free India from the encroaching strangers. Unfortunately there existed but too many just causes of complaint against the authorities at Calcutta, although many of the abuses introduced by them, had their origin in the ill-judging parsimony of their employers at home. Men of education and respectability were despatched to India with salaries so ridiculously small, that they proved utterly inadequate for the supply of a decent maintenance in the country itself, and of course left the official no means of providing for his future support, when, worn out in the service, he retired to end his days in his native land. It was natural to suppose that some counter-balance would be found to this grievous inconvenience, and the remedy for it was soon discovered to be private trade.

That system, indeed, proved by no means beneficial to the Company at large, whose revenues it materially diminished, but as they pertinaciously adhered to their unwise plan of paying small salaries to their servants, they could not but connive at the endeavours of those

servants to supply their necessary wants by private traffic. Yet, while the native rulers of the country retained sufficient power to enforce their own commercial regulations, the evil seemed comparatively of little moment. But when in process of time the English gained so strong a footing in the land, that they could raise or depose princes at pleasure, it was speedily found that they infringed without scruple those enactments to which native merchants were still subjected. All kinds of merchandise passed unsearched, if protected by the Company's flag; and this exemption from toll and inspection became so advantageous, that individual civil servants soon found it convenient to transmit their own, private ventures as though they had been the goods of their employers. Nor were they content with this, but suffered their native dependents to avail themselves of the same privileges; a proceeding which led to endless quarrels and dissensions, and called forth from unprotected traders the most grievous complaints.

Meer Cossim soon saw, as a natural consequence, his revenues diminished, and his authority set at nought, while the remonstrances forwarded by him to Calcutta obtained no effectual redress. Many indeed of the delinquents were themselves members of Council, and as such had a direct interest in keeping up the abuses complained of. Finding his representations disregarded, the Nabob finally abolished all duties throughout his dominions, and thereby drew down upon himself the fierce resentment of the monopolists. The latter sent Messrs. Hall and Amyatt to demand that the obnoxious measure should be rescinded. Not content with this, Mr. Ellis, the resident at Patna, having been furnished with a small military force, seized upon the citadel of that place. Furiously indignant, Meer Cossim marched his troops thither, stormed the fort, and after putting about 150 British subjects to death, sought refuge from the impending storm within the territory of Oude,

When these disasters were known in Calcutta, it was determined that Meer Jaffier should be again elevated to the musnud of Bengal. Despite his past experience of the cares of government, the vain old man caught eagerly at the glittering bauble, making promises to his allies, which, if performed, would soon have occasioned his deposition a second time. Meanwhile, Meer Cossim was collecting the materials for resistance. In addition to his native troops he had secured the services of a European named Sombre, formerly a serjeant in the French army, and generally known by the orientalized appellation of Sumroo. This adventurer trained and disciplined a body of natives after the European manner, and thus enabled his patron to make a fair stand in the field. But Sombre disgraced his unquestionable abilities and military skill by the most fiendish cruelty. The massacre of Patna had been conducted under his supervision, and few Englishmen that fell into his hands escaped with life.

With Meer Cossim, were now closely allied the Mogul Shah Alim, and the Nabob Vizier of Oude, Sujah Dowlah. They advanced to Benares together, encamping not far from the English forces under Major Carnac. The latter army was in a most disorganized state, numbers of desertions took place daily among the Europeans, while the sepoys threatened to mutiny if their pay were not immediately raised. An engagement, however, under the walls of Patna, terminated fatally for Meer Cossim, who found himself, with his allies, reduced to seek safety in flight. After this battle, Major Hector Monro arrived, and assuming the chief command, took vigorous measures for the purpose of putting a stop to the mutinous spirit which he found infecting the whole army. Twenty-four of the ringleaders were blown from the mouth of a cannon in the presence of their comrades, and this severity at once alarmed the mutineers and produced the most complete submission to authority. Having purged

his army of intestine disorder, Monro marched them in the autumn against the enemy, whom he entirely routed, breaking up by this victory the confederacy between the three native princes. Sujah Dowlah and the Mogul sued for peace; the latter obtained it, but the former refused to deliver up Sumroo and Meer Cossim, both of whom Monro demanded as a necessary preliminary.

Being unwilling to surrender his former allies, Sujah Dowlah attempted to strengthen himself by bringing in the Mahrattas, under their celebrated chief, Holkar; but this expedient did not serve his purpose, since, in May 1765, he was defeated with great slaughter at Corah, by General Carnac, and found himself ultimately a prisoner in the hands of the English. His territories were restored to him, with the exception of Allahabad, Corah and the Douab, which passed into the possession of the Mogul, who, grateful for these advantages, conferred upon the Company the Dewanee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa for an annual pension of twenty-six lacs of rupees.

CHAPTER VI.

REFORMS EFFECTED BY CLIVE—HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND—THE NABOBS
—ACCUSATION AGAINST CLIVE—HIS DEATH.

1765—1772.

THE arrival of Clive in India proved by no means welcome to the civil servants in Calcutta. One of his first measures was to examine into a nefarious bargain, by which the sovereignty of Bengal had been conferred upon Nujeem-ood-Dowlah, the eldest son of Meer Jaffier, who had lately died. He endeavoured also with success to put a stop to private trading and other abuses, while he urged upon the directors at home the absolute necessity of increasing the stipends of their servants. Nujeem-ood-Dowlah had been appointed nabob before Clive's coming, and much to his annoyance, the more especially as that prince and his ministers boasted publicly of the manner in which they had succeeded in bribing the principal members of the Calcutta Council.

The matter was investigated, and the guilty parties strove to defend themselves by imputing unworthy motives to Clive and his party. But they could not stand for a moment before his stern decision of character. Using the dictatorial authority with which he had been entrusted, he suspended at once several senior civilians from their employments. The same firm decision he exhibited with regard to some refractory military officers, when these last resisted the withdrawal of the additional pay, or "double batta," as it was termed, which had been allowed to them during active service. On this occasion considerable excitement prevailed; 200 European officers resigned their commissions, and a serious mutiny was apprehended. Fearless and resolute,

Clive presented himself at Monghir, where the discontented officers had assembled, he harangued the troops, placed the offenders under immediate arrest, and in a short time tranquillity and order were completely restored.

Returning to Calcutta, Clive proceeded quietly with his reforms. His energy and determination enabled him to triumph over every species of opposition, but the interests which he attacked were too numerous and too closely connected to be assailed with impunity. The conscientious discharge of his duty raised him up enemies both in India and England, whose efforts, though they could not entirely destroy his splendid reputation, cast a blight upon his fame, and darkened with sorrow and vexation his declining days.

During the progress of these reforms, Clive undertook to dethrone and pension Nujeeem-ood-Dowlah, who instead of grieving for his lost dignity, consoled himself with the reflection that he now possessed a large annual sum to waste upon his ignoble debaucheries. Although deposed, however, it was thought better to effect this change as noiselessly as possible, and therefore while Nujeeem-ood-Dowlah had to all intents and purposes ceased to reign, the public acts of government still continued to receive the sanction of his name. An interview took place between the Mogul and Lord Clive near the city of Allahabad, when the descendant of Timour formally invested a trading company of English merchants with the Dewanee of the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. This investiture gave them and their servants the collection and absolute management of all taxes and revenues belonging to these districts, bestowing upon them in fact a virtual sovereignty over some of the most fertile regions in the Peninsula.

Clive returned again to England, wearied in mind and broken down in health. He had undoubtedly contributed more than any one else to the establishment of the

British dominion in the East upon a firm and stable foundation. On his first arrival in India, he found the interests of the Company represented by a body of powerless traders oppressed occasionally by the native authorities, and trembling at the power of the Mogul. When he relinquished the post of Governor, he left a society of rulers holding in vassalage the descendant of Aurungzeeb, dictating to princes, and exercising uncontrolled sway over the fairest regions of the Peninsula. With regard to much of this success he could say with sentiments of excusable pride, "It is my work!" He might have added also with truth that the inhabitants of the country he quitted, and the directors of the service he had adorned, were indebted to him for reforms of a most beneficial character, tending to consolidate the English power, and to diffuse throughout the regions under its sway, the blessings of prosperity and peace. Nor had these measures been carried out at no personal inconvenience to himself. The hydra of corruption, though crushed by his energy, had left a sting in his bosom, the anguish of which drove him eventually to madness and despair. He was yet to exhibit during the brief remnant of time allotted to him, a memorable example of how little princely wealth and a world-wide reputation can contribute to happiness, when those sound religious principles are wanting which can alone enable us to bear in dignified and forgiving silence unfriendly censure, and to maintain peace and tranquillity within, while a popular tempest and the strife of men's tongues are raging without. Lord Clive landed in England to find the affairs of the Company in a disturbed state, and the Indian interest growing daily more unpopular with the nation at large. Various causes contributed to bring about this result. The quarrels among the directors, the industrious activity of Mr. Sullivan and his party in blackening the character of their opponents, and above all, the social absurdities and general behaviour of

the Anglo-Indians who returned to their native country after a lengthened sojourn abroad, tended to leave on the public mind a mingled impression of dislike and contempt, which soon found vent within the walls of parliament. The sudden influx of wealth that during a period of recent and unprecedented success had overwhelmed the servants of the Company, enabled many of them to return in a few years to England with fortunes equal to those possessed by the wealthiest nobles in the realm. The Nabob, as he was popularly termed, lived in a style of costly magnificence, attended by troops of servants, over whom he ruled with an air of imperious command, which, however suited to the East, was by no means consonant with the feelings of his countrymen. An unfriendly climate had injured his health, and generated or encouraged occasional ebullitions of peevishness and spleen. Of obscure, sometimes of humble origin, his manners and tastes awakened, in an age peculiarly alive to social distinctions, the contempt of those whom he irritated by eclipsing with his wealth. Long residence in a country where polished society was then utterly unknown, had vulgarized his habits, and obliterated from his memory even the acquirements of his youth. Accustomed to domineer and to indulge in sensual and licentious pleasures, his behaviour was haughty, his tone offensive, and his morals, even according to the low religious standard which then popularly prevailed, indecorous and reprehensible. But the odium grew deeper and more inveterate when frequent quarrels at the India-house led people to speculate upon the source of that wealth, the ostentatious display of which had already offended them so much. It was whispered that the vulgar disagreeable personage whom every one alternately flattered and despised, owed his riches to means which excited popular hatred without quenching popular contempt. Tales of provinces desolated and despoiled, of dethroned princes, of open and unblushing

corruption, of the sale of justice and mercy; with narratives of torture, oppression, and crime, heightened by the indistinctness of the particulars related, and the remote position of the country which had witnessed their enactment, created in the public mind a deadly antipathy towards the Nabob class, always exaggerated, and sometimes unjust. As one of the leading men connected with this body, Clive found himself naturally exposed to the prejudices against it, which then animated the majority of his countrymen. Liberal and even munificent in his gifts, his profusion was frequently excessive and ostentatious. He possessed large estates, princely mansions, and costly equipages; his dress and mode of living were alike extravagant. All these luxuries, rumour affirmed, had been wrung from the spoliation of defenceless princes, and oppressed provinces, if they had not been acquired by acts of positive crime. The peasants about Claremont, where he was erecting a large and spacious mansion, styled him "the great wicked Lord," and surmised that "the walls of his mansion had been built so thick to prevent the devil from carrying him away bodily." Clive might have contemned alike the sarcasms of envy and the legends of superstition, but he possessed defects of manner which alienated men of education and intelligence. His reserve, his silence, and the fits of depression to which he was frequently subject, rendered him a gloomy companion, and gave rise to the supposition that he suffered acutely from the stings of remorse. These indeed might have been more charitably accounted for by remembering the constitutional melancholy which even in youth had thrown a gloom over his existence; but the world seldom cares to investigate fairly, and examine minutely, the accusations brought against those whom it dislikes or envies; and thus infirmities, which if known should have excited sympathy, were perverted by his enemies into the tokens of conscious guilt.

At length, during the session of 1772, the hostile parties met each other face to face in Parliament. On the 30th of March, Mr. Sullivan brought in a bill "for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in Bengal." His speech upon the introduction of this measure conveyed a covert attack on Lord Clive, who felt that the hour was now come when he must stand at bay. The ostensible leader of the opposition in the House of Commons was not, however, Mr. Sullivan, but Colonel Burgoyne, who, on the 13th of April in the same year, moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the affairs of India. Summoned before this committee, Lord Clive found himself subjected to a strict and searching examination. Events long passed away were alleged against him: the deception of Omichund, the sums received from Meer Jaffier, the forgery of Admiral Watson's name. He replied boldly, not seeking for an instant to palliate or disguise any portion of his past conduct. With respect to the donation of Meer Jaffier, he gave reins to his fancy, and depicted in brief but impressive language, the position in which he found himself placed by the victory of Plassey. "A great prince," he said, "was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman," he concluded, "at this moment I stand amazed at my own moderation."

The proceedings of the Committee were reported to the house on the 10th of May, prefaced by a speech from Colonel Burgoyne, in the course of which he drew a malignant and overcharged picture of Clive's career. The latter defended himself with his usual energy, and called forth the admiration both of the senate and of the country at large by the eloquence manifested in his

reply. At length a resolution was passed to the effect that "Robert Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, did possess himself of the sum of 234,000*l.* English money, and that Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

The hero of Plassey had triumphed over his malignant and ungenerous foes, but the excitement proved too powerful for a mind inordinately susceptible. In the November of the same year which witnessed his acquittal, he committed suicide, but whether fully conscious of the crime remains at least doubtful. On the day previous to the fatal deed, he suffered extremely from nervous debility, and the strong doses of opium which he was obliged to swallow may probably have clouded his reason, and in some measure diminished the moral turpitude of his crime. Such an end is indeed fearful to be contemplated; but to the Christian reader the moral of it is obvious, and the instruction conveyed thereby may convince even the worldly and profane that mere wealth is incapable of producing happiness, and that the highest and best deserved honours afford sometimes no security against the invasions of melancholy or the assaults of despair.

CHAPTER VII.

HYDER ALI—WARREN HASTINGS—NUNCOMAR—SIR PHILIP FRANCIS—
TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF NUNCOMAR.

1767—1775.

WE must now return to the state of affairs in India after the departure of Lord Clive. A predatory raid of the Afghans into Delhi, and a rash attempt of the Calcutta Council to interfere with the internal government of Nepaul, were for some months the only events in Bengal worthy of notice. In the Carnatic, however, an adventurer had arisen, whose after prowess, and that of his son, will never be forgotten as long as English history endures.

The mountains commonly known as the Ghauts commence above Surat, to the south of the river Nerbuddah, and extend down the peninsula towards Cape Comorin. In the province of Aurungabad, however, a range branches off from the main or western Ghauts, encircling a large tract of table-land, which it again shuts in towards the south, near the towns of Caveripooram and Sattyman-guttum. The lower division of these elevated regions forms the territory of Mysore, one of the most fertile portions of Southern India. To a prolific soil, which yields abundantly even the productions peculiar to the temperate zone, it adds a mild temperature and genial air, preserved by the vicinity of the Ghauts from the fierce heats of the plains. The sacred river Cavery, celebrated in Hindoo legends, rolls its limpid waters beneath the walls of Seringapatam, and forms one of the southern boundaries of the province.

From the most remote antiquity, a succession of Hindoo rajahs, established at Mysore, governed the

surrounding district, according to the regulations of their sacred books. Shut in by their mountains on all sides, they were but slightly affected by the changes and revolutions which distracted the eastern coast, or desolated the plain regions of the north. Unhappily for himself, however, the last rajah of this race was persuaded to receive into his service a Mussulman freebooter, named Hyder Ali. This personage possessed authority over a heterogeneous assemblage of banditti, composed chiefly of members of the wild mountain tribes towards the west. By degrees he augmented the numbers of his band, until, deeming himself sufficiently strong to aspire to independent authority, he overthrew his patron the rajah, and seized upon his dominions. The possession of Mysore, however, did not long satisfy his energetic and ambitious spirit. One petty chief after another fell before his victorious arms, until his northern forays brought him into the immediate vicinity of the Mahrattas, a predatory horde as unscrupulous and encroaching as his own. The Peishwa, or head of their confederacy, encountered Hyder, on the river Kistna, and after a sanguinary action, drove him back to his own territory. Thus repulsed from the north, the freebooter descended upon the Malabar coast, where he easily overcame the timid and unwarlike Hindoos.

The Peishwa of the Mahrattas now allied himself to Nizam Ali, brother and successor of Salibut Jung, Nabob of the Carnatic, for the purpose of subjugating Mysore. This alliance was also joined by the English, who sent Colonel Smith to assist the Peishwa in his military operations. The Mahrattas and the Nizam, however, proved utterly undeserving of trust, since they patched up a separate truce with Hyder, and abandoned Smith and his army to their fate. That officer escaped from the toils spread for him, but soon found it necessary to retreat in the direction of Madras. Tippoo Sahib, then a youth of seventeen, was intrusted with a large body

of cavalry, at the head of which he laid waste the environs of Madras, and carried off spoils of considerable value.

Turning round upon his pursuers, Colonel Smith defeated them in two actions, while an army from Bombay advanced against Hyder's acquisitions on the Malabar coast. But the foolish interference of the Madras Council with the details of the campaign, and their removal of Smith from the scene of action, proved fatal to the English, who were, at last, almost annihilated by the troops of Hyder.

The treaty of Paris had once more restored Pondicherry to the French, and Hyder, who had been in correspondence with Lally during the last war, resolved to avail himself of the mutual rivalry existing between the two European nations. His overtures were readily listened to at Pondicherry, and several French officers forthwith repaired to Mysore. By their advice, he planned and executed a foray into the suburban district around Madras, which so alarmed the council of that place, that they sued for peace, and allowed Hyder to dictate his own terms. Subsequently, however, the Sultan of Mysore sustained several defeats from the Mahrattas; but although both parties courted the alliance of the English, the Madras authorities were wise enough not to interfere. It would have been well if they had adhered throughout to a similar neutrality, but unfortunately they were prevailed upon, shortly afterwards, to assist Mohammed Ali, the Nabob of Trichinopoly in various petty expeditions against the rajahs of Marawar and Tanjore, in the course of which our allies, and even our own troops, inflicted various discreditable acts of barbarity upon the vanquished inhabitants of those districts. The members of the Madras Council, about the same time, rose against their governor, Lord Pigot, and imprisoned him, a step which excited considerable surprise and indignation at home. Being a man of weak

nerves, this indignity so preyed upon his spirits, that it caused his death, before Sir Thomas Rumbold, his intended liberator and successor, could reach Madras.

During the government of Clive in Bengal, a young official in that Presidency had been gradually laying the foundation of future greatness. Warren Hastings, for so was he called, boasted a descent from one of the most ancient families in England; since his pedigree could be traced, it is said, to one of the Danish Sea Kings, and included, among its collateral branches, the celebrated Chamberlain, who perished by the tyranny of Richard III. Educated at Westminster, he had for his schoolfellows Cowper the poet, Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, and Elijah Impey, afterwards Chief Justice of Calcutta, whose name was subsequently so closely associated with his own. The father of Warren Hastings, an unprincipled spendthrift, died in the West Indies, leaving his orphan boy to the care of a grandfather and uncle. After the decease of these relatives, a distant connexion of the family took charge of young Warren, and feeling anxious to rid himself speedily as well as decently of his burden, procured for him a writership in the Company's service, and sent him off to India. The Westminster boy felt the change at first severely, since he had distinguished himself at school, and was looking forward to a scholarship at Christ Church. But it is the characteristic of true genius always to suit itself to circumstances, and Hastings soon turned his whole attention from hexameters and pentameters, to account-books and ledgers. His diligence procured for him an appointment at Cossimbazaar, then merely a factory, but destined soon to become the theatre of several momentous political events. The fall of Calcutta took place, and Hastings found himself a captive in the hands of the sanguinary tyrant, Surajood-Dowlah. Released by the good offices of the Dutch, he remained at Moorshedabad, keeping up an inter-

course with his fugitive countrymen who had abandoned Calcutta, and were seeking a temporary asylum in the island of Fulda. The avenger Clive arrived, Meer Jaffer ascended the throne of Bengal, and Hastings, who had served as a volunteer in the ranks, found himself appointed by the commander-in-chief—whose quick eye had already detected his qualifications—resident at the new Nabob's court. During the government of Vansittart, the rising civilian kept tolerably free from the oppression and corruption that surrounded him, contriving, however, to amass a small fortune, with which he returned to England in 1764. While at home, he laboured to promote the extension of eastern literature among his countrymen; and for the furtherance of these views, procured an introduction to the great moralist, Dr. Johnson, with whom he afterwards corresponded on several occasions. The loss of his fortune obliged him to return to India. His destination was Madras, where he effected some important reforms, and gained for himself so high a character at home, that the Directors determined to appoint him Governor of Bengal. This measure drew forth from Clive a letter to his successor, replete with expressions bearing testimony to the lively satisfaction which the appointment had afforded him.

When Hastings arrived in Bengal, the affairs of that country still nominally ruled by the Nabob, were in a great measure under the control of a native minister, deriving his office from the British Government. The individual placed in this responsible position by Clive, was one Mohammed Reza Khan, who seems, upon the whole, not to have acted worse than the majority of his countrymen would have done in a similar post, and with similar opportunities of advancing their own interests. Power in the east, indeed, is rarely coveted from patriotic motives,—it is seldom sought even for its own sake; the great aim of the oriental statesman, being simply the accumulation of wealth by a skilful use of those

opportunities which an elevated station places within his reach.

The known unwillingness of Clive to elevate a Musulman to the rank of chief minister to the Nabob, had encouraged another candidate to offer himself, the Maharajah Nuncomar. This man, whose subsequent history and dark fate justify some introductory notice, was a Bengalee Brahmin, and one of the most influential members of his priestly tribe. Scrupulously exact in performing the ceremonial rites prescribed by Hindoo tradition, he was nevertheless a villain of the blackest dye. Perjury, treason, and dishonesty of the grossest kind, had been frequently laid to his charge, and proved beyond a doubt. Being now extremely irritated that Mohammed Reza Khan was preferred before him, the crafty Hindoo endeavoured, in every possible manner, to sap the credit of his rival. In this he succeeded far better than might have been anticipated, considering his well known and thoroughly abandoned character; his intrigues, indeed, had reached Leadenhall-street itself, and among the first instructions received by Hastings, was an order to arrest the Mohammedan minister, and subject his late administration to a rigorous and searching ordeal. The Directors recommended the governor to use in this matter the assistance of Nuncomar; and that unprincipled intriguer now congratulated himself upon the successful accomplishment of his nefarious designs. Two obstacles, however, stood in his way, which he had not foreseen, and could not easily remove. One of these was the dislike entertained towards him by Hastings; the other, the determination of the new governor to abolish for ever the office which the wily Brahmin so intensely coveted. The reasons for this latter resolve were mainly founded upon the disadvantages resulting from the double form of government; then existing in the province, the Nabob's minister and the Company being both, in a certain sense,

supreme, while their mutual jealousies and intrigues impeded political action, and might have led eventually, as in the case of Meer Cossim, to revolution, anarchy, and bloodshed. But, in addition to these more public and official motives, the new governor regarded Nuncomar with no friendly eye. While Hastings occupied a subordinate position at Moorsshedabad, he had quarrelled with the ambitious Brahmin; and although the dispute was sullenly terminated, in consequence of the interposition or commands of superiors, a grudge remained behind in the breast of each, which rendered them ever afterwards distant and inimical. The enmity of Nuncomar underwent, as may be imagined, no diminution from his failure in obtaining the object of his treacherous intrigues. Henceforth, he loathed Hastings, with an intensity of hatred which can only exist in a cowardly and cringing mind, whose animosity, when repressed by fear and self-interest, continually multiplies itself, growing daily more venomous and malignant.

The great difficulty against which Hastings had to contend, at the commencement of his career, was the want of money. The Directors in Leadenhall-street, forwarded, from time to time, urgent requests for remittances, which it was not always easy to meet satisfactorily. Their letters indeed inculcated the necessity for humanity, justice, and moderation. They reprobated ambitious encroachments, or any undue pressure upon an impoverished people. But these commendable sentiments invariably prefaced a request, that their agent would use every effort to increase the dividends. Hastings, therefore, was perpetually tempted to desert the right for the expedient, and to employ questionable means for the purpose of augmenting the finances of the Company.

One obvious measure soon occurred to him. 300,000*l.* a year was paid to the Mogul, as tribute for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Hastings suspended this payment, and wrenching from Shah Alim the districts of Alla-

habad and Corah, sold them to the Nabob Vizier of Oude, Sujah Dowlah. He did more. Sujah Dowlah was anxious to annex to his dominions the district of Rohilcund. This region had, for many years, been occupied by the Rohillas, a warlike and independent race of Afghan descent, who came originally from Cabul and Candahar. Valiant in the field, and high-spirited in their habits and demeanour, their tribes resembled greatly the Scottish Highlanders of the period anterior to 1745. But, like them, they had proved themselves dangerous neighbours to the unwarlike inhabitants of the plains, whom they at once despised and plundered. Sujah Dowlah felt that he was too weak to encounter alone the descendants of Mahmoud of Ghuznee. He, therefore, resolved to obtain the aid of the English, and for that purpose sought an interview with Hastings. The governor had just been engaged in sending forth an expedition against Bootan, which he subsequently annexed to the dominions of the Company. He had also repressed with vigour and success the incursions of a host of Saniyassies, or religious mendicants, who, under the pretence of possessing supernatural powers, overran the country, and committed all kinds of excesses. Having chased these fanatics beyond the boundaries of India, Hastings was now at leisure to listen to the Nabob's representations. Upon condition that Sujah Dowlah should pay to the Company forty lacs of rupees, and discharge the expenses of the war, the governor agreed to furnish him with an English force under Colonel Champion. Some delay ensued before the troops advanced, but at length they were joined by the Nabob, and the war commenced. Champion soon found that he was compelled to engage the enemy by himself, the Nabob refusing him, under various pretences, the aid of a solitary gun, or of a single troop of cavalry, until he saw the enemy defeated, when his men rushed forward, with unwonted alacrity, to plunder the Rohilla camp. Moved with indignation and con-

tempt, Champion wrote to his superior, "We have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit."

The once fertile district of Rohilcund was now exposed to all the horrors of war. The English commander remonstrated vehemently against these barbarities, and Hastings, through his political agent, Mr. Middleton, constantly inculcated upon the Vizier the duty of according to the vanquished humane and considerate treatment. But Sujah Dowlah invariably turned a deaf ear to these suggestions. A coward is always cruel when he has the means of being so; and the Nabob on this occasion disgraced himself, and partially dishonoured his allies, by the most wanton and unparalleled tyranny. The remnant of the Rohillas, however, under their chief, Fyzoola Khan, still offered a bold front to their oppressor, and Sujah Dowlah, admonished by the evident disgust of the English officers for his sanguinary proceedings, forbore to drive the vanquished to desperation, and finally concluded a peace with their leader.

In 1773, a measure, termed the Regulating Act, passed through the British Parliament. It made Bengal the chief of the three Presidencies in India, and placed over it a governor-general, assisted by four councillors, whose authority had been limited to a period of five years. In addition to these officials, a supreme court of justice was established in Calcutta, consisting of one principal, and three subordinate judges.

Hastings received the appointment of governor-general, his councillors being Mr. Philip Francis, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Barwell, an old servant of the Company. Of these the former only possessed already an English reputation, which he still retains. Rumour attached to him the composition of the Letters of Junius, a production yet enveloped in seemingly impenetrable mystery. The character of Francis agrees tolerably, however, with that which imagination might assign to the anonymous politician.

Stern, fearless, and haughty, with talents of the highest order, but irritable and malignant by turns, Philip Francis seemed the exact counterpart of those turbulent tribunes who played so prominent a part in the dissensions of republican Rome. Soon after his arrival in India, he manifested a spirit of insubordination, which produced ultimately the most fatal and lamentable results. To Hastings he was opposed from the first, and the commanding energy of his character induced Clavering and Monson to rank themselves under his banner against the governor-general. From personal friendship and that professional spirit which impels members of the same service to support each other, Barwell allied himself to Hastings; and thus, even at the commencement of the new administration, two factions existed, whose mutual animosities impeded that unity of operation which is essential in all countries to success; and still more so when the few rule over the many, and are surrounded, as in India, by hostile, or at least unfriendly, powers. Hastings derived additional weight from the arrival of his old schoolfellow Sir Elijah Impey, who had been nominated Chief Justice of Calcutta, and one of whose first duties was to give sentence against Francis in a court of law, wherein the latter appeared as defendant.

Hating the governor-general and the chief-justice with equal rancour, Francis stirred up his colleagues to annoy the former in every possible way. His measures were stigmatized, his plans rendered abortive, by the majority in the council. All affairs, whether internal or external, these political novices handled with rash impetuosity, and being wholly inexperienced with regard to oriental questions, they soon involved everything in hopeless confusion. Reduced to a mere cipher, Hastings, as well as the natives who surrounded him, quickly discovered that the governor-general was now but the powerless shadow of a mighty name.

The Nabob Sujah Dowlah being dead, his son and successor Assouf-ood-Dowlah was compelled by the council to transfer to them the possessions of Cheyte Sing, Rajah of Benares, over which he could not claim the slightest authority. They then interfered between the Presidency of Bombay and the Mahrattas, a proceeding that terminated in the surrender by the Supreme Council of all the advantages gained by the Bombay troops to a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, while Ragoba, the ally for whom the war had been undertaken, was refused an asylum from the vengeance of his enemies.

The governor-general offered strenuous though useless opposition to these impolitic measures, but soon found himself compelled to defend his own honour and integrity against his bitter opponents. He was accused of receiving bribes, and of putting up offices for sale; the accuser being none other than his old antagonist the Brahmin Nuncomar. This unprincipled schemer had long watched, with feelings of gratified revenge, the vexations of one whom he accounted his deadliest foe. He now allied himself to Francis and the majority, who called upon Hastings to answer the charge in their presence, and before Nuncomar. The governor-general indignantly refused to be confronted with a man so utterly depraved and worthless; but the prejudices of his auditors being impervious to argument, he broke up the council, and followed by Barwell left the room. Nuncomar was then examined by the remaining three; his statements, though false, seemed specious, and were supported by an ample supply of documents, forged for the occasion, or extorted from the fears of his countrymen. The latter he well knew how to intimidate, by representing that the downfall of the governor-general was at hand, and that they would best consult their interests, if they secured the good-will of the triumphant members of the Council. Hastings found himself placed in so difficult a position that he forwarded his resignation

to Colonel Maclean, his agent in England, who received instructions to make use of it, in case the Directors should refuse to support his principal.

But the intrigues of Nuncomar were now drawing to a close. He was suddenly arrested, on a charge of forgery committed six years before, and tried for his life before Sir Elijah Impey. The jury found the prisoner guilty, and the judge pronounced upon him the sentence of death. No legal objection could hold against the fairness of this trial. The crime was fully brought home to the accused, and the laws of England, now established in Calcutta by the Regulating Act, doomed a convicted forger to expiate his crime upon the gallows. But the verdict excited at the time considerable discussion, and provoked no slight censure. It was urged that the chief-justice should have granted a respite until the proceedings had undergone the investigation and received the sanction of higher authorities at home. The spirit of faction led Francis and his party to speak of the fraudulent Brahmin, as a victim sacrificed to the vengeance of the governor-general by a chief-justice who had ever been the warmest supporter and most confidential friend of Warren Hastings.

And now the sheriff of Calcutta entered the cell of the prisoner to admonish him of his impending fate. Nuncomar received the mournful intelligence with that calm composure which, even under the pressure of the severest calamity, still characterises the weakest and most effeminate of his race. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, commending to their protection his son, Rajah Goordas; and then occupied himself in writing letters and accounts during the remainder of the day. On the ensuing morning a large crowd assembled to see him die. The majority indeed were drawn thither from motives the least akin to morbid curiosity. The Brahminical caste of Nuncomar,

the high position which he had hitherto occupied, the comparatively slight estimate formed by the majority of his countrymen of the crime for which he was to suffer, tended to excite in the breasts of that vast concourse feelings of sympathy mingled with horror. They could scarcely believe that the strangers would dare to pollute their soil with the blood of a sacred Brahmin.

The prisoner arrived at the place of execution, preserving his composure to the last. The drop fell; and a shriek of horror, succeeded by the loud wailings of despair, burst from the multitude. Alarm and dismay penetrated even remote districts, while the spectators of the scene retained for many months the recollection of an event which had stirred up feelings ordinarily so alien to their apathetic minds.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL CLAVERING TO REPLACE HASTINGS—REIN-
STATEMENT OF THE LATTER—THE MAHRATTAS—DUEL BETWEEN HAS-
TINGS AND FRANCIS—HYDER ALI—CAMPAIGN IN THE CARNATIC—
DEFEAT OF BAILLIE—RETURN OF BUSSY—THE SUCCESSION OF TIFFOO
—CUDDALORE—BERNADOTTE—CAPTURE OF REDNORE—EXPEDITION
OF COLONEL FULLARTON—PEACE WITH TIFFOO.

1775—1784.

THE reports from Bengal forwarded by the majority in the Calcutta Council were not likely to secure popularity for Hastings at home. The Directors blamed with justice the Rohilla war, and the minister of the day, Lord North, felt anxious to promote his political supporter, Clavering to the post of governor-general. He was, therefore, disposed to view the conduct of Hastings through the medium of a strong party bias, influenced by which, he endeavoured to procure his recal. The agent of the governor-general, alarmed at this combination, produced the letter of resignation; the Directors readily accepted it, and despatched Mr. Wheler to fill the vacant post. They determined, however, that, in the interim, General Clavering should hold the reins of government until the arrival of his successor.

But before the intelligence of these alterations reached Calcutta, the death of Monson had given Hastings a majority in the Council. He at once, therefore, rescinded his former determination, and protested that his resignation had been tendered by Colonel Maclean and accepted by the Directors, in consequence of the former having misunderstood his real meaning. This plea, though not clearly made out, seemed plausible, and very

little show of reason would have satisfied the English and native inhabitants of Calcutta, who were all disposed to favour Hastings. But Clavering, a man of hasty temperament, insisted that the instructions of the Directors should be fully carried out. He assumed at once the name and rank of governor-general, held a council, of which Francis constituted the sole member, and demanded the keys of the fort and treasury. Hastings defended his position with temperance and moderation. While he took the precaution of issuing a general notification, commanding all military officers in the Presidency to obey no orders but his, he offered to submit the point in dispute to the arbitration of the Supreme Court. This the opposing parties could not refuse, and Sir Elijah Impey decided at once in favour of Hastings, who it was arranged should retain his post until further instructions arrived from home.

The defeated members of council might have raised an objection to the arbitration of Impey, on account of his strong party-feeling for their opponent; but they were at the same time aware that among their countrymen in Calcutta they should meet with neither sympathy nor support. The execution of Nuncomar against the expressed wishes of those who clearly constituted the majority in Council had struck awe into the natives, none of whom, however ambitious or intriguing, dared now to cross the path of the governor-general. Mortified at his failure, which sensibly affected a frame already enfeebled by sickness, General Clavering did not long survive the triumph of his rival. Mr. Wheeler, who reached India soon afterwards, took his seat as a member of council, and in that capacity generally sided with Francis. Still the governor-general possessed the casting vote, and this, with the staunch support of Barwell, enabled him to overbear all opposition. The Directors, being convinced of his merits, reappointed him when the allotted term of five years had expired, while

Lord North, whose attention was engrossed by matters nearer home, gladly acquiesced in their choice.

The Indian empire indeed required at this period the guidance of a steady and experienced statesman. In Europe war was impending with France, Spain, and Holland; while two of these powers possessed the means of stirring up against us the princes of Hindoostan. On that continent the power most feared by Hastings was the Mahratta confederacy, which, though in reality composed of various distinct tribes, acknowledged one head—the Rajah of Sattara—and preserved at least the appearance of union amongst themselves. It seems ever the tendency of oriental despotisms to degenerate into ministerial tyranny. The dominion, founded originally by some daring adventurer, passes from his vigorous hands to those of descendants nursed in luxury and pampered by excess. A sense of incompetency produces afterwards the transfer of authority to a minister capable of wielding it, who frequently ends by tyrannising over both prince and people. The nominal Rajah of the Mahrattas was no exception to this rule. As heir to Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta monarchy, his supremacy remained uncontested; but the real power rested with the Peishwa, his chief minister, who resided in great state at Poona, and ruled over the provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoor.

Under the sway of this potentate were ranged various semi-independent chiefs, somewhat resembling the great feudatories of the middle ages, except that their connection with their superior or liege was more fluctuating and less direct. The Rajahs of Tanjore, for instance, made peace or war without reference to the Peishwa, who, on the other hand, did not always feel himself bound to aid his vassals in their contests with the neighbouring powers. Still, a great emergency, in the issue of which all felt themselves interested, could cement in an instant a bond of union that would oppose to an invader the undivided strength of the Mahratta tribes.

Hastings had received information which led him to believe that the French were carrying on secret negotiations with the Peishwa, at Poona. An envoy had arrived there, it was said, bearing presents from Louis XVI., and charged with the task of arranging an alliance against the English. Hastings resolved to crush at once the Peishwa and his plots. Ragoba, another Mahratta chief, had for some time coveted the post of prime minister to the descendant of Sevajee. His claims, therefore, the governor-general determined to support; and as the season was not propitious for a voyage by sea, he proposed in council that the army should advance on land directly across the continent. This plan excited the ridicule of Francis and Wheler, but Hastings was inexorable, and took measures at once for the purpose of carrying out his project. The command of these troops had been given, in the first instance, to Colonel Leslie, but the expedition in his hands did not prosper, and Hastings sent Colonel Goddard to supersede him. Goddard showed himself a man of energy and resolution; he crossed the Nerbudda without delay, and received an intimation from the Bombay authorities that their detachment, under Colonel Egerton, should meet him in the neighbourhood of Poona. Unhappily two commissioners accompanied Egerton, and as civilians rarely interfere successfully in military details, they so mismanaged matters, that the Mahrattas inflicted serious injury upon our army; and wrung from its chiefs a treaty, whereby the English gave up several important possessions, and pledged themselves to despatch Colonel Goddard back to Bengal. That officer, however, on his arrival, refused to sanction a compact so unworthy of the national reputation; and, pursuing his march, entered Surat in triumph, having performed an exploit which, in those days, was regarded with unmitigated astonishment.

Colonel Goddard, who had now been promoted to the rank of general, being in possession of the most ample

powers from Hastings, endeavoured to arrange a peace with the Mahrattas upon equal terms. They demanded, however, conditions which he could not in honour concede, one of the preliminaries being the surrender of Ragoba, who was now residing, under English protection, at Surat. Both parties, therefore, resolved to try the fortune of war. In the early part of 1780, General Goddard overran the province of Goojerat, and stormed its former capital, Ahmedabad. A Mahratta army of 40,000 men, under Scindiah and Holkar, advanced to repel the English, but were routed with considerable loss. About the same time, the governor-general, having formed an alliance with the Ranna of Gohud against the Mahrattas, Captain Popham was detached to the aid of that prince, with a small auxiliary force.

This expedition, like all other measures emanating from Hastings, had been violently opposed by Francis; but it terminated most successfully, and acquired for the English the strong fortress of Gwalior. The factious member of council, however, was soon destined to experience some disagreeable results from his pertinacious and ill-judged behaviour; for, irritated by a severe remark of Hastings, he challenged the governor-general, and received a severe wound in the combat that ensued.

The wickedness of duelling is now so generally acknowledged, that nothing need be said in direct reprobation of a practice hateful to God and indefensible by man; but we may remark with advantage the evil results of which such a practice is frequently productive. Had Hastings fallen in this rash encounter, his suicidal act might have exposed to the most eminent danger the country over which he ruled. Few persons then in India, except himself, were equal to the task of grappling with the critical situation of affairs produced by Hyder Ali's invasion of the English settlements in the south.

That chieftian had long been preparing for war. By extortion and violence he accumulated in his treasury

large sums of money, which, dispensed with caution and foresight, enabled him to get together a numerous and well-disciplined army, a good supply of artillery, and a large band of French and other adventurers; who were eager to meet the English once more in the field, and to contest with them the prize of European supremacy in the East. When his arrangements were complete, Hyder poured forth through the Ghaut passes a body of nearly 100,000 men, with the impetuosity of a winter torrent. Porto Novo and Conjeveram felt the first brunt of the storm, both being taken and plundered by the Mysoreans, whose camp fires might be discerned even from Madras.

The civil and military authorities of that Presidency were by no means at unison among themselves, as to the plan of defence which they should adopt. Two large detachments had taken the field under Colonel Baillie and Sir Hector Monro; but to act with any hope of success it was necessary for these commanders to effect the junction of their forces. They had been recommended to do this in the vicinity of Madras, but Sir Hector Monro preferred concentrating the army at Conjeveram. The consequences proved most fatal. Hyder's main body interposed between the two English detachments, Baillie's troops suffered an ignominious defeat, half of them were butchered after they had laid down their arms, and the remainder immured in the dungeons of Seringapatam. During the contest Sir Hector Monro remained inactive at a distance of fourteen miles, contenting himself with sending Colonel Fletcher at the head of 1,000 men to the aid of his colleague. The defeat of Baillie compelled him to throw his cannon into a tank, abandon his tents, and retreat hastily to Madras.

But for the vigorous proceedings of Hastings all would have been lost in the south. Despite the murmurs of Francis, whose restored health enabled him again to resume his former opposition, the governor-general

despatched Sir Eyre Coote to act as commander-in-chief at Madras; superseded the weak and incapable authorities there, and forwarded, at the same time, a large supply of money and troops. When Sir Eyre reached his destination, he found that all the provisions needed by his forces must be carried from Madras. The country round that city had been completely desolated by the invading hosts. As the English advanced, ruined villages, with felled and half-consumed trees, exhibited on all sides mournful traces of the recent inroad. The fierce Mysorean cavalry hung upon the rear of the European host, and sought every opportunity to provoke an attack. Sometimes they rode fearlessly in small bodies up to the ranks, challenging the English officers to single combat; one of the latter distinguished himself on several occasions by his personal valour, and laid prostrate many of the bravest Indian chiefs. For the most part, however, the orientals were victorious in these encounters, where discipline availed less than courage and personal strength.

The Sultan of Mysore declined as long as he could a general action, but at length he engaged Sir Eyre Coote, near Cuddalore, and was repulsed with loss. A subsequent battle at Polilloor proved less decisive, but the English succeeded in relieving Vellore, to which a detachment of Hyder's army had been laying siege. War having broken out between Great Britain and Holland, the Dutch settlements on the Coromandel coast were added to the English possessions in Southern India. The fortifications of Pondicherry had been previously destroyed by Sir Eyre Coote, while the navy of Mysore, lying at Calicut and Mangalore, was totally annihilated by an English squadron under Sir Edward Hughes. Yet these advantages were counterbalanced by a disastrous expedition to Tanjore, during which Colonel Braithwaite, the chief commander, allowed himself to be surrounded by a large army of Mysoreans and French, under Tippoo Sahib. The gallant behaviour of the French officers on

this occasion preserved many of the English from being inhumanly massacred in cold blood; but the survivors encountered a doom almost equally horrible, being immersed for some time in the filthy dungeons of Seringapatam.

A new ally to the Mysorean sultan arrived shortly afterwards in the person of M. Bussy, who returned once more, at the commencement of 1782, to the scene of his former triumphs. He brought with him a reinforcement of 3,000 European troops, whom he contrived to disembark near Porto Novo, notwithstanding a severe check inflicted on the French fleet by Admiral Hughes' squadron. Being joined by Tippoo, Bussy moved towards Wandewash, but the advance of Coote obliged them to retreat, while Hyder, having engaged the English in person near Amee, sustained a partial defeat. His term of existence was now drawing every day nearer to its close, and the intelligence that the governor-general had concluded a treaty with the Mahrattas, gave the last blow to a constitution enfeebled by age, and wearied out from continual anxieties. He died at Mysore on the 7th December, 1782, leaving behind him a reputation for energy, valour, and political sagacity to which Indian history offers few parallels. Unable to read or write, he founded a kingdom, which, in earlier times, might have rivalled or surpassed the dominions of Baber or Aurungzeeb. Matched exclusively with Hindoo potentates, he would probably have ruled the entire peninsula, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin; opposed to the resistless discipline of English armies, he maintained for some years a position that caused him to be considered a formidable antagonist both at Madras and Calcutta.

Two ministers noted for their abilities, and belonging to adverse sections of the Brahminical caste, had managed the finances of the deceased prince. Their first care after he breathed his last, was to secure the throne for his son Tippoo, then engaged in a campaign against the

English. The prince immediately suspended his warlike operations, and hastening to Mysore, took possession of his father's treasures. They amounted to at least three millions sterling, while the army of Mysore mustered not less than 80,000 men.

In spite of the precautions taken by the ministers of Hyder, the news of his decease reached Madras a short time after its actual occurrence. Had the vigour and energy of a Hastings directed the counsels of the lesser Presidency at this period, the crisis would not have been suffered to pass unimproved. A rapid march to the confines of Mysore, or even to the capital itself, during the disturbed state of affairs which always succeeded an Indian monarch's decease, might have placed serious impediments in the way of Tippoo's ambition. Unhappily, discord between the civil and military authorities prevented united and energetic action. The governor, Lord Macartney, claimed supreme authority over the two services, while General Stuart insisted upon retaining the ample powers that had been granted to his predecessor, Sir Eyre Coote. Irritated by opposition, the general indulged his spleen at the expense of the public interest. First he refused to believe the tidings of Hyder's death, then he affected compliance with the positive orders despatched from Madras; but still, under one pretence or other, delayed the march of his army until Tippoo was firmly seated upon his father's throne.

The complaints forwarded by the Madras authorities, met with recriminatory replies from the Supreme Council. They induced the latter, however, to appoint Sir Eyre Coote once more to the chief command of the army in the Carnatic; but the aged commander, broken down by infirmities and wearied with the voyage, breathed his last two days after he arrived in Madras. Stuart, therefore, continued to direct the military operations in the Carnatic, but his tardy measures provoked fresh remonstrances from the Madras Council. The siege of

Cuddalore, then occupied by the French, was commenced, and Admiral Hughes' squadron prepared to second the efforts of the land forces. Being attacked, however, by the French fleet under Suffrein, a naval action ensued, in which victory declared itself for neither party; although M. Suffrein contrived to land a large number of troops, destined to co-operate with M. Bussy in the defence of Cuddalore. This accession of strength encouraged the latter officer to attempt several sallies, which, however, proved, in general, disadvantageous to the garrison. In one of these a young French serjeant, being seriously wounded, fell into the hands of the English. His extreme youth, and the gallantry with which he bore up under the painful nature of his position, attracted the notice of Colonel Wagenheim, who commanded a body of Hanoverians in the British service. The humane officer directed that the youth should be carried to his own tent, where he watched over him with almost paternal interest. Twenty years afterwards, they met again in Europe, under singular circumstances. The armies of France had occupied Hanover, and in their leader, Charles John Bernadotte, afterwards Marshal of the empire and King of Sweden, General Wagenheim recognised the young stranger whom he had treated with such praiseworthy humanity at the lines of Cuddalore. We may add that the marshal proved himself by no means forgetful of the past, but took the earliest opportunity of expressing to his newly-found benefactor his deep sense of the kindness he had received at his hands.

Peace was shortly afterwards declared between France and England, which when known in India at once arrested the siege of Cuddalore, and obliged the French officers to retire from the service of Tippoo. That prince was then busily engaged in laying siege to Mangalore, which, although indifferently fortified, offered a stout resistance. M. Bussy had attempted to act as

mediator between the sultan and the Madras Council; but the arrogance of the former had been inflamed by some recent successes, and he absolutely refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. The cause of these successes was attributable, as usual, to dissensions between the English civil and military authorities. During the early part of 1783, General Matthews had been despatched by the Government of Bombay, with instructions to possess himself of the important city of Bednore, on the Canarese coast. Some interference with his marching arrangements on the part of the Bombay Council irritated Matthews, he landed his men at the nearest point to Bednore, scaled the Ghauts which defended it, in a reckless and precipitate manner; but to his own astonishment and that of others, found himself ultimately successful.

The cruelty of Tippoo prepared the way for the triumph of his enemies. Sheikh Ayaz, the Governor of Bednore, although of servile birth and mean education, had been esteemed by Hyder Ali one of the bravest of his generals. During his frequent disputes with Tippoo, and particularly when his natural irritability had been increased by intoxication, the late sultan used to indulge in comparisons between his officer and his heir, which were by no means flattering or agreeable to the latter. The revengeful prince never forgot these insults, nor forgave the man who had been innocently the cause of them. When he found himself in quiet possession of the throne, he despatched a missive to one of his satellites, charging him to procure, by any means, the death of the Governor of Bednore. The letter was intercepted by the intended victim himself, and Sheikh Ayaz then perceived that his only hope of safety lay in a speedy removal from the influence of the tyrant's power. He therefore surrendered his post to the English, but no considerations of revenge could induce him to engage in warfare against the son of his benefactor.

He therefore withdrew altogether from the scene of conflict, to seek an asylum in the country immediately bordering on the coast.

A sum of 800,000*l.* having been captured at Bednore, Matthews was accused of endeavouring to secure it for his own private emolument. The charge was probably false, but his behaviour, unquestionably, rendered his officers dissatisfied ; and three of the principal among them quitted the camp to lay their complaints before the council at Bombay. Elated by his recent achievements, the self-satisfied commander deemed himself invincible, and neglected even the most ordinary precautions. Suddenly, Tippoo, with a large army, and aided by several skilful French engineers, made his appearance before Bednore, and succeeded in shutting up the English general behind its walls. After a gallant defence, the garrison surrendered, upon condition that they should be permitted to leave the coast uninjured. Some of them, however, it is said, concealed upon their persons jewels and money taken from the public treasury, which being discovered by the officers of Tippoo, he declared, that the terms of the capitulation having been infringed, they must consider themselves as prisoners. The whole of these unfortunate men, therefore, were bound, subjected to the most injurious treatment, and finally immured in the horrible dungeons of Mysore.

Elated by his recent success, Tippoo now proceeded to invest Mangalore, which still held out, when the French officers in the Mysorean service were recalled by Bussy. Their retirement rendered the sultan indignant in the extreme, since he found that, without the aid derived from their science and skill, his single efforts would avail but little. At length, he reluctantly consented to an armistice, in virtue of which, provisions were to be allowed to pass into the town of Mangalore once every month ; but the deceitful tyrant soon discovered

means to elude the fulfilment of this engagement. He, indeed, suffered the provisions to enter, but he menaced the people of the country with the most severe penalties, if they presumed to supply the English with any food that was not of the worst possible quality. The result of this inhuman policy soon manifested itself, in the disorders which began to prevail among the Europeans composing the garrison. General McLeod remonstrated with Tippoo respecting his manifest breach of faith, but could obtain no redress, and adhering, as some thought, too closely to the letter of the armistice, he neglected many opportunities of throwing into the town supplies of more wholesome food.

While Tippoo was besieging Mangalore, Colonel Fullarton had been despatched into the south by Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras. With the concurrence of his superiors, that brave officer arranged a plan of operations which, if acted upon, would soon have brought Tippoo to reason. This was no less than the invasion of Seringapatam, a measure carried out eventually with complete success under the auspices of General Harris. First, however, it was necessary to gain the confidence of various native princes in the south, and to reduce several fortresses which might have impeded the advance of the army. By conciliating the Hindoo population, Fullarton induced them to aid the English against their Mohammedan oppressors. The Zamorin, and other petty rajahs, who had long borne unwillingly the yoke of Tippoo, flew at once to arms; while the Brahmins readily enough stirred up their votaries to resist the persecutor of their religion, and the destroyer of its most sacred shrines. Even the oppressed and degraded Pooliah, who adored as divine beings the monkeys of the southern forests, and might be considered, according to Hindoo prejudices, a Pariah of the Pariahs, repaid the kindness of Fullarton by active and zealous services, while all the superior castes

vied with each other in courting the alliance of the English. Thus strengthened, the British commander reduced successively the strongholds of Palghautcherry and Coimbatore, and was rapidly advancing upon Seringapatam, when intelligence reached him that commissioners had arrived from Madras, for the purpose of concluding a truce with Tippoo, which, of course, at once suspended all hostile operations.

The terms of this armistice, were, upon the whole, most favourable to the Sultan of Mysore, since all the recent acquisitions of the English were to be restored to their former owner. On the other hand, Tippoo agreed to release such of his prisoners as had survived the horrors of their imprisonment. General Matthews, with some others, had fallen a sacrifice, it was believed, to the tyrant's cruelty, while the commissioners, after their arrival at Mysore, heard with indignation of the bad faith observed towards the late garrison of Mangalore. That fortress had been finally evacuated by Colonel Campbell, who, according to the provisions of the capitulation, conducted to Telicherry the diseased and emaciated remnant of his gallant corps, Tippoo having, in this single instance, maintained unbroken his plighted faith.

The conditions of the treaty were arranged with some difficulty, in consequence of the re-capture of Palghautcherry by the Sultan of Mysore. It had been given over to the Zamorin, who garrisoned the fort with Hindoo troops. Tippoo, however, ordered a number of Brahmins to be put to death, and exposed their heads on poles within sight of the walls, a proceeding which so terrified the garrison, that they at once surrendered the place. His arrogance was greatly increased by this event, and the commissioners deeming all their attempts in vain, directed Fullarton to resume his intended invasion of the Mysore territory. The return of

that commander produced the desired effect; the sultan agreed to the propositions laid before him, and the treaty was concluded without any more delay. By some oversight, however, or carelessness on the part of the Madras Government, no mention had been made of our Hindoo allies, who thus found themselves exposed, in a defenceless condition, to the revengeful animosity of Tippoo.

CHAPTER IX.

PECUNIARY NECESSITIES OF HASTINGS—SEIZURE OF THE RAJAH OF BENARES—THE BEGUMS OF OUDE—CHARACTER OF HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION—HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND, TRIAL, ACQUITTAL AND DEATH.

1781—1818.

DURING the war in the Carnatic, the financial difficulties of the governor-general had been increasing daily, since remittances to the Company at home, together with subsidies for the troops in the south, seemed likely, in a very short period, to exhaust even the well filled treasury at Calcutta. The evil day was rapidly approaching, and Hastings cast his eyes anxiously around, to discover, if possible, a source from which the necessities of the government might be relieved. The expedient he at last adopted was specious, though scarcely in accordance with the strict rules of right.

The sacred city of Benares is situated upon the banks of the Ganges to the north-west of Calcutta. In the eyes of a devout Hindoo it occupies the same position that Rome held in the estimation of our ancestors during the middle ages. Countless temples, and shrines of the most costly magnificence, darkened with their fantastic pinnacles and porticos the narrow streets, or lanes of the city. Fakeers, Saniyassies, and Brahmins, everywhere venerable, attracted to their persons a double portion of respect when residing here. Even the Ganges itself, which had been deified by Hindoo superstition, gained a vast accession of reputed holiness on account of its passage through Benares. The long broad terraces des-

ceding by ample steps to the edge of the river, were crowded with those whom a false and idolatrous creed had seduced into the persuasion that to breathe his last sigh on that sacred spot, would infallibly secure for the deluded pilgrim, the blessings of eternal happiness. Owing to this and similar causes, a large multitude was always found at Benares, whose pretensions to superior sanctity had rendered them arrogant beyond conception, and whom rabid fanaticism might at any moment inspire with a degree of courage but seldom found among their usually submissive race.

The Rajah of Benares, Cheyte Sing, had been for some years a vassal of the Company, and in that capacity transmitted annually a fixed tribute to the treasury of Calcutta. This remittance had never been kept back, but suddenly the supreme government demanded extraordinary contributions towards the expenses of the war. The first of these amounted to 50,000*l.* and as one requisition followed another with unparalleled rapidity, Cheyte Sing began to manifest considerable dissatisfaction. He murmured at the burdens laid upon him, evaded compliance, as long as he could, with the demands of the Council, and even was said to have opened a correspondence with the French. Hastings seized at once upon so plausible a pretext for extortion. "I resolved," he himself writes in his narrative of these transactions, "to draw from the rajah's guilt the means of relief of the Company's distresses, to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency."

Cheyte Sing grew alarmed when he heard of the governor-general's determination. He promised, deprecated, offered bribes, but in vain. Hastings announced that he would himself visit Benares, and demand from the rajah in his own city a full and satisfactory explanation of certain recent transactions. The step was a bold one, the more especially as Hastings, in order that his journey might

not be retarded by numbers, had taken with him only his body-guards. At Buxar he encountered the rajah himself, who trembling and repentant, strove to avert, by the most abject submission, the indignation of his illustrious visitant. Hastings received these advances coolly, maintaining an imperturbable reserve until they entered Benares, when he forwarded to the rajah a paper containing the enumeration of the charges made against him. His explanations were not deemed satisfactory, and at the command of the governor-general, an officer with two companies of Sepoys arrested him in his own palace.

This unwise measure at once excited the passions of the populace, who being warmly attached to their prince, naturally felt indignant that one of so sacred a race should be insulted in his own holy city by strangers and foreigners. Cheyte Sing had governed mildly the people over whom he ruled, the ties of race united him to his subjects, and the grinding tyranny of the Moslem yoke in Oude, contrasted favourably with the equitable sway of the Hindoo prince. Among the inhabitants of Benares also were found numbers of devotees, accustomed to inflict upon their bodies every species of self-torture, and therefore insensible to danger when provoked by rage and fanaticism. On this occasion they proved themselves determined and active foes ; with wild looks and dishevelled hair they rushed frantically from place to place, stirring up the people, who readily responded to their cries for vengeance. An infuriated mob attacked the English Sepoys, and forced the palace, which had now become the rajah's prison. The troops fought manfully in defence of their post, but they possessed no ammunition, and their adversaries were all armed. A detachment sent by Hastings to the rescue perished in a vain attempt to reach their comrades, the English officers falling sword in hand and covered with wounds upon a heap of slain enemies. In the confusion, the prisoner

about whom they were contending effected his escape, and crossed the Ganges followed by the majority of his partizans.

Had the rajah remained on the other side of the river, and attacked with his adherents the quarters of Hastings, hardly one Englishman would have left Benares alive; but Cheyte Sing no sooner found himself at liberty, than the probable consequences of the late tumult excited, in a mind which was none of the strongest, emotions of anxiety and alarm. He despatched the most pacific messages, the most unlimited promises to Hastings, but the governor-general preserved a haughty silence. Although besieged on all sides by the mob, and defended by fifty men only from the rage of those who were clamorous for his blood, the mind of Hastings did not for an instant lose its self-possession. He had so little anticipated the dangerous position in which he found himself placed, that Mrs. Hastings with Sir Elijah and Lady Impey were on their road to join him at Benares. But when the first surprise was over, his acuteness at once suggested a means of extricating himself from danger. The Hindoos are accustomed, when they travel, to remove from their ears the costly rings which they usually wear, while, in order that the orifice may not close up, they keep the aperture distended by the insertion of quills. Hastings wrote his orders on small pieces of paper placed them within these quills, and despatched his messengers to different quarters for aid and assistance. No suspicion was excited, the men passed through the crowd unnoticed, and one of them proved fortunate enough to light upon Sir Elijah Impey, then only a small distance from Benares.

The exertions of Impey and others, to whom the several quills were directed, soon brought to the rescue a large body of Sepoys. Unfortunately, however, the officer who accompanied them, eager to distinguish himself under the eye of the governor-general, made a hasty

assault upon the fortified palace of Ramnaghur, where the rajah had taken refuge. Having no artillery, he was unable to force an entrance, while the insurgents assailed his men from every direction, occupying the houses on each side of the narrow lanes, and pouring down missiles upon the troops as they advanced. Numbers fell, and among them the commander himself. His death soon terminated the conflict, for the few wounded and terrified survivors, finding themselves without a leader, made a speedy retreat, and hastened with the unwelcome intelligence to the governor-general. Hastings now perceived that he could not much longer maintain his position at Benares, and at once retired to the neighbouring fortress of Chunar, pursued by the jeers and revilings of the fanatical rabble. The slightest reverse suffered by the English in India, has generally been followed by a native rising, and on this occasion many were induced to consider the arrest of the rajah as a wanton insult to their religious feelings. In Oude and Bahar the people refused to pay their taxes, and offered an armed resistance to the officers of the Nabob Vizier. But the insurrection, like almost all oriental revolutions, was easily put down by the firmness and discipline of trained soldiers. Major Popham defeated the rajah's army, and this prince who, when inspirited by his first successes, had boasted that he would speedily drive the English from the continent, now beheld himself reduced to the necessity of an ignominious flight. The governor-general specially excepted his name, and that of his brother, from the amnesty he shortly afterwards issued, while a young nephew, the mere puppet of the English, was placed upon the vacant throne.

The amount of treasure which the rajah possessed at Benares had been grossly exaggerated by rumour, and Hastings was soon obliged to have recourse to some other means of replenishing the almost exhausted coffers of the Company. At this juncture he received a visit from

the young Nabob of Oude, Assou-ood-Dowlah, who had lately succeeded his father, Sujah. He was a weak and pusillanimous tyrant, entirely given up to debauchery, and supported on the throne merely by English bayonets. For this assistance he already owed the Company a large sum, which Hastings now demanded, but which his debtor seemed indisposed to pay. So far indeed, from granting any remission, the governor-general had determined in his own mind to extract an extraordinary supply, over and above what was legally due from the Nabob Vizier. Assou-ood-Dowlah pleaded excuse after excuse in vain, and found himself obliged, in return, to listen to several indirect but intelligible intimations that his own worthless extravagance must have occasioned the emptiness of his treasury. Finding all his efforts unavailing, the Nabob resorted to a questionable expedient, by which he might relieve himself from difficulties and satisfy the demands of the English Government.

The mother and grandmother of Assou-ood-Dowlah still survived, and were commonly entitled the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had inherited from Sujah-ood-Dowlah the magnificent palace of Feyzabad, with extensive estates and a large sum of ready money. Two eunuchs, who had been in the confidence of the deceased Vizier, directed the affairs of their household. A rumour went abroad that, at their instigation, or at least with their concurrence, the Begums were endeavouring to stir up a rebellion against the Nabob and the English. The accusation appeared vague and scarcely probable, but Hastings might have thought it true. He therefore assented to the proposition of the Nabob that a large sum of money should be extorted from these ladies, while he confiscated their landed property for the benefit of the Company.

The Begums remonstrated, and even Assou-ood-Dowlah seemed indisposed to push matters to extremities, but

the governor-general turned a deaf ear to their entreaties. The most disgusting part of this disreputable business fell to the Nabob's share, though ignorance cannot be pleaded as an excuse for Hastings. With the connivance of the English authorities, the Begums were starved, imprisoned and plundered, while the two eunuchs endured tortures to which the walls of their miserable dungeons, and the wretches who inflicted these horrors, were the only witnesses. At length a large sum having been obtained in this manner, the unfortunate men recovered their freedom, but the torments they had suffered left an indelible stain upon the character of their persecutors.

It would be unfair to the memory of Hastings, however, if we fail to consider the palliating circumstances which an advocate would have urged in his behalf. A crisis had arisen in the affairs of the country over which he was presiding, and its results might seriously have affected the interests of British India. It was for some time dubious whether the Company would not be obliged to withdraw from the Carnatic; and the loss of their settlements there, must almost have ensured the ruin of Calcutta. Money or total destruction, therefore, were the only alternatives which presented themselves to the mind of Warren Hastings at that eventful period.

Moreover, the humanity of the Englishman who lived in the eighteenth century differed materially from the humanity of the present day. Thanks to the wider diffusion among all classes of a purer and more heartfelt religious feeling, we should regard with abhorrence many spectacles which the contemporary of Hastings would have gazed upon with indifference or unconcern. In his time judicial torture was not abolished—nay, might be enforced by the laws of England. Criminals who refused to plead rendered themselves liable to be pressed to death with heavy weights in one of the courts of Newgate. Men, and even women, were whipped .

through the streets, followed by the jeers and brutal merriment of an unfeeling mob, to whom the sufferings of an erring fellow-creature afforded unbounded mirth. Soldiers, for the slightest offence, were scourged almost to death, while slavery, with all its horrors, existed in most of the colonial possessions. Hastings had always shown himself constitutionally humane, but there is no evidence to prove that his sensibilities were in advance of his age, or that he regarded the torture of two eunuchs, a despised and degraded class even in the East, with more concern than an English West India planter of the period would have exhibited, upon receiving the intelligence that a refractory negro had been severely flogged by a strict and rigid overseer.

Something, also, might be said as to the Nabob's share in the nefarious transaction. Hastings' demands for money had been pressing; but he did not prescribe the mode of extorting it from those who were the Nabob's subjects, and therefore not under the governor-general's control. The latter made over to his accomplice the odium and more active tyranny connected with this act of oppression, while he himself reaped the advantages of those deeds of violence which he had not directly commanded. A word from him, doubtless, would have opened the dungeon doors of Lucknow, and restored to the Begums a portion of their plundered estates; the word remained unspoken, and, in succeeding years, Hastings was arraigned before the bar of his country, less for his actual tyranny than for his culpable silence.

The last two years of his rule were passed in peace and prosperity. By his untiring energy, and, above all, by his ample remittances, he had brought the war in the Carnatic to an auspicious termination. The prospects of the French were defeated, and a peace concluded with the aspiring Sultan of Mysore. Nor should his internal administration at Calcutta be defrauded of its just meed of praise. The whole frame-

work of civil legislation there was created by him. The English found themselves restricted from oppressing the natives, the natives were not permitted to impose upon, or defraud, the English. Unscrupulous with regard to foreign potentates, Hastings showed himself the pattern of justice and humanity towards the people more immediately under his charge. Members of the civil and military services suspended their mutual jealousies to unite in commendation of the great proconsul. To him is due the praise of having been the first to patronise and cultivate the literature of Hindoostan. He understood and spoke the various dialects of northern India, with facility and elegance, while his knowledge of Persian, still the court language of the Mohammedan princes, has been only equalled by that of Sir William Jones.

The departure of Hastings from the scene of his triumphs called forth an unusual display of popular sympathy. Natives vied with Europeans in expressing their grateful sense of his past services, and their regret at his present retirement. He beguiled the tedium of his voyage home by those literary pursuits, which had always retained a considerable share of his attention, even during the most stormy periods of his administration. He translated into easy flowing verse the Ode of Horace, addressed to Pompeius Grosphus, and could, perhaps, from sad experience of the toils of office, and the cares always attendant on human greatness, bear ample testimony to the truthful sentiment contained in those spirited lines:—

“Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Submovet licet miseros tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.”*

* “For neither gold, nor gems combined,
Can heal the foul or suffering mind.
Lo! where their owner lies,
Perch'd on his couch Distemper breathes;
And Care, like smoke, in turbid wreaths,
Round the gay ceiling flies.”—*Hor.* Book II. Ode x i.

His reception in England satisfied for a time even his own most sanguine anticipations. Everywhere he found himself courted and caressed. The smiles of royalty, the favour of ministers, the promise of a peerage, might have induced the late governor-general to think, with reason, that his future lot in life would prove as prosperous, as his past career had been brilliant and distinguished. But hostile influences were at work. The malignant spirit of Francis had been stealthily preparing for his old opponent a series of difficulties which eventually ruined his fortune, and might seriously have affected his reputation. The ex-member of council was in Parliament, and had connected himself with one of the greatest statesmen of that age, the eloquent Edmund Burke. Under his auspices a coalition arose, comprising nearly all the parliamentary talent of the day. Sheridan, with his versatile genius and brilliant powers of oratory; Fox, then in the zenith of his fame; the chivalrous and high-souled Windham, united themselves to the powerful party who stood arrayed against the governor-general. After some time had been spent in political skirmishing, Burke commenced the attack by laying on the table of the House a paper of charges, containing the formal accusation of Hastings. In this list appeared prominently as leading grievances and misdemeanours, the transactions connected with the Rohilla war, the attack upon Cheyte Sing, the spoliation of the Oude Begums, and the cruel treatment of their confidential servants.

In reply, Hastings, somewhat unwisely, read a prolix defence of his conduct, which was barely listened to. Unused to extemporaneous speaking, he dared not venture to address the House, and thus, even at the commencement, he placed himself in most striking and disadvantageous contrast to the great orators who conducted the attack. His style, though elegant, as might have been expected from his classical attainments, was somewhat feeble, and better calculated to convince a

statesman in the calm retirement of his cabinet, than to allay the excitement produced in a popular assemblage by the fervid eloquence of Burke. Yet, for some time, the issue of the contest appeared doubtful. A majority of fifty-two votes acquitted Hastings of all criminality with regard to the Rohilla war; and the governor-general even received the congratulations of his friends, that he had escaped from the most dangerous accusation of all.

The debate on the Benares charge terminated less fortunately for the party accused. Mr. Pitt had originally voted for Hastings, but upon this question he allied himself with the opposition, and a majority of forty finally gave the victory to the accusers. That part of the charge which related to the Begums called forth Sheridan, who delivered in support of it an oration, allowed by the ablest judges to be one of the finest ever uttered within the walls of the British Parliament. The cause of Hastings seemed now completely lost; twenty charges were agreed to by the House, and Burke was directed to impeach the late governor of high treason, and other misdemeanours, before the tribunal of the House of Lords.

On the 13th of February, 1788, Hastings knelt at the bar of the Peers, whose House then contained an assemblage composed of the most illustrious in birth, and distinguished in talent that then adorned the metropolis of England. The trial commenced, and the accusation and defence having been read, Burke rose. His lengthy, elaborately framed, but touching and brilliant oration, included almost every topic that could excite interest, or call forth sympathy. As he drew to a close, the feelings of his audience bore ample testimony to the power of the great orator. Tears, sobs, and screams, resounded from the ladies' gallery; some were carried out fainting, while the silence and subdued emotion of the male portion of the auditory testified, though in a

less visible manner, to the effect produced upon their minds. Pausing for a moment, Burke delivered, in loud and energetic accents, his magnificent peroration. "Therefore hath it with all confidence, been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

After a brief interval had elapsed, a discussion took place, with regard to the arrangements that should be made for the production of the varied and multifarious evidence. It was determined that the prosecutors should finish their case before the defendant brought forward his defence. Mr. Fox then took up the Benares charge, being followed by Sheridan, to whose care the cause of the Princesses of Oude had been specially committed.

For seven years this celebrated trial "dragged its slow length along." The excitement created by the opening orations subsided, under the influence of the numerous dull and uninteresting legal technicalities and matters of financial detail which succeeded to the eloquence of Sheridan, and the impassioned energy of Burke. The prejudices called forth against the accused were softened down by time, and more accurate information; his opponents had been severed from each other by political feuds, while all felt that to pronounce a man guilty after his endurance of the anxieties and expense of so long a trial, would prove an ungenerous and ungracious task. Hastings was accordingly

called again to the bar of the House, to receive an official intimation that the House of Peers acquitted him of the misdemeanours laid to his charge.

The rest of his career may be related in a few words. Impoverished by the expenses of his long trial, and the loss of a large portion of his private property, Hastings was obliged to throw himself upon the liberality of the Court of Directors, who granted him a pension of 4,000*l.* a year. At the close of his life he received from the University of Oxford the degree of a Doctor of Laws, and was presented by the Prince Regent to the Emperor Alexander, and the King of Prussia, during their visit to England, after the fall of Buonaparte. A more touching compliment had been offered to him in 1813, when the affairs of the East India Company were discussed in the House of Commons. Hastings made his appearance on that occasion as a witness, and received from all present, except those who had put themselves prominently forward as his accusers, the most marked respect and attention. When he left, the majority rose simultaneously, and removed their hats, in token of respect.

The last years of Hastings' eventful life were passed at Daylesford, the scene of his boyish aspirations, and the spot to which he often turned a longing eye during the cares and storms of his chequered political existence. He retained to the last, the faculty of calling forth and retaining the warm personal attachment of his numerous friends, that had marked every period of his past career. In the cultivation of literary pursuits, and in those occupations which usually employ the leisure of an English country gentleman, the great governor-general enjoyed a tranquillity that he had rarely, perhaps, experienced in the high station from which he was now removed. He died in August, 1818, having attained to his eighty-sixth year, and was buried behind the chancel of Daylesford Church, where, during many generations, had been laid the mortal remains of the heads of his ancient and

time-honoured race. Nor is the country which owed to his government so many benefits left entirely destitute of a memorial of that great man, whom posterity will ever reckon among the wisest and most able of her chiefs. In the Council Chamber of Calcutta has been suspended the portrait of Warren Hastings, with the motto, "*Mens æqua in arduis*,"* inscribed beneath those calm, placid features, whose characteristics bear such striking testimony to the passionless and unruffled serenity of his thoughts and feelings, even under circumstances the most trying, and aggravations the most provocative of irritability and impatience.

* An even mind in difficult circumstances.

CHAPTER X.

MR. PITT'S INDIA BILL—ARRIVAL OF LORD CORNWALLIS—ARROGANCE AND CONQUESTS OF TIPPOO—HIS DEFEAT AT TRAVANCORE—ENGLISH ALLIANCE WITH THE PEISHWA AND NIZAM—INVASION OF MYSORE—SUBMISSION OF TIPPOO.

1784—1792.

A most important change took place in the government of India during the year 1784. On the 13th of August, Mr. Pitt's India Bill, as it was termed, became a portion of the English law. This measure had been designed as a check upon the Directors of Leadenhall-street, and one of its most prominent clauses accordingly called into being the Board of Control. Six commissioners appointed by the Crown composed the new council, to whom were to be submitted, for the future, all despatches relating to military, civil, and financial affairs. The Company's territories in India were divided into three Presidencies, Calcutta taking precedence of the other two, and being considered as the seat of government. To each Presidency was assigned its governor and council, the former possessing in every instance a casting vote. Both Madras and Bombay, however, remained in strict subordination to the Bengal Presidency, neither being permitted to act for itself, except in trifling matters, or under certain pressing and unforeseen emergencies. The governor-general, it was arranged, should be nominated by the Court of Directors and confirmed by the Crown; the latter, also, might recall him whenever it saw fit, even against the wishes of the East India Company.

The Crown likewise appointed the commander-in-chief at each Presidency, and possessed considerable control over the different members of council.

Such were the new regulations under which the Marquis Cornwallis, the successor of Hastings, commenced his career as governor-general of India. The unfortunate issue of the American war had not materially injured his lordship's high military reputation, while he added to his fame as a soldier the credit of possessing a calm and moderate temper. A brave and energetic commander he was known to be, at the same time a lover and maintainer of peace, and peace both Parliament and Directors deemed most necessary for India and England at the present juncture. The most positive instructions, indeed, were given to the new governor that he should eschew as far as possible the extension of the Company's territory in Hindoostan. He himself had censured Hastings, for engaging too readily in hostile measures ; and there seems every reason to believe that, as far as his personal feelings went, Lord Cornwallis entered upon the duties of his new station with a steady determination to avoid all interference with foreign native powers. But these intentions were destined never to be carried into effect, since three years after the Marquis's arrival he found it necessary to check the ambitious designs of Tippoo Sultan.

That prince had been of late engaged in propagating by the most indefensible means the faith of Islam. He first attacked the Christians of Canara, a narrow strip of seaboard, bounded on the north by the Portuguese territory, and on the south by the Malabar coast. These people had received the doctrines of Rome from the Portuguese Missionaries of Goa, and Xavier himself pursued for some time his zealous labours amongst them. Like the Spaniards, however, in the Western hemisphere, the colonists of Goa did not trust solely to the eloquence and piety of Xavier and his brethren. The Inquisition reared its head among the other European institutions of the colony, and quickened the zeal of the officials as much as it softened the obstinacy of the subject races. The timid

nature of the Indian yielded to the dread of torture, accompanied by the attractions of a system which had been purposely assimilated as nearly as possible to his own.

The Mohammedan zeal of Tippoo induced him to imitate closely the policy of the Holy Office. Thirty thousand Christians were collected together, circumcised, and distributed throughout the different garrisons of his dominions. The mountaineers of Coorg, a small province contiguous to Mysore, next fell victims to his ambitious fanaticism. They had offended him by revolting against his authority when Seringapatam was menaced by an English invasion, and they still preserved a hostile aspect. Tippoo determined, therefore, to crush at once this domestic foe. It proved, however, no easy task. The territory of Coorg was nearly covered with vast forests, the obscure recesses of which seemed incapable of being penetrated by strangers. Into these, their native woods, the persecuted mountaineers retreated, and for a time succeeded in keeping the invader at bay. The sultan, however, drew a circle of armed men round their various positions, and finally gained possession of about 70,000 prisoners, whom he obliged to receive circumcision.

These petty triumphs exalted the vanity of Tippoo beyond measure. He adopted the title of Padishah, a term equivalent to that of Emperor, which had dignified the Mogul sovereigns of Delhi, and is still borne by the Sultan of Turkey. In imitation of Baber and Timour, he himself undertook the task of recording his own achievements, and also employed, in addition, a corps of authors to celebrate his praises.

The Nairs, a people or superior caste inhabiting the Province of Calicut, had incurred his displeasure, and were soon destined to feel his vengeance. Their Zamorin was an ally of the English during the recent war, in which he had been aided by the petty rajahs of the Malabar coast. The Nairs, moreover, retained as strong

an attachment to their superstitions as Tippoo felt for the Prophet and the Koran. Their religion, indeed, presented nothing qualified to exalt the mind, or to call forth the noble emotions of the soul. It permitted or enjoined a system of abominable sensuality, from which even the most vitiated nations of past or present times would have shrunk with horror and disgust, and which rendered the degraded beings who practised it unworthy of the name of men. These practices Tippoo commanded his neighbours to renounce, vowing that, in case of refusal, he would exterminate them from the soil that they polluted by their abominations. The Nairs rejected his admonitions with disdain, upon which he marched an army into their country, burnt their temples, and forced great numbers to be circumcised. The victor himself, in his annals, takes credit for the destruction of 8,000 idol shrines, and although this statement may be somewhat exaggerated, more impartial witnesses have described as most extensive the devastation committed during the Mohammedan invasion.

Contemptible and degraded as their moral character was, the Nairs had always been renowned for personal courage. They disputed valiantly each inch of ground with the invader, and when vanquished by overpowering numbers, they sought refuge, disdaining submission, in the adjoining kingdom of Travancore.

That small state, situated at the utmost extremity of Southern India, was defended on one side by the Ghauts, and on the other by the sea. Besides these natural fortifications, a wall and ditch, constructed in very early times, constituted an artificial frontier that, up to this period, had never been crossed by the greatest of Indian conquerors. Here, tradition reported, St. Thomas first preached the Gospel on the Hindoo soil, and a small community of Christians bearing his name still lived at ease under the mild government of a Malabar prince.

About the time of their first settlement in the East, the Dutch had taken from the Portuguese several tracts of country and towns on the Malabar coast. The diminution of their Indian trade, and the fear of being drawn into a contest with Tippoo, made them anxious to abandon their possessions in those parts. The ports, therefore, of Cranganore and Jaycottah, were offered for sale by them to the Travancore Rajah. This prince unwisely consented to the bargain, and immediately received a remonstrance from Tippoo, urging, among other grounds of complaint, that the Dutch possessions were only held by his permission, and upon condition that a yearly rental should be paid for them.

The objection proved, indeed, as ill grounded, as most of the other complaints of Tippoo usually were. But it gave a plausible colour to the rapacity of the Mysorean sultan, and ministered to that spirit of self-justification which was so characteristic of him individually. A species of Pharisaism, moreover, very common among Mohammedans, and not extinct even in Christian communities, led him invariably to throw over his most unprincipled measures some decent cloak. If he invaded his neighbours, pillaged their temples, and obliged them to submit, with the most unfeigned reluctance, to a rite that they detested, the symbol of a religion of which they abhorred the very name, he always defended himself by pleading his zeal for the "correction of their morals," and his anxiety to extend the dominion of the Moslem creed. Hyder Ali employed none of this fulsome cant. Although stern, ambitious, and cruel, his haughty nature would have scorned to seek excuses for actions, the nature of which his clear, unclouded intellect at once penetrated, and only defended on the ground of expediency.

Before Tippoo proceeded to carry out his designs respecting Travancore, he judged it necessary to offer some explanations to the English Government. Lord Cornwallis, acting upon the pacific policy to which he had

declared himself favourable at home, was most disinclined for war, and left no effort untried to prevent it.

The authorities at Madras by his instructions sent down two commissioners to Travancore, for the purpose of mediating between the contending parties. The pacific attitude of the English, however, only served to encourage Tippoo in his designs, and spurning all remonstrance, he at once directed his army to traverse the Ghauts, and pour down upon the lines of Travancore. His troops were numerous, and tolerably well officered by European deserters, who, to please the sultan and rise in his service, often added to their other misdemeanours the guilt of apostacy. These men conducted the Mysorean levies with great skill through the narrow passes, and along the precipitous summits of the mountains, until they reached the steep rock of Sharapootamally, the top of which commanded the Malabar defences. Driving the vanguard of the Nairs before him, the sultan in person, with a large body of troops, entered the lines towards the right flank, and endeavoured to fight his way towards the centre.

He encountered on this occasion the most strenuous opposition. Burning with a fanaticism in no way inferior to his own, the Nairs disputed every inch of the ground. A considerable number threw themselves into a large building, which had been formerly used as a barrack, and here, for some time, they held Tippoo at bay. Finding his leading files exhausted, the sultan ordered up fresh troops to relieve them, but this manœuvre created some confusion in the ranks, and the enemy at that moment pouring in a furious discharge of grape, the Mysoreans were speedily seized with a panic. The sultan attempted in vain to rally them, he himself was borne along by the torrent. A fall as he was passing over the ditch maimed him for life, while the royal palanquin with his jewels, seal and diamond-hilted sword fell into the hands of the victors.

Maddened by this disappointment, Tippoo vowed that he would take fearful vengeance for the losses he had sustained. He ordered down all his cannon from Seringapatam, with those detachments of his army which formed a corps de reserve. In April 1790, he opened his batteries, and soon effected a breach. The English troops having received no orders to move, stood neutral, while Tippoo carried one position after another. The Nairs discouraged and overpowered, retired before him, and the country was rendered almost desolate by the fierce Mysoreans. But the hour of retribution was close at hand.

Having exhausted every means of preserving peace, Lord Cornwallis found that nothing remained but to prepare for war. He concluded, therefore, an alliance with the Peishwa of the Mahrattas against Tippoo Sahib, and, in May, General Meadows marched with 16,000 men from Tranquebar towards Mysore. Alarmed by the intelligence which reached him respecting this latter movement, the sultan addressed a letter to the English commander, in which he expressed his surprise at this hostile demonstration. Meadows answered briefly that the English were determined to protect to the last their ally, the sovereign of Travancore, by attacking whom Tippoo had virtually broken the truce that formerly existed between them.

The sultan now awoke to the full extent of his danger, and hastily collecting his troops, hurried back to Seringapatam, leaving only slender garrisons in the fortresses of Travancore. These strongholds soon after fell; for Colonel Hartley advancing into the country with a powerful force, and being aided by the Nairs and other Hindoos, speedily expelled the Mysoreans from each one of their defences. The fanaticism of the Heathens, on this occasion, showed itself fully equal to that of the Mohammedans, whom they butchered on every side with the most savage and relentless cruelty.

In the mean time General Meadows continued his march, capturing on his way Caroor, Coimbatoor, Sattimungul, and other strong posts. The divisions of his army, however, were too widely separated from each other; and this circumstance gave Tippoo an advantage of which he promptly availed himself. Colonel Floyd occupied the pass of Gujelhutty, which led directly into the Mysore country, but his corps was sixty miles distant from the main body, while thirty miles intervened between the latter, and the division commanded by Colonel Stuart. In September 1790, the Mysore cavalry assailed Floyd's corps, but were repulsed with loss. Subsequently the whole of their army, under the sultan in person, renewed the attack, and although driven back by a bayonet charge, they brought their batteries to bear upon the enemy, and mowed down great numbers of the Sepoys. These brave men, however, refused to desert their post. "We have eaten the Company's salt; our lives are at their disposal," was their heroic reply, when condoled with by Colonel Floyd upon the losses they had sustained. A report that General Meadows was at hand alone preserved them from utter defeat, and Tippoo, fearing that he should be obliged to sustain an attack from the two detachments when united together, contrived to elude his foes, and descend upon the Coromandel coast. He now employed himself in ravaging the Carnatic with fire and sword, Trichinopoly barely escaped a siege, but at Thiagur he received a check from Captain Flint, which induced him to approach Pondicherry, and endeavour to secure the assistance of the French.

While he remained in the vicinity of the latter place, Lord Cornwallis had arrived at Madras, and commanding Meadows to join him, resolved to penetrate into the Mysore country, by the direction of Bangalore. This bold movement at once recalled the sultan to the defence of his own dominions, but the Marquis making a

sudden détour to the right, avoided a general action, and commenced the siege of Bangalore on the 5th of March, 1791. The town was defended by a ditch and enclosure of hedges, formed of the plant called the Indian thorn. Its fortifications however were weak though well manned, but, from the dilapidated turrets, the enemy poured down a heavy fire of musketry and small arms upon the advancing soldiers. Many officers had fallen covered with wounds, when Lieutenant Ayre, a man small in stature but of great courage, forced his way through the gate. At this welcome sight, General Meadows called to his men : " Now whiskers, try and support the little gentleman, if you can."

A homely phrase, or pleasantry pithily expressed, has generally more effect upon the English soldier than the most studied oration; and the men, stirred up by the exhortation of their commander, rushed into the town with a headlong fury that no opposition could resist. Their rage had been inflamed by the known brutalities of Tippoo towards his prisoners, as well as by the narratives of the captives who were formerly imprisoned in the dungeons of Mysore. Driving the Mohammedans from street to street, and from turret to turret, the English compelled them, at the point of the bayonet, to evacuate the pettah.

The citadel still remained, but the spirits of the besiegers were so elevated, in consequence of their recent success, that they insisted upon making the attack that very night. At eleven, while the pure clear light of an Indian moon shone serene and peaceful over a scene of slaughter, the storming party advanced with silence and caution to the foot of the ramparts; raising their ladders, the vanguard had already mounted upon the wall, when the alarm was given, and the besieged rushed to the battlements. The governor fell defending gallantly his post, and in a short time the standard of England waved triumphantly from the conquered fort. Bangalore was won!

And now Tippoo trembled for his capital, towards which Lord Cornwallis continued his victorious march. The sultan had designed to have removed his harem to the rock fort of Chittledroog ; but his mother interfered, and persuaded him to relinquish a measure calculated to dispirit his followers, and encourage the enemy. In the insolence of past prosperity, he had adorned the walls of Seringapatam with caricatures of the English. These were now erased, and a number of prisoners secretly murdered, lest they should disclose to the victors the fearful secrets of their dungeon.

Finding his outposts driven in, one after another, by the charges of the English, the sultan took up his final position on a line of hills, descending to the bank of the Cavery, which fronts the island of Seringapatam. The action that ensued proved obstinate and sanguinary. Eventually, however, the Mysoreans were driven from their post, and Lord Cornwallis, after having lost 500 men, found himself master of the eminences, from which he could look down upon the city of Seringapatam.

The English had been victorious, and indeed almost held within their grasp the last fortress that remained to Tippoo, but their continuance before its walls, even for a few days, was soon found to be impossible. The country, through which they had recently advanced, having been previously laid waste by the Mysorean cavalry, yielded no provisions; the inhabitants had all fled; and the soldiers, wearied and exhausted from past toils, soon became exposed to the attacks of famine and disease. A prolonged stay could not be contemplated, the more especially as the Mahratta allies had not yet arrived, and, to save his men, Lord Cornwallis was compelled, though sorely against his will, to abandon his heavy artillery and order a retreat. In addition to his other misfortunes, the heavy rains of the country were now falling, while the rivers overflowing their banks deluged the plains, and created on every side morasses

which soon infected the atmosphere with pestilential vapours. Men and cattle fell victims to the noisome miasma, the baggage wagons could not be dragged along, and the increasing number of the sick and infirm paralysed their movements, and retarded their march.

At length Lord Cornwallis concentrated his forces near Bangalore, where he was joined by a large body of Mahrattas under Purseram Bhow and Hurry Punt. These unskilful allies had wasted much of their valuable time in besieging Darwar, where Tippoo possessed a strong garrison. On this occasion they exhibited the usual dilatory and undisciplined habits of orientals; nearly the whole of the day was consumed in smoking and conversation, the troops firing a shot now and then, as if to vary the monotony of their other pursuits. The remonstrances made from time to time by the English officers who accompanied them, proved utterly ineffectual, but at length the garrison, alarmed by the capture of Bangalore, surrendered, and the Mahrattas advanced leisurely onwards into Mysore.

A large body of Brindjarries, or corn merchants, followed the Mahratta troops on their march, and by these the immediate necessities of the English were supplied. In the mean time Lord Cornwallis judged it inexpedient to move until after the arrival of the Nizam's contingent, the more especially, as he expected daily a battering train, some elephants, and an ample supply of money and provisions. During the interval, he employed his troops in seizing the neighbouring droogs or hill-forts. These mountain strongholds proved more formidable in appearance than in reality, since all of them were taken by storm with a very inconsiderable loss of life.

Lord Cornwallis still endeavoured to negotiate with Tippoo, but the indomitable pride of the sultan, and his almost frantic hatred to the English name, rendered these efforts completely abortive. The Mysorean claimed the retreat of his adversaries from Seringapatam

as a victory; and his vanity was still more gratified by a successful attack upon Coimbatore, where he took the English garrison prisoners—and in defiance of the terms of capitulation, sent them to his dungeons in Mysore.

After a long delay, the Nizam's son, Secunder Jah, made his appearance, and the stores having also arrived, Lord Cornwallis determined to commence at once his march towards Seringapatam. He was soon, however, deprived of the assistance of Purseram Bhow, whose cupidity had been so much attracted by the rich province of Bednore, that, in defiance of all remonstrances, he persisted in remaining behind to plunder it. The Nizam's contingent added little to the real strength of the English army, since the individuals composing this body proved a mere rabble, scantily supplied with arms, undisciplined, and only capable of pillaging the enemy when their allies had thoroughly defeated him. On the 5th of February, 1792, Lord Cornwallis once more presented himself before the capital of Tippoo Sultan, followed by his main body, which amounted to about 22,000 men. Besides these, however, General Abercrombie was rapidly advancing with a corps of 8,400, to join his chief under the walls of Seringapatam. Beneath those ancient fortifications the sultan and his forces lay encamped, their front being protected by a thick hedge of bamboos, a small canal, and a line of redoubts. The position had been deemed impregnable by the native officers and allies; but Lord Cornwallis resolved at once to attempt it. At eight in the evening of the 6th, the troops assembled for the attack.

Three detachments commanded by General Meadows, Colonel Stuart, and Colonel Maxwell, formed beneath the clear moonlight of an Indian sky. Some mistake occurred at the outset, but ultimately the English troops bore down all opposition, and carried all the defences of the camp at the point of the bayonet. Tippoo

himself narrowly escaped capture by crossing the river and seeking refuge in Seringapatam, from whence 10,000 of his troops shortly afterwards deserted. Finding all efforts to rally his forces, and thus resist the nearer approach of the invader, useless, he began to think of treating with his enemies. Hastily sending for two of the Coimbatore captives, the trembling tyrant despatched them to Lord Cornwallis, bearing proposals of peace.

The tale they told of past sufferings and indignities was little calculated to conciliate their commander; but the English general, in reply, expressed his willingness to receive an envoy from the sultan, and Tippoo, accordingly, sent a confidential agent or vakeel to the allied camp. It was high time; the besiegers now occupied a ravine within 500 yards from the walls, which they had already converted into a tenable position, and from which the labour of a few hours would have enabled them to bring a battery to bear with deadly effect upon the town. The troops were in high spirit at the prospect of an assault, and eager to exact revenge for the injuries their countrymen had suffered at the hands of the perfidious and cruel tyrant.

On the morning of the 24th, Tippoo beheld with dismay the near approach of the English outworks. At noon he called his officers together, in the principal mosque, to debate upon the propriety of at once acceding to the demands of Lord Cornwallis. Those demands must have appeared to all present stringent and severe. The governor-general insisted that Tippoo should at once pay down a sum of four millions of pounds sterling, and make over to the English the valuable districts on the Malabar coast, and in the neighbourhood of Dindigul. The Mahrattas and the Nizam were also to receive an accession of territory towards the north of Mysore. When these propositions had been communicated to his dejected chiefs, Tippoo laid the Koran in the midst, and imploring them, by that sacred repository of their faith, to

afford him true and sincere counsel, inquired briefly, "shall it be peace or war?"

The scene was affecting in the extreme. The demeanour of the sultan betrayed the melancholy despair of his inmost soul, while many of his officers could not restrain their tears. At length they decided that peace, upon any terms, was the sole alternative that could save them from final ruin and destruction. Tippoo returned sorrowfully to his palace, and despatched the same night his assent to the conditions proposed. A more grievous trial remained behind. It was stipulated that his two children, boys of eight and ten respectively, should be placed in the hands of the English, as hostages for their father's performance of his promises. The condition appeared necessary, in order to guard against those breaches of faith, for which, in past times, Tippoo had made himself but too notorious. Every effort, however, was employed to render less painful a separation that could not fail to affect the sultan even more than the surrender of his conquered territories. The passionate love of the orientals for their young children, is a sentiment which in those fervid regions often animates many whose general character the most glowing charity could not but condemn. Bearded men, in whose wrinkled brows and cold astute glances may be traced the indelible signs of avarice and craft, will lavish upon their innocent offspring the tenderness and caresses of the fondest European mother. The sacred volume, so true in every page to nature, and above all to Eastern nature, has given us a beautiful illustration of this sentiment, when it represents David as overwhelmed by the most bitter and poignant grief for the loss of his treacherous and rebellious son.

In the instance before us, the anxiety of the parent was perhaps aggravated by the fears of the statesman. The treacherous and the unprincipled, beholding, as they do, in every one who approaches them a reflection of

their own character, become thus the avengers of society upon themselves; and while trembling for his children's safety, Tippoo could hardly fail to remember how *he* might, or would have acted on a similar occasion. In the present case his apprehensions were groundless: if they had been committed to the custody of an oriental, he might perhaps have trembled for the result; but, under the protection of an English nobleman, the princes remained as secure as though they had never quitted the sheltering roof of their father's palace.

On the morning of the 26th, the child-hostages, clothed in rich robes of muslin, and adorned with pearl necklaces, mounted their elephants, and were conducted by Tippoo's chief vakeel to the tent of the governor-general. Lord Cornwallis received them with paternal urbanity, and the quiet reserve and dignified politeness of the princes excited the admiration and interest of the English officers.

While the details of the treaty were being arranged, some discussion arose, with respect to the territory of Coorg, which the sultan had formerly seized, and wished now to retain, but which the English insisted should be restored to its rightful sovereign. After an interval, however, of two days, Tippoo signified his assent to the disputed article, and the treaty, fully signed and sealed, was placed in the hands of Lord Cornwallis by his youthful sons.

Peace being now definitively concluded, the governor-general judged it right to afford his troops some extra compensation, in order to allay their disappointment in not obtaining the plunder of Seringapatam. With a liberality that reflected considerable credit upon both, the Marquis and General Meadows gave up their large shares of the prize-money, and thus augmented the portions of those under their command. In the distribution which ensued each colonel obtained 1160*l.*, and every private soldier 14*l.*

The provisions of the treaty were fully carried out by Tippoo, who required time to repair his losses, and whose natural anxiety for the safety of his children tended to prevent him from engaging in any hostile projects. At the expiration of two years, all the conditions having been fulfilled, the hostages returned to their father, and for four years longer that ambitious prince refrained from molesting his neighbours, although in secret he continued his unremitted preparations for future war.

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD TEIGNMOUTH—HIS PACIFIC POLICY—INCREASE OF THE MAHRATTA POWER—VIZIER ALI—ARRIVAL OF LORD WELLESLEY—TIPPOO INTRIGUES WITH THE FRENCH—DISMISSAL OF THE NIZAM'S FOREIGN TROOPS—EXPEDITION TO MYSORE, UNDER GENERAL HARRIS—DEATH OF TIPPOO, AND FALL OF SERINGAPATAM.

1793—1799.

AFTER the five years of his government had expired, the Marquis of Cornwallis was succeeded by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who carried on, during a season of uninterrupted tranquillity, the pacific system of his predecessor. Temptations, however, to break the even tenor of this course were not wanting. The Mahratta tribes, ever restless and disposed for war, had been with difficulty induced by Lord Cornwallis to ally themselves to the Nizam, during the campaign against Tippoo. As soon as that expedition terminated, the old animosities came once more into play. The Nizam, menaced by the Mahrattas, appealed to the English for protection. The governor-general offered his mediation, but seemed indisposed to support this proposed arbitration by an appeal to arms.

At length the Mahrattas, under Doulat Rao Scindiah, engaged the Nizam near Beeder, and gained a complete victory. His favourite minister was carried away captive by them, but subsequently released, in consequence of a series of intestine disputes, which arose among these restless marauders. The condition, indeed, of the Mahratta states has been likened, with considerable truth, to the position of France under the ancient Maires de Palais. The two differed, however, in this, that the

Peishwas, who resembled, at the commencement, the great ministers of the Carlovingian dynasty, had gradually themselves become the puppets of more powerful chiefs.

During the minority of the Peishwa Madhoo Rao, two great rivals disputed together for the ascendancy. One of these, Nana Furnavese, a Brahmin, had long been famous, in his own country, as a wily and prudent statesman; the other was Mahajee Scindiah, a distinguished warrior, who held under his control the impotent descendant of the Mogul emperors. Disliking the English, Shah Alim had unwisely entrusted himself to Mahratta protection, and soon found just reason to complain of his new friends. They extorted from him privileges of various kinds, and even, on several occasions, treated the aged monarch with personal violence. The death of Scindiah afforded some opportunities for aggrandizement to his ever-watchful rival, but the heir of that powerful warrior had no sooner reached the age of manhood, than he appeared fully capable of maintaining his ground against the authority of Nana Furnavese.

The harsh conduct of this Brahmin, subsequently impelled his ward or prisoner, the youthful Peishwa, to commit suicide, and his successor in the vacant dignity, Bajee Rao, made several attempts to exercise an independent sway. But Nana, Scindiah, and other leaders, thwarted on all occasions the aspiring spirit of their nominal master, allowing him only the shadow of dominion, and steadily withholding its substance from his grasp.

The Nizam, conceiving that he had just reason to dread a future invasion from his turbulent neighbours, began to seek elsewhere for that aid which the English were unwilling to afford him, during the pacific administration of Sir John Shore. A French adventurer, Raymond by name, had served with Bussy in the Decan, and now revisited his old abode, imbued with those ideas of hostility to England and universal conquest that animated the first supporters of the French

Republic. The Goddess of Liberty might have found more sympathetic allies than an Indian despot, but consistency is rarely compatible with political or religious fanaticism; and Raymond led the Nizam to expect that, ere long, the armies of freedom would sweep the English tyrants from the continent of India.

In the meantime, M. Raymond was not wanting in his efforts to extend the influence of his country.

He enlisted troops, for which the Nizam supplied all the necessary funds, drilled them in the European fashion, and taught the wondering natives to shout forth the *Ca-ira*, and dance the *Carmagnole*. At the instigation of Sir John Shore, some English adventurers offered their services to the Nizam, as tacticians, but, being inferior in abilities to Raymond, they were compelled to abandon the field to the astute and skilful Frenchman.

About the same time, some disturbances took place within the Rohilla territory, but by the prompt and energetic measures of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, tranquillity was speedily restored. Upon this followed a disputed succession to the chief authority in Oude. The Nabob Vizier, Assou-ood-Dowlah, having recently died, two candidates appeared in the lists; one being Vizier Ali, the reputed son of the deceased,—the other, the late Nabob's brother, Saadat Ali. The justice of Vizier's title was first acknowledged, and then denied by Sir John Shore, who finally established Saadat Ali upon the musnud, with the understanding that several concessions should be made greatly to the advantage of the Company. In other quarters, also, fresh annexations had been effected, chiefly at the expense of the Dutch, whose settlements in Ceylon, and upon the Spice Islands, were occupied by naval armaments despatched from Madras.

In March, 1797, intelligence reached the Court of Directors that the state of Sir John Shore's health would soon render his return to England imperative. After some deliberation, they fixed upon the Marquis Corn-

wallis as his successor; but this nobleman being shortly afterwards nominated Viceroy of Ireland, a new election became necessary. No one could have been better fitted for the post than the eminent man upon whom the next choice fell.

Richard Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, had, while at Eton, contracted with Lord Cornwallis a schoolboy friendship, that was destined to outlast the period when such attachments usually dissolve, under the influence of new scenes and more exciting occupations. The removal of his early friend to the supreme government of India induced Lord Wellesley to study minutely the history and customs of Hindoostan; so that when appointed to fill the post of governor-general he was, in every respect, prepared to undertake its onerous and important duties.

In the spring of 1798, Lord Mornington landed at Madras, where he remained a few days, for the purpose of making a nomination to the vacant musnud of Tanjore, after which he proceeded northwards, and reached Calcutta on the 18th of May. Before the 9th of June, copies of a proclamation issued by the governor of the Mauritius, M. Malartie, arrived in Bengal, and their contents created serious apprehensions as to the future intentions of Tippoo Sahib.

During the year 1797 that prince had received at Seringapatam M. Ripaud, the captain of a French privateer, who, probably by way of exalting his own importance, represented to the sultan that a large force was waiting at the Mauritius to co-operate with him in expelling the English from India. Ever ready to gratify his predilections for a French alliance, Tippoo disregarded the advice of his wisest counsellors, and despatched two ambassadors to the Mauritius. They landed with considerable ceremony, and the governor, whose republican enthusiasm considerably exceeded his prudence, immediately forwarded their plans to the French Directory, and made public a glowing invitation, calling upon all

true patriots to enlist under the banners of Tippoo Sahib. About a hundred individuals obeyed the summons, chiefly, it is said, those who had been suspected by the governor of a design to set free the numerous slaves on the island, and whose absence, therefore, he was ready to purchase at any cost.

The envoys and their companions arrived at Mangalore on the 26th April, 1798, from whence they proceeded to Seringapatam, where the sultan was disagreeably surprised by the paucity of their numbers. If zeal, indeed, and a violent antipathy to all regular governments, could have made amends for the want of numerical strength, the new-comers possessed these in the greatest exuberance. Their first care, on reaching the capital, was to found a Jacobin Club, whose members swore deadly hatred and threatened inevitable destruction to all sovereigns, with the exception of "our good and faithful ally, *Citizen Tippoo Sultan*."

Notwithstanding the conduct of the ruler of Mysore, however, Lord Mornington was decidedly averse to war. Every consideration, indeed, urged him to maintain peace. The alliance of the Mahrattas, though still nominally existing, was daily becoming more and more uncertain, in consequence of their intestine quarrels, while, at Hyderabad, a force of 14,000 Sepoys, under the command of French officers, constituted the only available corps which the Nizam could place at the disposal of the English. Corn and provisions were wanting for the troops, while the deficit in the revenues of the Madras Government amounted to at least 36,000*l*.

Yet notwithstanding these difficulties, Lord Mornington felt that a war with Tippoo could not be much longer averted. From the very first, he had taken precautions that the army of the Carnatic should be put, as soon as possible, into good marching order; he now determined at once to get rid of the French force maintained by the Nizam. The personal inclinations of that prince were

fortunately favourable to the governor-general's designs. M. Raymond had lately died, and his successor seemed by no means fitted to act cordially with the native authorities. When Colonel Roberts arrived, therefore, at the head of a detachment of English troops, little real opposition to the proposed measure could be anticipated from the Nizam or his minister. But the usual vacillation and suspicion, so characteristic of native statesmen, marked on this occasion the behaviour of both. The resident, however, resolved to bring the matter to a speedy termination, without any further delay, and after surrounding the French camp with detachments of English troops, he informed the minister, that unless the foreign officers were dismissed, he should at once direct Colonel Roberts to attack their position. His request was immediately complied with, and the French officers at once resigning their commands claimed the protection of the British flag, which the Colonel readily accorded them, congratulating himself that an affair so pregnant with danger and difficulty had passed off unattended by the loss of a single man. Before the officers took their departure, however, a violent mutiny broke out among the Nizam's Sepoys, on account of their pay, which happened to be twenty-one days in arrear. They confined their officers, and even attempted to attack the English, but Colonel Roberts, possessing himself of some heights commanding their camp, sent Captain, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, with a body of two thousand horse to menace their right flank. These movements so much alarmed the mutineers, that they agreed at once to give up their arms and disperse quietly. By five o'clock on the same day, their lines were in possession of the British, and thus a corps of 16,000 armed men had been deprived of their weapons, and disbanded, without shedding one drop of blood.

The next step taken by Lord Mornington was to despatch an official note to Tippoo, demanding various

explanations which the sultan seemed indisposed to afford. He professed, indeed, that he continued desirous of peace ; but refused to receive a special envoy whom Lord Mornington had offered to send. The governor-general immediately forwarded another communication, containing a copy of the proclamation issued at the Isle of France ; and pointing out the offensive character of such transactions in the eyes of the English Government. On the 16th of January, 1799, his lordship sent a third missive, enclosing a letter addressed to Tippoo from the Grand Seignior, with the declaration of war against the French, lately made public by that monarch. It was thought, probably, that Tippoo's Mohammedan zeal might in this manner be stirred up against those whom the Turkish sovereign stigmatized as the enemies of Islam. On the 13th of February the following reply reached Madras :—

“ I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your lordship's two friendly letters—the first brought by a camel-man, the last by Hircarrahs—and understood their contents. The letter of the prince, in station like Giamsheed, with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars, the sun illumining the world of the heaven of empire and dominion ; the luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power, the Sultan of the sea and land, the King of Room (European Turkey), be his empire and his power perpetual, addressed to me, which reached you through the British Envoy, and which you have transmitted, has arrived. Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton, about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written, slightly attended. Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters notifying your welfare.”

In the meantime preparations for the impending war

were being actively carried on at Madras. General Floyd had assembled a large body of troops in the south, while another detachment, under Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the world-famous Duke of Wellington, was in garrison at Wallajabad and Vellore. A fresh impetus also was given to the exertions of all parties by the arrival of the governor-general at Madras; where he found, even those of the authorities who had most deprecated a war, now convinced that not even forbearance, pushed to the extreme of cowardice, could ever maintain peace. At the earnest solicitation of Lord Mornington, General Harris took the command of the expedition against Seringapatam. This distinguished officer had served with reputation in America and the West Indies, and was recently appointed Acting-Governor of Madras, which office he relinquished upon the arrival of Lord Olive, a near relative of the hero of Plassey. Skilful in his profession, he was even more remarkable for that modest depreciation of self, which generally accompanies true genius. The post of commander-in-chief he at first refused, but Lord Mornington knew his man, and would not be thus baffled. By his advice, the general took a night to reconsider his first determination; and the result of these second thoughts proved the truth of the old proverb, and enabled Lord Mornington to anticipate a favourable issue to the commencing campaign.

The army committed to the charge of this brave commander was one of the finest that had, as yet, been mustered upon the Indian soil. The cavalry, estimated at 2,678 men, 912 being Europeans, were supported by 4,608 English, and 11,061 native infantry. The artillery consisted of 138 guns served by 576 Europeans, together with 2726 gun Lascars and pioneers, the whole effective force being rated at 21,649 men. In addition to these, the Malabar army, under General Stuart, and the detachments in the south, under Colonel Reid and Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, were ordered to co-operate with the main body.

While these arrangements occupied the daily attention of his foes, Tippoo remained inert and inactive. By throwing a strong cavalry force into the Barahmahal district, he might have retarded materially the advance of the British army. But like the impious king of old, infatuation seems to have preceded defeat. The English were suffered almost unopposed to enter the Mysore territory, and to possess themselves of the hill-forts of Woodiandroog, Auchittidroog, and Ruttingherry. In the meantime, General Harris had many present difficulties to surmount, many future contingencies to provide for. If Seringapatam were taken at all, it was necessary that the English should be in possession of its fortifications before May, at which period the Malabar monsoon would render the Cavery impassable. From June to December the swelling of that river, and the rapidity of its current, cut off every hope of transit, and might, if the march of the English could be by any means arrested, enable Tippoo to receive succour from his French allies in the Mauritius or Egypt. In the latter country Buonaparte had now securely established himself; he was known to be regarding India with a wishful eye; and a letter from him to Tippoo, containing a promise of speedy support, had been intercepted by the agents of Lord Mornington. Yet, notwithstanding the urgent necessity for haste, many causes conspired to produce unavoidable delay. The feeble cattle of the plains could not endure the mountain tracks of Mysore, and the cool breezes of the uplands. Numbers perished in the jungles, many of the stores were abandoned, and even the supply of rice began to diminish sensibly. The prudent foresight, however, of General Harris had provided for many of these obstacles, while his undaunted energy enabled him to surmount others. By the 26th of March, the English army arrived within forty miles of Seringapatam, having as yet encountered no serious interruption from the enemy.

On the 22d of February, Lord Mornington had written

to Tippoo, in reply to the Sultan's letter, stating that having received no answer to his former communications, an army, under General Harris, was now advancing to Mysore, and that all further intercourse must take place through the commander-in-chief. The Mysorean at once perceived the danger of his position, and the necessity for immediate action.

Two great bodies of troops were marching against him, from different quarters. That under General Harris, moving in a westerly direction, had been reinforced by the Nizam's contingent under Meer Alum, and was in itself considerably the most numerous of the two. The other, the Bombay army, led by General Stuart, was approaching from the Malabar coast, and had just begun to climb the rugged passes of the Ghauts.

Tippoo at once determined upon a movement worthy of his ancient military reputation. Giving out that he intended to attack General Harris at Maddoor, he marched forth from his capital, but, instead of proceeding to the east, he hurried through the jungles towards the west, with the intention of falling unawares upon the Bombay army. The commander of the latter, General Stuart, having received intelligence that the Sultan had gone against General Harris, suffered his vanguard of three native battalions, under Colonel Montresor, to be separated from him by an interval of eight miles.

They were now in the Coorg territory, and the rajah of that country, who had joined the English army with his people, conducted several officers to the summits of Sedaseer, one of the highest hills in the vicinity, for the purpose of surveying the neighbouring region. To their astonishment and alarm, they discovered in the direction of Periapatam a number of tents slowly rising above the outline of the low brushwood. At length appeared a large green pavilion, the well-known signal of the Sultan's presence. Tidings were immediately despatched to General Stuart; but before that officer could arrive,

Tippoo burst through the jungles with his "tigers of war," and rushed like lightning upon the vanguard. The action was sharp and severe, but the English sepoys maintained their ground manfully, until the arrival of General Stuart, who repulsed the Mysoreans with considerable loss. Foiled on this side, the Sultan retired to Periapatam, and from thence hurried, as expeditiously as possible, to oppose General Harris.

On March the 26th the two armies found themselves face to face on the plains of Mallavelly. The Sultan commenced the attack by opening a fire of artillery upon the English; he next tried charges of infantry and cavalry, but in every instance suffered a severe repulse, and finally retreated with the loss of six standards, and having about 2,000 men killed, wounded, and missing. On the evening of the 27th, General Harris made the following entry in his journal:—

"Let me only record my humble submission to that all-protecting Providence, for the support I have found through this day—a scene new to me, and difficult, perhaps, to any one. To-morrow I shall attempt to describe the course of events."

These repeated failures produced a feeling of deep despondency in the mind of Tippoo; but as the safety of his capital depended upon his delaying the advance of the English as much as possible, he prepared to obstruct their passage by occupying the high road leading from Mallavelly to Seringapatam—a distance of thirty miles. Unfortunately for him, however, General Harris made a détour that enabled the English to cross the Caverry after a nine hours' march, and thus by gaining at once the side of the river on which the capital was situated, he avoided the possibility of being retarded by the swelling of the stream during the May monsoon. Having in this manner eluded the vigilance of Tippoo, the army advanced leisurely

towards Seringapatam, approaching it from the western side. On the 4th of April the English encamped within three miles of the fortress, and preparations for the siege immediately commenced. The first operations were directed by Major-General Baird, Colonel Wellesley, and Colonel Shawe.

When Tippoo found that he had been out-generalled, he assembled his principal officers, and, after a moody silence, said briefly, "We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die with you," was the heroic reply. All wept, and one chief throwing himself before the Sultan, clasped his knees in an agony of grief. They separated with a firm resolution to defend Seringapatam successfully, or to perish in the breach.

That determination was bravely and energetically carried out. The besiegers found themselves obliged to contend strenuously for every foot of ground. At length, however, the first parallel was gained, and on the 3rd of May the breach effected by the English batteries was pronounced practicable. One o'clock at noon on the 4th, witnessed the final attack. A little before this took place Captain, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, repaired to the tent of the commander-in-chief, whom he found awaiting, with a thoughtful and serious aspect, the decisive moment. Exempt himself from the cares of high station, the young officer said cheerfully, "Why, my lord, so thoughtful?" "Malcolm," replied the general gravely, "this is no time for compliments; we have serious work on hand; don't you see that the European sentry over my tent is so weak, from want of food and exhaustion, that a sepoy could push him down—we must take this fort, or perish in the attempt. I have ordered General Baird to persevere in his attack to the last extremity; if he is beat off, Wellesley is to proceed with the troops from the trenches; if he also should not succeed, I shall put myself at the head of the remainder of the army, for success is necessary to our existence."

The remarks of the general explain the dispositions he had made, as well as his arrangements for the future. At half-past one, the gallant Baird led the storming detachments from the trenches, exclaiming, as they ranged themselves in readiness for the assault, "Now my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers." John Best, an old soldier, and now servant to General Harris, had of his own accord volunteered to accompany the party; he was wounded in crossing the river, but contrived to drag himself up to the top of a low rock, where he sat cheering the front companies as they passed. In six minutes after the forlorn hope reached the foot of the breach, the standard of England was waving proudly from the summit.

A corps, under Colonel Sherbrook, had been ordered to make a contemporaneous attack upon the southern rampart, during the progress of which they met with comparatively little resistance, except when forcing a passage through the Mysore gateway, where a large number of Europeans were killed and wounded. After this the enemy fled, allowing the English to possess themselves of the remaining cavaliers.

The other division encountered a stouter opposition, having Tippoo in person to contend with, but they at length succeeded in forcing the different traverses, and crossing the ditch, got within the parapet. The slaughter of the Mysoreans was now fearful, for the English knew that, in the event of a reverse, they themselves could expect no mercy, and the passions of the soldiers were aroused by the intelligence that, only a few days before, Tippoo had murdered in cold blood twelve grenadiers of the 33d regiment who unfortunately fell into his hands. The sanguinary work did not cease until the two divisions met each other on the eastern rampart. All the outworks and fortifications of the town being now in the hands of the English, the palace was the only building of importance that remained to be taken. General Baird, there-

fore, despatched Major Allen, an officer distinguished by his humanity as much as for his undaunted courage, that he might summon the occupants to surrender. The inmates appeared to be in great confusion and perplexity, when the English officer approached, while the Killedar, or governor, who descended to speak with him, denied that Tippoo was in the palace. At length the native authorities conducted the English officer to an apartment where the two young sons of the Sultan, formerly surrendered as hostages by their father, were seated on a carpet with many attendants around them.

"The recollection," says Major Allen, "of Moiz-ed-Deen, whom, on a former occasion, I had seen delivered up, with his brother, hostages to Marquis Cornwallis; the sad reverse of their fortunes; their fear which, notwithstanding their struggles to conceal, was but too evident, excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind. I took Moiz-ed-Deen, to whom the Killedar principally directed his attention, by the hand, and endeavoured, by every means in my power, to remove his fears; and to persuade him that no violence should be offered to him, or his brother, nor to any person in the palace."

The princes assured Major Allen that the Sultan was not concealed within, and, after some natural hesitation, allowed him to open the gates of the palace, and admit General Baird with his principal officers. The general had himself languished in Tippoo's prison for three years, and was besides indignant at a rumour which just then reached him, imputing to the Sultan the massacre of every European who had fallen into his hands during the siege; but the sight of the defenceless, and probably fatherless, youths at once disarmed his anger. He received them with kindness; promised that they should be safe; and committing them to the charge of two English officers, continued his search for Tippoo. His efforts, however, proved unavailing; the Killedar was called, and affirmed in the most solemn manner, that the Sultan had not been

for some time in the palace, but lay wounded near a gateway on the north side of the fort. He engaged to conduct the general thither; but upon their arrival the darkness and the hundreds of slain with which the place was filled, rendered the search most difficult. At length one of Tippoo's body attendants, who had been cut down by his side, pointed out the spot where the Sultan fell. Torches were brought, and the body removed from among the heaps of slain. The eyes still remained open, and some degree of heat yet lingered in the stiffened limbs; but the heart and pulse had ceased to beat, and it soon became evident that the spirit had departed, to answer for its deeds of ambition and bloodshed before the dread tribunal of the King of Kings.

The last days of Tippoo were employed, like those of the first monarch of Israel, in vain attempts to ascertain his future destiny. As Saul sought counsel from the diviners, whom in former times he banished and persecuted, the Mysorean Sultan turned in his hour of despair to those very Brahmins, whose shrines he had plundered, and whose idolatry he affected to despise. By their instructions he practised several rites, repugnant alike to reason, and to the doctrines of his Islamite creed. From this dotage of superstition his officers aroused him by the intelligence that the foe was at hand. Hastily girding on his weapons, he rushed to the scene of conflict. The English were taking possession of the ramparts in every direction, and Tippoo found it impossible to rally his flying troops. He killed several of the opponents with his own hand; but the tide of fugitives bore him irresistibly along, and obliged him to make a last stand in the gateway where his corpse was afterwards found. Here he continued fighting, with the most determined courage, until two musket-balls entering his side, and his horse being killed under him, he was borne down to the earth. An English soldier approached him, as he lay on the ground incapable of rising, and attempted

to grasp at his jewelled sword-belt. The dying prince concentrated his fast ebbing strength in one expiring effort, and making a cut at the soldier with his sabre, wounded him slightly near the knee. The man levelled his piece—fired—and the stern, haughty Sultan fell back lifeless upon a heap of slain.

The next day the remains of the son of Hyder were borne, with military honours, to the magnificent mausoleum of Lall Bang, which his father had erected as the sepulchre of his race. The British soldiers presented arms when the funeral cortège passed along; but these solemn rites of the last Sultan of Mysore were rendered more impressive by a violent storm of thunder and lightning that broke forth during the ceremony, and destroyed several natives and Europeans.

Thus perished a prince, who combined with great natural abilities and undaunted courage, cruelty which disgraced, and ambition which finally ruined him. A skilful soldier and astute politician, he had acquired the love of his own subjects and the veneration of his co-religionists. His country was well cultivated, and his people better governed, than the majority of Indian populations: but, like most great men of his country and period, his faith could not be relied upon; and his hatred to the English has scarcely been paralleled in history, since the young Hannibal swore eternal enmity to the Romans upon the altars of Carthage.

The blind violence of this animosity proved eventually his ruin, since it led him to repose confidence in all who shared his repugnance, or offered to co-operate in his schemes of vengeance. The bitterness of his antipathy, tempted him to commit actions which at one time excited abhorrence, at another contempt. His English prisoners were treated with savage brutality—many of them had been inhumanly murdered; while a series of ridiculous and unworthy caricatures adorned, or rather disfigured, the walls of his capital city. A piece of mechanism found

in his palace, and still preserved in the India House, represents an English soldier lying beneath the fangs of a tiger ; while the turning of a handle, protruding from the side of the wild beast, produces a sound designed to imitate the victim's expiring groans.

Major-General Baird continued to hold possession of Seringapatam until the storming party was relieved by the entry of Colonel Wellesley with fresh troops. This prudent measure at once put a stop to the disorders that were being committed by men whose passions had been irritated and excited, in consequence of the scenes of violence and blood through which they had recently passed. Unhappily, a step emanating solely from the considerate humanity of the commander-in-chief created a misunderstanding between himself and Major-General Baird, who seemed to consider the appointment of Colonel Wellesley a personal slight. The momentary ill-feeling thus provoked, however, finally subsided, and General Harris had the gratification of presenting publicly to his brave subordinate a sword of considerable value, found in the chamber of Tippoo Sultan after the assault.

The prompt measures of Colonel Wellesley soon restored order in the town, and calmed the apprehensions of the inhabitants, who showed their confidence in his firm but temperate rule, by a speedy return to their several occupations. Among the unquiet subjects whom he had to deal with, were some tigers belonging to the menagerie of the late Sultan, who, being abandoned during the storm, soon grew ravenous from want of food. In a characteristic note the Great Captain announces his determination to have these animals shot, unless some immediate arrangement is made for their removal.

Intelligence of the fall of Seringapatam was enclosed in a quill, and forwarded to Madras by natives, who placed the unsuspected utensil in the aperture of their ear. These precautions had been taken, as the country around still swarmed with the partisans and retainers of

Tippoo, some of whom now returned to their former predatory habits. The regions over which the deceased Sultan formerly held sway were parcelled out among the English, the Nizam, and the Peishwa, the largest share being, however, reserved for a descendant of the old Hindoo family expelled by Hyder, who now took his seat upon the musnud under English protection as Rajah of Mysore.

CHAPTER XII.

DHOONDIAH WAUGH—SUBMISSION OF THE PEISHWA—INTERCOURSE
WITH PERSIA—DETHRONEMENT OF THE NABOB OF THE CARNATIC—
DEFEAT OF DHOONDIAH WAUGH—INSURRECTION AT BENARES—CAP-
TURE OF VIZIER ALI.

1800—1801.

SOME disturbances raised by a freebooter named Dhoondiah Waugh were speedily quelled, and in a few months after the taking of Seringapatam the most perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the whole country. It soon, however, became evident that fresh hostilities might be anticipated on the part of the Mahrattas. These turbulent tribes had long excited the anxious fears of the governor-general. They joined the English, however, in the war against Tippoo, and a portion of his territories was even set apart for them by way of reward. But Lord Mornington determined that this cession should only take place under certain conditions. The Nizam had consented to receive a British subsidiary force into the heart of his dominions; and to assign over, for its maintenance, the revenues of several specified districts. The governor-general now demanded that the Peishwa of the Mahrattas should make a similar concession; one, indeed, most advantageous for the English, but highly repugnant to the independent spirit of the Mahrattas. They refused to accept the proposed terms, and thereby forfeited their share of the spoil.

Subsequently, however, the Peishwa showed some inclination to negotiate. Pressed, as he was, on all sides by powerful chiefs, who, although nominally submissive,

really wielded by turns the supreme authority, the Dictator of the Mahratta Republic agreed to allow an English force to be stationed upon the frontiers of his dominions. He flattered himself that thus he might overawe the contending chieftains, while, at the same time, he kept back from his European allies the influence which they would have possessed, if stationed in the midst of the Mahratta country. The governor-general, on the other hand, hoping that this concession would be productive hereafter of others more important, protracted the negotiations, while, at the same time, he used every means to strengthen and support the position occupied by the British in India.

Great apprehensions had been entertained with respect to the intentions of Zemaun Shah, King of Cabool, who was threatening the northern parts of Hindoostan with an invasion. Lord Mornington determined to counteract this design, by obliging the enemy to guard his own frontiers. He, therefore, despatched Sir John Malcolm as envoy to the court of Persia. The Shah Baber Khan had already interfered in the affairs of Afghanistan, and regarded Zemaun with feelings of personal dislike. Sir John Malcolm effected the object of his embassy so well, that the Persian monarch concluded a special treaty with the English; sent away from his court the representatives of the French government; and engaged to divert the attention of Zemaun Shah by an attack upon his dominions. Through the medium of Sir John Malcolm, a friendly intercourse was opened, at the same time, with the Imaum of Muscat and the Pasha of Baghdad. These timely negotiations prevented the threatened incursion; Zemaun Shah having soon afterwards become a prisoner to his brother Mohammed, who, instigated by the Persians, had stirred up against him a civil war. Among other measures also contemplated at this period by Lord Mornington, was the establishment of an overland route to England, for the purpose of superseding the long and tedious passage round the Cape.

A collection of papers discovered in the palace of Seringapatam brought to light some hitherto unsuspected relations between Tippoo and the Nabob of the Carnatic. The governor-general seized at once upon this fair pretext for abolishing, what had been always felt to be an inconvenient anomaly, the double government of this flourishing region. The reigning sovereign, Omdut-ool-Omrah, inherited from his predecessors an amount of debt which increased annually with but little hope of its being finally liquidated. The people groaned under the iron yoke of extortioners and usurers, who flocked around the sick-bed of the expiring prince, disturbing his last moments by their intrigues and clamours. A corps of British troops was despatched to take possession of the palace; the Nabob was suffered to expire in peace; but his son received an intimation, after the father's decease, that the Nabobs of the Carnatic must no longer regard themselves as independent sovereigns.

The majority of Hindoo rulers valued their rank chiefly on account of the pleasures and wealth with which it supplied them; their power being generally delegated to an intriguing minister, or an ambitious general. Azeem-ood-Dowlah, therefore, the reputed heir, was not, perhaps, unwilling to exchange the labours of royalty for its shadow, when such a transmutation furnished him with the means of enjoying the usual amusements of an oriental prince, undisturbed by the brawls of ambitious courtiers, or the contests of factious dependents. The transfer, indeed, could not be effected without difficulty, for Azeem-ood-Dowlah, although the heir, was not the son of the Nabob; and the nobles of the court seemed at first inclined to support Hussein Ali, the reputed offspring of the latter. Eventually, however, the governor-general effected a settlement which the oppressed population hailed with joy and gratitude. A handsome annual allowance, and a release from his numerous liabilities, satisfied the Nabob; who retained his former title and enjoyed

the respect usually paid to its possessors, while the Company took upon themselves the actual sovereignty and administration of his fertile territories.

By the request of Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, Colonel Wellesley, still superintended the affairs of Mysore. His sterling abilities, no less than his justice, humanity, and moderation, had so much endeared him to the people, that it was found difficult to supply his place. About this time he gave an instance of that disregard of personal interest and feelings, when duty called for the renunciation of either, which shed so bright a lustre on his after career. The Government contemplated an expedition to Batavia, for the purpose of taking possession of the Dutch settlements on that island. A military officer was wanted to accompany the naval force, and the appointment had been offered to Colonel Wellesley. He wished very much to accept it, but finally announced his determination in the following terms:—"I have left it to Lord Clive to accept for me Lord Mornington's offer or not, as he may find it most convenient for the public service. The probable advantages and credit are great, but I am determined that nothing shall induce me to quit this country until its tranquillity is restored." Afterwards he writes to the governor-general, "I do not deny that I should like much to go, but you will have learned before you receive this, that my troops are in the field."

The latter piece of information alluded to his movement against Dhoondiah Waugh, the freebooter, mentioned a few pages back; who had once more returned, with a formidable band, to pillage and lay waste the frontiers of Mysore. This robber assumed the lofty title of "King of the Two Worlds," and aimed, doubtless, at carving out for himself some independent principality—after the example of Hyder Ali, in whose service he originally commenced his adventurous career. Subsequently he incurred the displeasure of Tippoo, who chained him, like a wild beast, to the walls of one of his dungeons in

Seringapatam, from which "durance vile" he had been liberated by the English soldiers. Being himself a Mahratta or Patan, he crossed their frontier when hard pressed, and found among those warlike and predatory tribes abundance of recruits to join his standard. He now threatened Mysore with 5,000 cavalry, and the Government of Madras instructed Colonel Wellesley "to pursue him wherever he could be found, and to hang him on the first tree." This general order also gave the pursuers permission to enter the Mahratta territory, if Dhoondiah, according to his usual custom, should attempt to take refuge there.

On the 30th of July the English commander surprised Dhoondiah's camp, and destroyed a large number of his followers, but the chief robber still continued to elude his grasp. The closing scene is thus graphically described by Colonel Wellesley himself, in the first volume of the Wellington Despatches:—"After a most anxious night I marched in the morning and met the King of the World with his army, about five thousand horse, at a village called Conahgall, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night, and had thought that I was at Chinnoor. He was marching to the westward, with the intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position as soon as he perceived me; and the 'victorious army' stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th Dragoons, and the 1st and 2d regiments of cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c. &c., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock, and they have been employed ever since, in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the rebellious army."

"Thus has ended this warfare, and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest Killadar of Chinnoor had written to the King of the World by a regular tappal, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Nowly on the 8th, and at Chinnoor on the 9th. His Majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer to me than he expected. The honest Killadar did all he could to detain me at Chinnoor, but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop; and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place."

The subjugation and subsequent death of Dhoondiah, with the extirpation of his formidable band of freebooters, having relieved the English Government from an enemy who, although by no means equal to Hyder or Tippoo, might eventually have afforded considerable annoyance, the governor-general was enabled to direct his attention and undivided energies elsewhere. On the 24th of December a public order, issued at Madras, announced that Colonel Wellesley had been appointed to proceed to Trincomalee, in Ceylon, for the purpose of commanding a force destined to attack the Mauritius. The expedition was postponed, in consequence of the non-arrival of part of the naval armament under Admiral Rainier; and Colonel Wellesley, who had repaired at once to Ceylon, now gave it as his opinion that nothing could be done at so advanced a period. Batavia was then proposed, but, before the necessary arrangements could be effected, Colonel Wellesley received a despatch from Madras, enclosing the copy of a letter from the secretary of state to the governor-general, "desiring that a force from India might be in readiness to act in Egypt." He at once took upon himself the responsibility of transferring the troops under his command from Ceylon to Bombay, notwithstanding the opposition he encountered from Mr.

North, the governor of the former place, who even placed a formal protest upon record.

General Baird took the command of the Egyptian expedition, but Colonel Wellesley, who had been appointed second in authority, was detained by illness at Bombay. He, however, handed over to his chief some important memoranda which he drew up at Ceylon, with regard to anticipated operations in the Red Sea; an act the more praiseworthy as his mind seems during the whole time to have suffered considerably from a sense of slight, produced by the feeling that he had not been well used by persons in power. When convalescent, he returned once more to his old post at Mysore, where he spent two years in organizing the civil and military administration of that lately-annexed region.

At the commencement of the year 1801, the Marquis Wellesley was appointed by the Crown captain-general in India, a rank which invested him with vice-regal authority over all the king's officers on that continent. He had not long enjoyed his new honours when the affairs of Oude called for a special exercise of authority.

Since the appointment of Saadet Ali by Sir John Shore that country continued to be agitated by the intrigues of Vizier, the late pretender to the musnud. This man resided at Benares, where he possessed a strong party among the Mohammedan nobles and wealthy Hindoo baboos, whose influence and authority had been materially impaired since the introduction of English rule. He also corresponded with Zemaun Shah, King of Cabool, whom he exhorted and encouraged to invade the northern provinces as soon as possible, promising that he would afford him considerable assistance.

The knowledge of these circumstances induced Lord Mornington to direct that he should be removed from Benares. Before, however, the English resident, Mr. Cherry, could collect a sufficient force for the purpose of carrying out his instructions, Vizier Ali, to whom the

order had been betrayed, assembled a band of desperadoes, attacked all the houses of the English in succession, murdered some of their occupants, and barbarously maltreated others. The judge of the place, Mr. Davies, defended himself on this occasion with great bravery, and by keeping the attention of the rabble engaged, facilitated the escape of many of his countrymen. At last a large body of cavalry arriving, dispersed the mob, but Vizier Ali, attended by his principal adherents, had previously made good their retreat to Betaul. When this event, commonly termed the massacre of Benares, was known at Calcutta, orders were given that several of the baboos in the vicinity of the former city, who had been concerned in the conspiracy, should be arrested. These dignitaries, like the ancient nobles of Italy, maintained in their pay troops of bravoos, called bankas, who acted as guards to their respective fortresses, and carried into execution the nefarious projects suggested by cupidity or revenge.

It appeared, therefore, somewhat difficult to make these arrests without exciting a popular commotion. Only one baboo, however, ventured to resist, and he lost his life in a vain attempt to cut his way through the soldiers who surrounded his house. Most of his fellow conspirators fled; two were condemned to death, one of whom perished by his own hand, the other by that of the executioner. The bankas and other retainers were finally disbanded or driven into exile, and the city soon assumed an aspect of tranquillity which it had never known for many generations.

The capture of Vizier Ali himself followed speedily the discomfiture of his party. After being paraded through the streets of Benares, he was conveyed to Calcutta, where his punishment might have recalled the old Eastern legend of Bajazet and Tamerlane. A bomb-proof chamber in the fort was divided into three compartments, by means of strong iron gratings, and in the central cage thus formed the captive took up his abode; while two sen-

tinels, one an Englishman, and the other a native, watched him, as they would have done an imprisoned wild beast, from either side of his den.

The fears of Saadet Ali as regarded the pretender to his dominions were now set at rest; but still he found himself doomed to experience fresh troubles, from the insubordination and violence of his own soldiers. At length, by the persuasion of the governor-general, he disbanded this useless rabble, receiving in their room a body of English troops, for whose support he gave up the revenue of several districts. This arrangement had generally been found necessary, since it prevented those difficulties, which invariably arose whenever an Indian prince happened to be called upon for monthly or annual contributions towards the payment of his foreign troops. Nor was this arrangement without precedent, since both the Nizam and other potentates acted in a similar manner with the French officers who entered their service, or in any way placed themselves at their disposal. The same steps had also been taken with regard to the Nabob of Surat, who, in 1800, received a pension, and transferred over his dominions to the rule of the Company.

CHAPTER XIII.

REVIEW OF THE ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA—RISE OF SCINDIAH AND HOLKAR—TREATY OF BASSEIN—CAPTURE OF AHMEDNUGGUR—BATTLE OF ASSAYE—ITS RESULTS—ANECDOTE OF GENERAL WELLESLEY—CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL LAKE.

1802—1806.

BEFORE the transactions connected with the Mahratta war engage our attention, it may be advisable to take a rapid glance at the dominions possessed by the English on the continent of India. The provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the sacred district of Benares, had been recently placed under the jurisdiction of the Company, and these regions, being about 1000 miles in breadth, formed their principal extent of territory in the north. The Northern Circars, the Carnatic, the Madras district, with portions of Tanjore and Tinnevely, owned their sovereignty in the south. The kingdom of Mysore, with its puppet rajah, might almost be considered an English possession; while the Nizam, whose domain occupied a central position between Bombay and the Circars, had been subsidised by the treaty of 1798.

On the western coast, the regions of Cannara and Malabar were either subject to the English, or desirous of their protection, and further north came the territory of Bombay, with the island of Salsette, the district of Surat, and some lands ceded by the Nabob of Baroach. The Punjaub, Nepaul, Ava, and Bootan had not engaged, as yet, the attention of Indian statesmen; there remained, therefore, only the Mahratta districts, and the province of Berar, that presented the slightest appearance of in-

dependence, or from which might be anticipated any hostile movement. The territories of Agra and Delhi, with the person of the Mogul, were held by Scindiah, while his ally the Rajah of Berar, possessed the lands extending from the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, towards the Bombay Ghauts, being bounded on the west by the Nizam's dominions.

The Mahrattas associated themselves with the English in effecting the subjugation of Seringapatam, but since this period there had been little intercourse between them. The great chiefs of the former preferred the alliance of France, and M. Perron, an officer of that nation, commanded a large army of disciplined troops in the pay of Scindiah. This great Mahratta leader and his rival Holkar were destined to play such prominent parts in the future war, that some notice of their origin and past actions seems imperative.

Ranojee Scindiah sprang from the Cultivator tribe, and in early life was engaged in the humble capacity of slipper-bearer to the Peishwa. This dignitary on quitting his durbar, where the discussions happened to have been protracted to an unusual length, found his attendant asleep, but holding his master's slippers clasped to his breast. Struck by the tenacity with which, even when weary and fatigued, his faithful servant guarded so unimportant a portion of his employer's property, the Peishwa promoted the fortunate slipper-bearer to his body-guard. The favoured Ranojee left two sons, the youngest of whom, Madhajee Scindiah, made himself the head of the family. He opposed the increasing power of the English in every way, took possession of Shah Alim's dominions, and ruled with imperious sway the territories of the haughty and warlike Rajpoots.

Coming to Poonah for the purpose of paying his respects to the Peishwa, he placed himself below all the hereditary nobles. The Peishwa immediately motioned to a higher and more dignified seat the man who ruled

over all the northern provinces of India from Agra to the Sutledge, and was followed by sixteen battalions of well-disciplined infantry, and 100,000 horse; but Scindiah persevered in his proud humility, and drawing forth a pair of slippers from a bundle which he carried under his arm, said, "this was my father's occupation; it is now mine." After the death of Madhajee, the grandson of his brother named Dowlet Row became heir to the possessions of his great-uncle, and increased every day the domains and influence of this powerful family.

Mulhar Row, the progenitor of the race of Holkar, was originally, like Scindiah, of humble birth. From being a shepherd in the service of the Peishwa, he rose to the rank of a great military commander. His son, Kundee Row, had by his wife Ahalya Bae, a son and daughter, the former of whom became insane. Ahalya, a woman of spirit and ability, resolved to reserve in her own hands the right of nominating a successor. She seems, indeed, to have been eminently fitted for the task. Justice and moderation were the leading principles of her government. She heard every complaint in person, and investigated even the most trifling matter with unwearied diligence and impartial equity. Profoundly religious, according to her light and knowledge, she might have been proposed as a praiseworthy example to many nominal Christians. She rose daily at one hour before daybreak, devoting the entire morning to prayer, to the ritual ablutions prescribed by her creed, and to the perusal of the sacred volumes of her faith. Before she broke her fast, she distributed alms; and her morning repast, as indeed all her meals, consisted of the plainest possible food. After breakfast she again gave up a considerable time to devotion, and having taken a brief interval of repose, applied herself unremittingly during the remainder of the day to the business of the state. Prayer and meditation closed a period, every moment of which had been devoted to the service of heaven or the welfare of mankind.

Under this great princess, a chieftain named Tukajee commanded the troops who served beneath the banners of the race of Holkar. His tried fidelity induced Ahalya to grant him a share in the government, and after his decease, a natural son, Jeswunt Row overcame his legitimate brethren, and rendered himself the leader of the family. He was engaged in continual petty contests with Dowlet Row Scindiah, and they met at last in a great action near Poonah, on the 25th October, 1802. Some of Holkar's cavalry retreated, whereupon their chief addressed the others with the sentiments of an ancient Roman, "Let those," he said, "who do not mean to conquer or die, return to their wives and children. As for me, I have no intention of surviving this day; If I do not gain the victory, where can I fly?"

The troops of Holkar proved victorious, and the Patan auxiliaries, under Ameer Khan, rushed off to plunder Poonah. Although seriously wounded in the action, Jeswunt threw himself on horseback, galloped up to the marauders, and transfixed three of them with his formidable lance. When he returned, Ameer Khan, who was not distinguished for his personal bravery, approached to congratulate his victorious ally. "We have indeed had a severe action," said the boasting Mahommedan; "behold, the head trappings of my horse have been broken by a cannon-ball." "You are most fortunate, truly," replied Jeswunt with grave irony, "since the shot seems to have passed between your horse's two ears without touching either."

By the treaty of Bassein, the Peishwa entered into the strictest possible alliance with the British Government. The destruction of Scindiah, and the complete subjugation of his possessions, were among the chief objects contemplated. This chieftain had, from the first, exhibited a marked predilection for French counsels and French manners, and it was firmly anticipated that he would seize the earliest opportunity of allying himself

with the European enemies of the English. At this juncture, however, the treaty of Amiens obliged the French to suspend their schemes of conquest, but the officers of that nation did not conceal their feelings of rivalry, or their intention of making a hostile movement, in combination with the native powers, as soon as the present insecure truce should be at an end. In virtue of the recent pacification, Pondicherry and their other factories had been restored to them, so that a centre of operations in India was not wanting, from which they might, in a very short time, renew their communications with Scindiah and other native allies.

Amrut Row, the adopted son of the late Peishwa's father, was in league with Holkar, who invited him to Poonah, the Peishwa having fled from thence. His departure had been represented as an abdication, but Lord Wellesley determined that he should be forthwith restored to his former dignity. General Wellesley took the command of the army destined for this undertaking. On the 12th of March he crossed the Tumboodra, and receiving intelligence that Amrut Row intended to burn Poonah, he made a forced march thither of sixty miles, between the morning and night of a single day. The Peishwa re-entered Poonah under the auspices of the English, but his professions of amity were insincere, he felt jealous of European influence, and desired to maintain an independence that was no longer practicable.

Moreover, Scindiah and his ally the Berar Rajah, still held out, and refused to adopt any definitive terms. Weary of these protracted negotiations, which only seemed calculated to waste time, General Wellesley marched northwards. Before he passed the Tumboodra, Colonel Stevens had advanced simultaneously from Hyderabad towards Poonah, while General Lake hastened to engage Scindiah's army under the French commander Perron in Northern Hindoostan. At the same time, an expedition was despatched from Bombay against Baroach and

Guzerat, the object of these combined movements being to obtain possession of the coasts, and thus prevent the landing of French auxiliaries.

General Wellesley captured the strong fortress of Ahmednuggur, and marched from thence in the direction of Aurungabad. The enemy made a feint at Hyderabad, but being obliged to return northwards, Wellesley came up with them near the village of Assaye. Their troops amounted to upwards of 50,000 men, while his own force did not exceed 4,500. The Mahrattas commenced the battle by a furious cannonade, which considerably injured the opposite ranks: but the English infantry charging up to the very teeth of the guns, overthrew the artillerymen, and, rushing with impetuous fury on the lines behind, soon put the enemy's infantry to flight. Their cavalry made a bold attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day, but they were in turn overpowered by the English horse. As the victors pressed forward to follow up their vanquished foes, many of the Indian artillerymen, who had thrown themselves as if dead beneath their gun-carriages, suddenly leaped up, and opened a fire upon the English rear. General Wellesley, however, ordered some of the corps to face about, and attack their assailants, who were speedily cut to pieces, while the vanguard, with the remainder of the troops, continued the pursuit. The village of Assaye itself fell into the hands of the English, after a desperate struggle that lasted until near midnight.

Such was the battle of Assaye, the first of a series of brilliant victories, which terminated at Waterloo, and developed, in wonderful succession, the gigantic energies and abilities of the greatest captain of his age. Its results were the establishment of the British dominion in India, upon a much firmer basis than any on which it had hitherto rested. The great powers of the Hindoo continent encountered us successively, only to be finally vanquished and overthrown. First came the Mohammedan princes, the descendants of the conqueror of

Ghuznee, the heirs of Baber and Timour. Then succeeded the hardy mountaineers of the south; the astute and politic Hyder, the daring and inflexible Tippoo, aided in the struggle by European civilization and the instruments of occidental warfare.

But when these had fallen, there still remained a race of heroes before whom it was thought the northern invaders might learn to tremble. Since the days of Aurungzebe, their very name had been a terror to the Indian races, from the rajah or nabob on his luxurious musnud, to the starving peasant whose little harvest was destined to be reaped by the Mahratta sabre. For a time, these warlike tribes refused to acknowledge the supremacy of England, and it even appeared that the white conquerors of Hindoostan engaged in the conflict with manifest reluctance. That flattering prestige was now for ever destroyed; the invincible tribes, with their French officers and well-served artillery, their numbers and obstinate valour, had been routed by a force about ten times inferior to them in numerical strength. From this day an impression gained ground among all classes, and stamped itself indelibly upon the native mind, that the English were invincible, and that they, and they alone, appeared destined by Providence to become the future rulers of Hindoostan.

The reduction of Burhampoor and Asseerghur, two strongholds generally considered impregnable, obliged Scindiah to sue for peace. An armistice having been agreed upon, the English marched against Berar, and defeated its rajah on the plains of Argaum. They next laid siege to Ghawil-Ghur, a rock fortress, which at first offered a stout resistance, but fell eventually into the hands of the besiegers. During this period, the labours of the troops proved intensely severe. They cut roads through the mountains, carried the ordnance and stores by hand up rugged paths, and along almost impassable ravines, where only a few savage hunters had ever pene-

trated before them. This toil, it must be remembered, was undergone by Europeans, beneath the burning rays of an oriental sun; assisted by natives, who, in bodily strength and moral courage, were far inferior to their companions; both being exposed all the time to the attacks of an enemy strongly entrenched behind walls hitherto deemed impregnable.

The garrison of Ghawil-Ghur consisted of Rajpoots whose leader, Berry Sing, had escaped from Argau. After the loss of the fort appeared inevitable, these fierce mountaineers put their wives and daughters to death, in order that they might escape the insults of the victors, and the disgrace of captivity. Some of these poor creatures were still alive, though covered with wounds and almost insensible, when our troops entered the place. War has always been esteemed a frightful scourge, even under its most favourable aspect, but its atrocity becomes redoubled to a Christian mind when productive of such unnatural murders committed by fathers and husbands upon the objects of their tenderest affection.

Two days after Ghawil-Ghur had fallen, a treaty of peace was signed by Ragojee Boonslah, Rajah of Berar. He ceded to the Company the province of Cuttack, with the fort and district of Balasore, pledging himself to dismiss the French and other European officers in his service. An amusing instance of the venal disposition of oriental statesmen occurred during the subsequent negotiations. Rajah Mohiput Ram, the vakeel of the Nizam, was extremely anxious to ascertain what particular districts would be allotted to his master from among the Berar spoils. Judging of others by himself, he offered a bribe of seven lacs of rupees to General Wellesley, if he would supply him with the requisite information. The general appeared to hesitate. "Can you keep a secret?" he demanded of the crafty Hindoo, who watched with eager eyes every expression of his

countenance. "Yes," was the ready reply. "And so can I," answered the general.

While these events were being enacted in the south, General Lake met with equal success in the northern provinces. Here the forces of Scindiah had been organized under the direction of a French officer, named De Boigne, who was succeeded in his command by M. Perron. The Mahratta troops numbered about 17,000 trained infantry, 22,000 cavalry, a large corps of irregulars, and a formidable park of artillery. Yet when Lake overtook this army in the Doab, on the 28th of August, they retreated at the first fire. Their want of resolution, however, may be attributed to the discontent of Perron, who, being dissatisfied with his position, was desirous of obtaining the protection of the English. Some correspondence took place on this subject between him and General Lake, which terminated in the retirement of the French officer with his family and property to Lucknow. The English immediately invested the fortress of Alighur, the garrison of which defended themselves bravely, but finally surrendered on the 4th of September. General Lake then pushed on to Delhi, and fought a battle under its walls with the organized troops of Scindiah, in which he gained a complete victory.

Upon entering the imperial city, the English commander requested that he might be allowed an interview with the Mogul. His desire being readily granted, he repaired to the palace, where he found the descendant of Timour seated beneath a tattered canopy, and exhibiting in his appearance the unmistakeable signs of infirmity and suffering. Shah Alim was now advanced in years, and blind; his countenance expressed a settled melancholy, and the depression of one doomed to perpetual captivity. He had been starved by the Mahrattas, and ill-treated by their subordinates; the French officers being the sole persons who paid him any

respect, or remembered the high estate from which he was fallen.

The poor old monarch received General Lake with as much satisfaction as one in his miserable and dependent state might be supposed to feel. His deliverance, or rather, change of masters, proved, at least, productive of personal comfort and security, nor, perhaps, could one who had remained so long a captive, regret the sovereignty and independent rule, which at present was only transferred from the Mahrattas to the English. Yet the latter, while they manifested no chivalrous intention of restoring to the successor of Timour the territories that, in past times, had been wrested from him, observed scrupulously those decencies of conquest which characterise civilized victors. A handsome pension was allotted to the last representative of Mogul royalty, and his court re-established with some degree of outward splendour. Moreover, although the palace arrangements were not perhaps upon the same scale as those of Baber or Aurungzebe, the inhabitants who crowded the streets and bazaars of Delhi, no longer experienced the insolence and violence of the marauders of the south. In return for these advantages, the conquerors obtained privileges of no inconsiderable value. They succeeded, as it were, to the imperial jurisdiction of the house of Timour, and ruled over India under the auspices and by the authority of the Great Mogul, the only sovereign who, for a long series of years, seemed to possess any claim, either by conquest or birth, to the obedience of the entire continent.

After the fall of Delhi, Lake hastened to besiege Agra, a fortress termed by the natives "the Key of Hindoostan." On the 17th of October, the place capitulated, and upwards of 280,000^l. fell into the hands of the victors. Quitting Agra, the English encountered a large Mahratta force at Laswarree, where their numbers had been of late augmented by the fugitives from those armies which

General Lake had recently encountered and dispersed. They occupied a strong post in the village of Laswarree, the English attempted to carry it, but were repulsed with loss, by a well-directed fire of artillery. Lake had advanced in the first instance with his cavalry alone; fortunately his infantry soon joined him, and the attack being renewed, the gallant 76th—"that band of heroes," as their commander termed them, charged the Mahrattas with irresistible fury, and finally succeeded in gaining a complete victory. Never, however, had any recent action been so severely contested, and on no occasion did the enemy exhibit in a more marked manner the skill and discipline which they had imbibed from their European instructors. Other advantages were gained about this time in Cuttack, Guzerat, and Bundelcund, all of which tended to render Scindiah well disposed towards peace. A treaty between him and the English was accordingly signed in General Wellesley's camp, on the 30th of December, 1803.

By this convention, Scindiah agreed to surrender the Doab, a region situated between the Ganges and the Jumna, with some other districts beyond the latter river. The ceded territory now annexed to the dominions of the British, included Delhi and Agra, the former seats of the Mogul empire. In addition to these acquisitions, the English obtained Baroach, and the coast of Guzerat, both of which had belonged to Scindiah. The Peishwa and the Nizam were gratified with their share of the spoil, and Scindiah himself recovered some unimportant places taken from him in the course of the war. The governor-general endeavoured to prevail upon the new ally to receive a subsidiary force into his territories; but this mark of vassalage he steadfastly declined acceding to. He agreed, however, to disband his French allies, and never again to admit one of that nation into his service.

In acknowledging General Lake's despatch respecting

his late campaign, the governor-general remarked, "Your safety in the midst of such perils reminds me of Lord Duncan's private account of the battle of Camperdown, in which, describing his own situation in the midst of the general slaughter, he said, 'God covered my head in the day of battle.'" The reply of General Lake exhibits the same sense of Divine protection. "I must ever," he says, "regret the loss of so many brave men and worthy officers, and have only to look up to that Providence with adoration and thanksgiving, who, in the midst of our most perilous situations, saved so many of us to tell the tale, and offer up our prayers for His mercies vouchsafed."

It is remarkable that during the whole of 1803 the drought had been so excessive that those military operations which all parties expected would be terminated by the wet season, were carried on without the slightest interruption from the weather. Even the enemies remarked this, and affirmed that the Almighty sent the dry season to afford the English an opportunity of conquering Hindoostan. "I do most sincerely agree with them," observed General Lake, "as our successes have been beyond all parallel, and must have had the assistance of an invisible Hand. I cannot help offering my thanks to Providence whenever I reflect upon the operations of this campaign, which nothing but His guidance could have carried into effect."

CHAPTER XIV.

WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—TREACHERY OF HOLKAR—
RETREAT OF COLONEL MONSON—SIEGE OF DELHI—BATTLE OF DEIG
—SIEGE OF BURHPOOR—INIMICAL PROCEEDINGS OF SCINDIAH.

1803—1805.

THE treaty of Amiens lasted until May 1803, and hostilities between the French and English having recommenced, the factory at Bencoolen, and several vessels belonging to the latter nation, were captured by Admiral Linois. A fleet of richly-freighted Indiamen, coming from China, escaped him through the valour and skill of Commodore Dance, who might perhaps have taken possession of some of the enemy's ships, if the wish to preserve the convoy committed to his charge had not been superior to all other considerations.

General Wellesley occupied himself during the early part of 1804 in settling some disputed points with respect to the treaty proposed between Scindiah and the English. All questions were definitively arranged, chiefly through the agency of Major, afterwards Sir John Macolm, who received on that occasion the warmest commendation from the governor-general. It was determined that Scindiah should allow a subsidiary force to be stationed near his frontiers; and this concession, which he had hitherto opposed, being acceded to, the treaty received the ratification of the governor-general on the 23d of March. Soon afterwards a number of irregular troops and banditti, who, in consequence of the peace, found themselves discharged from the service of Scindiah and other Mahratta chiefs, established their

encampment on the banks of the Godavery, and made excursions from thence into the Carnatic. General Wellesley forthwith crossed the Godavery, and after a tedious campaign, finally dispersed them, capturing their artillery and baggage, and carrying off in triumph all their military stores. At the end of so much active service, the sepoys of his army suffered greatly from the want of clothing, and the government finances not being in a flourishing state, the general distributed the cloth to his soldiers by the piece. The men, being transformed on this occasion into a body of tailors, made up their own jackets and pantaloons in a very creditable and workmanlike manner, thus furnishing themselves with a defence against the inclement monsoon weather and the heavy rains.

The conduct of Holkar during this time tended to call forth many well-grounded suspicions as to his future intentions. This chief had originally promised to ally himself with Scindiah and the Berar Rajah against the English; but old feelings of rivalry getting the better of his prudence, he remained undecided until the fall of the other confederates. Even then, he appeared more disposed to attack Scindiah than to oppose his conquerors, and the dread of a hostile movement on the part of Holkar, unquestionably induced his competitor to submit to the establishment of a British force upon his frontiers.

The triumphs of General Wellesley and General Lake, with perhaps some indignation at the measures taken for the security of Scindiah, inflamed the haughty and ambitious spirit of Jeswunt Row; he threatened to attack the Rajah of Julnapoor, an ally of the English, and demanded that some of the finest districts in the Doab should be delivered up to him. He endeavoured also to stir up the neighbouring rajahs to join him in making war upon the English, and wrote to General Wellesley an insolent and boasting epistle asking for

the cession of several provinces in the Deccan, and concluding with the following menace:—"Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun and plundered, General Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings, in continual war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."

The governor-general now began to prepare for a formidable campaign. The forces under Holkar's command rendered him by no means an insignificant foe. His cavalry—the chief strength of a Mahratta host—amounted to about 50,000, while his infantry numbered 20,000 well-trained soldiers. The artillery consisted of more than 100 pieces of cannon.

General Wellesley, being unable to leave the Deccan, General, now Lord Lake, assumed the command of the main army directed against Holkar. He possessed himself of the fort of Rampoor, but unfortunately committed the fatal error of separating a large detachment from his army, and leaving it under the command of Colonel Monson, to watch the movements of Holkar, who had hitherto been retreating before the advancing English. As a mark of hatred to their nation and name, the savage Mahratta murdered three British officers at the commencement of the war, who during the peace had taken service in his army, but wished to quit it after the governor-general's proclamation of hostilities became known to them. Their bleeding heads were carried about as trophies on lances, while the executioners cast their trunks to the jackals and vultures.

Simultaneous movements in Guzerat and Bundelcund were now taking place, in the latter instance with but little success. Soon after his arrival in the province, Colonel Powell, the original commander of the detachment, died, leaving Colonel Fawcett to carry on the sieges of the numerous rock fortresses in the Bundelcund region. That officer having despatched seven com-

panies of sepoys to invest a fort, the captain commanding them allowed himself to be surprised, and two companies of his men to be cut to pieces by the enemy. Several other disasters occurred in this territory, which seeming to imply lamentable inefficiency on the part of the commanding officer, excited the indignation of the governor-general, and induced him to supersede Colonel Fawcett by Captain Baillie, whose prudence and firmness soon retrieved the mistakes of his predecessor.

In the meantime Colonel Monson received instructions to effect a junction with Colonel Murray, who was advancing from Guzerat. The former had under his command five battalions of sepoys, some artillery, and about 3000 horsemen. He was personally brave, but lacked decision, and affected a degree of contempt for the enemy, which the most skilful officers rarely feel, and scarcely ever express. His supplies had failed, money was wanting to pay the troops, and, to crown all, intelligence reached the camp that Colonel Murray was contemplating a retreat. At this critical juncture messengers arrived, announcing the approach of Holkar with a numerous force. Monson, who was utterly unacquainted with fear, ordered an advance, but soon after gave directions for retiring to the Mokundra Pass.

The step appears of all others the most imprudent one which he could have adopted. Holkar depended for success upon his desultory mode of conducting a campaign, and nowhere can this prove more advantageous than when the opponent is retreating. His men, wearied and dispirited, stray from their ranks, and in the disorder consequent upon a retrograde movement, a thousand points are left open to a nimble and indefatigable assailant, who may hover continually around the retiring host, and decline at pleasure every attempt to bring him to a decisive action. In the present instance the cavalry that had been designed to protect the rear were cut to pieces by Holkar, who even proceeded afterwards to attack

the infantry when drawn up near the Mokundra Pass. The Mahrattas found themselves unable to make any impression upon the solid squares, which awaited calmly, and repelled successfully, their frequent and furious charges; but the elements had now come to their assistance, and the subsequent march of the English was impeded by the monsoon torrents and inundations.

After crossing the Banas river, Colonel Monson arrived at Khoorshull-Ghur, where a large number of the native troops deserted, and went over in a body to Holkar. Most of these, having been recently in Scindiah's service, still retained feelings of hostility to the British, which time and a better acquaintance with the advantages enjoyed in the Company's service had not yet overcome. The remainder entered Agra in August, 1804, disorganized and demoralised, having lost nearly the whole of the officers during their disastrous retreat.

Holkar immediately advanced to Muttra, and allied himself with the Rajah of Bhurtpoor. But Lord Lake had now resolved upon a more rapid mode of action, which, indeed, might have been adopted advantageously at an earlier period. In spite of the autumn monsoon, he reached Muttra by the 7th of October, Holkar continuing to retreat before him. The Mahratta determined to besiege Delhi, for the purpose of carrying off the Mogul, whose presence in his camp would, he was well aware, give a sanction to his cause that might eventually prove of considerable service. The defences of the city were in a most ruinous condition, while the garrison consisted merely of a very small number of sepoy, who, however, under the able direction of Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, resisted successfully, for several days, the repeated attacks of the besiegers. The guns of the Mahrattas daily made new breaches in the crumbling walls, but when the assailants attempted to force an entrance, they were forced back at the

bayonet's point. At length, Lord Lake arrived at Delhi, and obliged the Mahrattas to raise the siege.

Holkar retired to the Doab with his formidable cavalry. An endless succession of burning villages marked their line of march. While pursuing the enemy, our troops encountered, for the first time, a Sikh host, which had descended from the north to plunder and lay waste the fertile province of Delhi. Colonel Burn sent them flying in all directions by a vigorous fire of grape-shot, and took up his position within the walls of a small fort called Shumlee. The Mahrattas still continued to retreat, while the English, impeded by their baggage and infantry, were unable to overtake them. At length Lord Lake moved on with his cavalry alone, from a village called Alligunge, which the enemy had recently set fire to. As he began his march, intelligence reached him that Major-General Fraser had been victorious at Deig. This officer engaged Holkar's lieutenant, Sirdar Kernaut Dada; and, although severely wounded during the early part of the action, his troops gained a complete victory, Colonel Monson having immediately succeeded to the command. The village of Deig was carried at the point of the bayonet, after which the British charged the advanced guard of the enemy, that had been drawn up behind a formidable line of artillery. As the English drew near, they received a furious discharge of round grape, and chain-shot, which inflicted on them a considerable loss. Finding, however, the resolution of their opponents unshaken, the Mahrattas abandoned their guns, and ultimately fled in every direction.

On the 17th, an action took place between Lord Lake's cavalry and Holkar's horse, the latter of whom were surprised in their camp, and many of them slain. The English army now marched to Furruckabad, where the Patans, who resided in the town and neighbourhood, had attacked one of the Company's detachments, and were carrying on an active correspondence with the

Mahrattas. Lord Lake reached the city before day-break, after a march of thirty-four miles, and found the enemy drawn up beneath the walls. Victory once more declared in favour of the British, who captured a large number of horses and men, besides the greater part of the baggage and stores.

The exertions of the troops had been most arduous. During a period of eighteen days, they marched, without intermission, not less than twenty-four miles a day; and these rapid movements contributed greatly to raise the reputation of the army in the minds of the natives.

On the 19th, Lord Lake arrived at Delhi, but his advance was retarded by Colonel Monson, who fell back to Muttra for supplies, and thus led to a considerable prolongation of the campaign. His retreat gave encouragement to Holkar's party, which had been joined recently by the Rajah of Bhurtpoor. The latter chieftain, Runjeet Sing, was of the Jaut race—an assemblage of predatory tribes noted for their turbulent character and love of war. Their fortress of Deig having been taken, the English troops proceeded to invest Bhurtpoor, the capital of the rajah, and his present abode. Its appearance seemed by no means formidable. A mud wall, about six or eight miles in circumference, rose from the inner bank of a broad ditch, that completely surrounded the city. The besiegers, who had scaled the rock forts of Gwalior and Aseerghur, felt disposed to undervalue the feeble defences which they saw before them. They soon discovered their mistake. The garrison of Bhurtpoor defended their fortifications with the most daring valour, and exhibited during the siege, a readiness of invention, and a fecundity of resources, not often found among orientals. When the assailants effected a breach, they found stockades and bulwarks springing up behind it without a moment's delay, while the advancing troops were repelled by vessels filled with combustibles, and burning cotton bales.

steeped in oil, that the besieged hurled upon them from the ramparts. Four times the British troops suffered an ignominious repulse. The spirits of all the men began to droop, while those of the 76th regiment, who had honourably distinguished themselves during the past campaign, now refused to follow a sepoy regiment into action, although the latter had actually gained the summit of the breach, and planted there the British ensign.

In the meantime, Holkar's party daily acquired strength. One of his new adherents was Bapojee Scindiah, formerly in the service of Dowlet Row Scindiah, who actually received a pension from the Company. This ungrateful deserter was summoned, by proclamation, to repair, before a certain day, to Lord Lake's camp, upon pain of losing his pension, and being declared a traitor. He took no notice of the announcement, but, joining his forces to some infantry under the command of Ameer Khan, an officer of Holkar, the two fell upon a body of sepoys who had been sent out to guard a convoy of provisions that was hourly expected from Muttra. The noise of the firing reached the English camp, whence Lord Lake despatched to the rescue Colonel Weld, at the head of the 27th Dragoons, and a regiment of native cavalry.

As the troopers approached, and the scarlet uniforms and shining helmets caught the eyes of the sepoys, they raised a hearty cheer, and, with fixed bayonets, and irresistible fury, charged down upon the enemy's artillerymen. The cavalry then rushed forward to reinforce them, the Mahrattas deserted their guns, and their horse, unable to maintain their ground in a sword combat with the English dragoons, soon galloped off in the utmost confusion. The ground was covered with the spoils of the vanquished. Bapojee's palanquin fell into the hands of the victors; while Ameer Khan, throwing aside his ornaments and insignia, escaped in the dress of a common soldier. His splendid attire and armour,

forty banners, together with the whole of the artillery and the wagons, became the property of the British.

The siege of Bhurtpoor was still carried on with vigour, but the undertaking seemed interminable. The British loss amounted to 1 lieut.-colonel, 2 majors, 20 captains, 1 capt-lieutenant, 45 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 cornet, 2 ensigns, with 2,205 non-commissioned officers and privates. The only plan that rendered success even probable, seemed to be the conversion of the siege into a blockade; and this measure was finally determined upon, notwithstanding several attempts on the part of Holkar and his lieutenants, to divert elsewhere the attention of the besiegers. Ameer Khan had again rallied his dispersed infantry, and, being reinforced by some detachments of cavalry from Holkar, broke into the Doab, which he proceeded to lay waste, hoping to draw off the main body of the English from the walls of Bhurtpoor. Lord Lake contented himself, however, with sending General Smith, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, to chastise the marauder. These troops came up with the enemy near Afzulghur, after a rapid and hasty march, through regions of the wildest and most savage character. The Patans of Ameer Khan displayed in the engagement their usual unflinching valour; but the English finally succeeded in routing them completely, many of their bravest officers being left dead on the field of battle.

The arms of England appeared to be everywhere successful except beneath the walls of Bhurtpoor. The besieging army had been joined by a reinforcement, under Major-General Jones; but they found all the fresh efforts which this new arrival called forth as utterly ineffective as the former ones. Various causes have been alleged for these repeated failures. The defenders were unquestionably both brave and skilful: they had learned from M. Perron and his officers the art of war, and their present resistance was directed by

French engineers. Moreover, the English camp appointments seem to have been of a very inferior description ; the cannon were ill made, and the engineering part of the service inefficiently performed. It soon, however, became evident that every effort must be put forth, in order to bring this siege to a favourable termination. At every accessible station and point of communication, convoys and stores were assembled ; reinforcements arrived from all parts, while the attempts of Holkar to draw off the attention of the besiegers failed most signally. The rajah speedily found that he could expect no support or relief from his allies without, and that his own territories were suffering severely from the protracted warfare. The past successes of the British, their organized strength, and the manifold resources upon which they could rely, though, perhaps, only partially comprehended by the valiant oriental, forbade him to indulge any hope of being able to compete, single-handed, with the white conquerors of Hindoostan. The great European power from whom alone an Indian enemy of England might have obtained sympathy or aid, was too busily engaged at home to succour a Mahratta potentate in the north of India, while all the coasts of that continent, wherever an invader could disembark, were guarded with the most jealous care. The fall of Bhurtpoor, therefore, sooner or later, could hardly be averted, and the rajah wisely determined at once to put a stop to the useless destruction of property, and the fruitless effusion of blood. The terms finally agreed upon were, the payment of twenty lacs of rupees, by the rajah, at different times, and in different sums, together with the surrender of Deig and its adjacent territory.

In the meantime, Scindiah had been regarding the hostile movements against the English with an anxious eye. The proud spirit of the Mahratta chief, chafing under the stranger's yoke, longed intensely for freedom

from its weight, even though such a step might necessarily involve a reconciliation with his old rival Holkar. But though the arm of the Mahratta was strong and energetic in war, he always proved himself in council as dilatory and vacillating as the most timid Bengalee. Had Holkar joined Scindiah and the Berar rajah at the commencement of the campaign, the three might have waged, not, perhaps, a successful, but a protracted campaign, from which they would have retired upon conditions much more favourable than those that they actually obtained. If, on the other hand, Scindiah had allied himself with Holkar, at a time when the English were dispirited and disheartened by the disasters of the siege of Bhurtpoor, a seasonable diversion could have been effected. Instead of doing this, however, Scindiah allowed many favourable opportunities to escape him, and only displayed his hostile intentions when the Rajah of Bhurtpoor was contemplating a surrender of his stronghold, and when Holkar was flying as a fugitive before the English cavalry. Nor, perhaps, would a Christian historian greatly err, who should deduce from these circumstances the conclusion that He who for wise purposes ordained that a Christian nation should bear rule over the swarthy sons of Hindoostan, had, as of old, turned the counsel of the wise into foolishness, in order to work out the plans of His own inscrutable will.

The hostile intentions of Scindiah were soon placed beyond a doubt. He received Holkar into his camp; he advanced, in spite of all remonstrances, against the Company's frontier, plundered the house of the British resident in his dominions, and treated him as a prisoner of war. The approach of the rainy season alone prevented Lord Lake from seeking immediate satisfaction for these aggravated outrages, as the British army was soon obliged to go into quarters during the continuance of the monsoon. The palace of the great

Akbar at Futtypoor, and the imperial cities of Agra and Muttra received within their precincts the successors of that imperial race whose monuments and mausoleums adorned the almost ruined capitals of the Mogul. The power of their founders had departed for ever, and the only heir to their mighty name was an infirm and decrepit man, who, after having been the slave of his father's slaves, found himself compelled to depend for his daily bread upon the bounty of strangers, the representatives of foreign merchants, whose sovereignty extended over territories and races which the greatest of the Moguls, in his most ambitious dreams, rarely aspired to rule, and would never have been able to subdue.

CHAPTER XV.

RETIREMENT OF THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY—DEATH OF LORD CORNWALLIS—PEACE WITH SCINDIAH—GEORGE THOMAS, THE IRISH RAJAH—TREATY WITH HOLKAR—SENTIMENTS OF SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY ON THE MAHRATTA WAR—GENERAL REVIEW OF THE WELLESLEY ADMINISTRATION.

1805—1806.

THE Indian career of the Marquis Wellesley was now drawing to a close. His lordship had some time before contemplated retiring from his arduous office; which, indeed, he only retained for the purpose of concluding the Mahratta war. That contest was now almost at an end, since it appeared certain that neither Scindiah nor Holkar could much longer maintain their ground. The former, indeed, showed some signs of irresolution; he volunteered ample reparation for the insult offered to the resident, and finally separated himself from Holkar.

But the governor-general's policy, though successful abroad, was viewed with different eyes at home. Some persons in England blamed the marquis for engaging in so many hostile expeditions, while the mother country continued involved in a long and costly European war. The Company themselves echoed this censure. Their capital and profits, they asserted, had been wasted in the acquisition of provinces which they did not desire to possess, and the revenues of which were by no means equivalent to the outlay made in conquering and ruling them. The enormous expenditure, rendered inevitable by an arduous campaign, also alarmed the proprietors, who began to think that the governor-general aspired, like another Alexander, to the conquest of the entire

oriental world. Popular feeling operated by degrees upon the Ministry, and influenced the Board of Control. Lord Wellesley was recalled, and Lord Cornwallis, whose predilection for a pacific policy had rendered him popular in Leadenhall-street, received a second time the appointment of governor-general. To this high and important charge he added another equally influential, that of commander-in-chief; an office that was generally distinct from the former, although occasionally, both before and after this period, exercised in combination with it. The absolute authority thus vested in Lord Cornwallis would have enabled him to terminate the campaign at once, but the marquis wisely forbore all interference with the arrangements of Lord Lake, until he should have an opportunity of consulting that distinguished commander in the upper provinces. For this purpose he quitted Calcutta, and proceeded towards Benares; but the excitement and fatigue of so long a journey proved fatal to his frame, already much exhausted by age and sickness: he sank at last under a weight of infirmities, and was buried at Gazipoor, near Benares.

Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, exercised during the interim the functions of governor-general. He had always been an advocate for peace, and deemed a separate negotiation with either Holkar or Scindiah the best method of securing it. Lord Lake, on the contrary, urged that both these chieftains should be crushed; since experience had shown how little faith could be reposed in the promises or treaties of a Mah-ratta leader. But the supreme council listened coldly to any propositions involving the continuance of the war; and finally it was considered desirable to ascertain the feelings of Scindiah with regard to an accommodation. That chieftain received the British envoy, Sir John Malcolm, favourably, and professed himself willing to treat, while Holkar quitted the camp and

hastened towards the banks of the Indus, collecting, as he passed along, a large number of adventurers and robbers, whom the love of plunder, and his previous reputation as a marauding leader, rendered eager to enlist under his standard. Lord Lake determined to pursue Holkar in person, with a select body of infantry and dragoons, as the Mahratta chief had recently succeeded in effecting his escape from Major-General Jones and Colonel Bull, both of whom were directed to intercept his flight. After saluting the emperor at his capital, the English commander advanced to Souniput, a small town thirty miles north-west of Delhi.

The territory around Souniput had been governed in times past by George Thomas, an Irish rajah, who came out to India in 1782, as boatswain on board of a man-of-war. He lived some years among the Polygars, and then, passing through the peninsula, took service with the celebrated Begum Sumroo, who conferred upon him eventually the command of her troops. Being driven away from this post by the intrigues of his enemies, he gained the favour of Appakunda Row, a Mahratta chieftain who adopted him as his son, and granted him some lands in the Mewattie district. Distinguishing himself by his exploits against the Sikhs, he obtained new honours from the Mahratta states, who presented him with the districts of Souniput, Panniput, and Carnawl, the revenue of which amounted to upwards of ten lacs of rupees.

Mr. Thomas then formed an independent sovereignty in the country of Hurrianah, which for many years had been without any regular government. He made the town of Hansy his capital, strengthened it with new and extensive fortifications, and gave great encouragement to strangers to settle there. He founded a mint, and erected several manufactories for the purpose of making muskets and gunpowder, it being his intention to conquer the Punjaub, and plant the British standard upon

the banks of the Attock. Although he met with no assistance from his countrymen, he maintained his position until the close of the year 1801, when he was driven from his dominions in consequence of the treachery of his officers, who, instigated by the French, formed a conspiracy against him, and threatened his life. He died in the course of his journey to Calcutta, on the 22d of August, 1802, being much regretted by those who knew him, and were acquainted with the energy of his character. In offering his dominions and conquests to his country, he said—"I wish to give them to my king, and to serve him the remainder of my days, which I can only do as a soldier in this part of the world."

Lord Lake was informed by the chief of Pattyalaya, that Holkar, in his passage through the country, had endeavoured in vain to prevail upon the Sikhs to grant him supplies of men or money. This disappointment induced the Mahratta leader to press onwards to the Sutledge, whither the British prepared to follow him.

The army was now crossing the great sandy desert which extends from the Indus to within one hundred miles of Delhi. "On our left," says the historian of the expedition, "appeared sand-hills in endless succession, like the waves of the ocean, desolate and dreary to an immense extent, and scantily interspersed with the Baubool, or *Mimosa arabica*; while, to the front and right of these immense wastes, the eye was deceived by those illusions so frequent on the wild plains of Africa and Asia, known by the French term of 'Mirage,' and in Persian 'Sirrab.' These optical delusions exhibited the representations of spacious lakes and rivers, with trees and other objects, in such a lively manner, as almost to cheat the senses of persons familiarly acquainted with the phenomenon; while they who were oppressed by excessive heat, and parched with thirst, cheered themselves in the hope of being

soon refreshed with water from the friendly tank or cooling stream of which they thought they had so clear a prospect. Often were we thus agitated between expectancy and disappointment, flattering our imaginations with a speedy indulgence; when just as the delightful vision appeared on the point of being realized, like the cup of Tantalus, the whole vanished, and left us nothing to rest upon but arid plains and glittering and burning sands."*

Plunging into the Punjaub, Lake pursued his way to the banks of the Hyphasis, and the British troops now traversed the very sites which, many centuries before, had resounded with the clash of the Macedonian arms. Here Alexander raised twelve votive altars as a memorial of European prowess once again displayed in these regions, for the first time since the invasion of the Greeks. In the distance rose the snowy summits of the ancient Imaus, beneath them graduated towards the plains successive ranges of mountains and hills, the latter clad with luxurious vegetation, and the whole presenting a magnificent panorama of woods, villages, pagodas, tombs, and ruins, which afforded a striking contrast to the barrenness and desolation exhibited by the higher peaks.

Holkar was now reduced to the utmost extremity, scarcely any alternative being left him between engaging the British army, and seeking a precarious asylum among the Afghans. At this moment, however, messengers arrived from Sir George Barlow, to announce that a peace having been concluded with Scindiah, it was the wish of the Supreme Council that Holkar should be admitted to treat. He was to obtain peace on the most favourable terms, the object of government being the termination of the war at all hazards. The pacification proved most opportune for the Mahratta. His followers had gradually become reduced

* Memoir of the Campaign on the Hyphasis, by Major William Thorne.

in number, the Sikhs were decidedly unfriendly, and, to use his own phrase, "he possessed nothing but what he carried on his saddle."

By the treaty, the conditions of which Sir John Malcolm had been commissioned to negotiate, Holkar agreed to renounce all right or title to the districts of Tonk, Rampoorah, Boondie, Lukherie, Sameydee, Baumgaum, and other places north of the Boondie hills, now occupied by the British government. The Company, on their part, pledged themselves to resign to Holkar the ancient possessions of his family in the north and south, except the Fort of Chandore, and some other places near the Godavery, all of which, however, it was stipulated, should be restored to him at the expiration of eighteen months, if his behaviour during that period proved the sincerity of his present amicable and peaceful professions. Holkar also bound himself to renounce all claims upon the Company or their allies, and engaged that he would not, for the future, entertain Europeans of any nation in his service.

Peace being concluded, Lord Lake reviewed his troops upon the banks of the Hyphasis, before a curious multitude of Sikhs, who flocked from all parts to witness a scene at once novel and interesting. They gazed with the wild wonder of half-civilized tribes at the manœuvres of the troops, and the evolutions of the horse-artillery. As they watched these movements, their mingled feelings of curiosity and alarm found vent in expressions of thankfulness that they had not, by joining Holkar, drawn upon themselves the vengeance of so formidable an army.

Had Lord Wellesley, or his brother, remained in India, the Mahratta leaders would never have obtained peace on advantageous terms. General Wellesley expressed, in writing, his opinion that "Holkar was the most dangerous enemy the Company could have;" a well as his belief, that "to defeat Holkar in the field

to establish a firm authority in Malwa, and to destroy the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, were the principal objects to be kept in view." But Sir Arthur Wellesley* quitted the country where he had gained his earliest triumphs before the termination of the Mahratta war. Like his brother the governor-general, he complained, that in England his motives were not appreciated, and his services overlooked. In India he experienced directly the reverse. The native inhabitants of Seringapatam, the officers of that garrison, with those of Vellore, as well as the military and civilians at Madras, expressed in various numerously-signed addresses their admiration of his character, and their gratitude for benefits experienced under his firm and judicious rule. While summing-up the results of Sir Arthur's conduct during his residence in Mysore, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, pronounced the following eulogium upon the great captain of the age:—

"In viewing these happy consequences, I feel it to be an act of justice due to Sir Arthur Wellesley, to state, that there is no cause to which they can be so immediately traced as to the judgment and talents of that officer, which have been invariably directed to every measure connected with the public interest. He has left his command amidst the regret of all individuals, civil and military, European and native."

The Indian administration of the Marquis Wellesley was exposed to much obloquy, after his return to England. His opponents blamed the subsidiary measures which had been adopted in Oude, and elsewhere, while they accused him of having occasioned the Mahratta war. Common decency, if not a sense of gratitude, should have restrained the tongue of one, at least, among these carping assailants. A Mr. James Paull had been engaged for many years in commerce at Lucknow, from which place he was banished for some

* He was now a Knight of the Bath.

unknown cause, by the Nabob Vizier. This arbitrary piece of tyranny would have involved his affairs in utter ruin, had not Lord Wellesley interfered, and procured the abrogation of the sentence. In a letter addressed soon afterwards to Major Malcolm, Mr. Paull thus expresses his feelings towards the marquis:—"Sensibly do I feel the obligation I am under to his excellency, for whom I have only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect." Yet this grateful merchant, having subsequently returned to England, and obtained, by some means, a seat in parliament, announced his intention, the second day after he took his seat, of "prosecuting to conviction, if possible, the Marquis Wellesley, to whom he imputed all the dangers that threatened our existence in India." Before, however, these malicious designs could be carried into effect, the unhappy mover committed suicide, having been previously abandoned by the party who encouraged him to adopt this unworthy course.

Still the opposition did not cease. Sir Philip Francis, the persecutor of Hastings, came forward with characteristic virulence to assail another occupant of that post, which he himself had vainly aspired to fill. He was joined by Lord Folkstone, and some of the East India Directors, who belonged at that time to the House of Commons, but the various criminatory motions were always rejected by large majorities.

Now that the clamour of faction has long been hushed, and the party spirit which then engendered these unworthy censures no longer detracts from, or obscures the merits of the departed statesman, no man of sound or extended views can withhold from Lord Wellesley's government the praise it so justly merits. The prompt and energetic measures of the great governor-general, rescued from destruction or contempt the empire which Clive founded and Hastings maintained. During that administration, Tippoo Sahib and the Mahrattas,

two powers who had plotted with unwearied assiduity and perseverance the downfall of the English, were vanquished and overthrown, while the native princes in alliance with the Company found themselves protected, and their subjects relieved from the insults and violence of disorderly and undisciplined armies, costly in peace, but utterly useless in war.

Nor had the exertions of Lord Wellesley embraced only the foreign relations of the Company. His attention was early directed to the wants, due classification, and proper training of the members of the civil service. For their benefit he contemplated the erection of a College at Fort William, to be devoted to the double object of encouraging Eastern literature, and preparing for their arduous and important duties the civil servants of the Company. Those servants still retained the ancient commercial nomenclature, being divided into senior merchants, junior merchants, writers, and factors. But their present functions differed widely from the occupations of their predecessors; instead of writing out invoices, shipping bales of cotton, and crouching obsequiously to the lowest official of the Nabob Vizier, the merchant princes of Hindoostan, in the year 1805, were presiding over courts, administering provinces, and governing districts. Each of these functionaries was almost as little controlled, within his own sphere, as the contemporary Dey of Algiers, or the reigning Bashaw of Tripoli. The inhabitants of tracts of country larger than Yorkshire, the populations of cities more vast than Liverpool, obeyed with slavish awe, or grateful respect, the mandates of two or three men, distinguished by no high-sounding titles, manifesting little of the pomp of authority, and sprung generally, not from the aristocracy, but from the trading classes of their own country.

The spectacle was both flattering and instructive. It testified to the energy and perseverance of the Anglo-

Saxon race, while it exhibited the triumph of a civilization derived from Christianity over the stagnant barbarism of a debased and idolatrous system. It is true indeed, and impartiality demands the avowal, that the proceedings of the conquerors in India were often lamentably at variance with the holy faith into which they had been baptized. Some, it is to be feared, according to an old proverbial saying, current during this period, "left on their outward voyage the little religion or morality which they possessed at the Cape of Good Hope." Yet it cannot be denied that public opinion at home exercised a gradual, imperceptible, but still an irresistible, influence over the conduct of the English authorities abroad. The tyrannical civilian, the worst nabob who derived the funds for his vulgar ostentation from a plundered province, or an oppressed native ruler, soon found, by two or three signal examples, that even in distant India he must keep his avarice and rapacity within bounds. In proportion, too, as the popular mind in the mother country awoke to the importance of the Indian settlements, a better class of men than the co-officials of Clive, or even of Hastings, entered the Company's service, and occupied the principal posts of authority. Thus, at the worst of times, the oppressed were never deprived of the consolations of hope. The ryot who groaned under the rigour of Sujah Dowlah, or Tippoo Sahib, could only look forward to a succession of tyrants, each worse than his predecessor; the native who suffered from the temporary injustice of a harsh and severe collector, or from the arrogance and evil counsels of an imperious and ignorant resident, might obtain redress from better-minded superiors, or anticipate the period when his oppressor would be replaced by a more upright and conscientious magistrate.

During Lord Wellesley's administration, the eye of a master surveyed intently and minutely the whole

machine of government. Commerce was encouraged, men of worth and ability were drawn from obscurity and placed in positions where they could exercise and develop their peculiar talents. The agents of the great marquis had been taught by him the importance of self-dependence; since he invariably intrusted them with all the power which they might reasonably require for the performance of the various services expected at their hands. No official forms, no intrusion of subordinate authorities, were suffered to counteract or impede their plans; for the governor-general never selected any man for an important duty in whom he could not fully confide; while he rarely placed confidence in those whose merits he had not previously scrutinised with a jealous and watchful eye.

CHAPTER XVI.

PACIFIC POLICY OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW—LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK APPOINTED TO MADRAS—FRAUDS AT TANJORE—MASSACRE OF VELLORE—ANIMOSITY TOWARDS MISSIONS—COMPLAINTS OF THE ALLIES—TROUBLES AT HYDERABAD—AMEER KHAN—MISSIONS TO AFGHANISTAN, PERSIA, AND THE SIKHS.

1805—1809.

THE intelligence of the death of Lord Cornwallis reached the Court of Directors in the month of February, 1806. On the 14th of the same month, Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, addressed to the Directors a suggestion, that Sir George Barlow should be empowered to act as governor-general for a limited period only. The Directors, however, appointed Sir George to fill this post for the usual term; and hence arose a discussion between the Company and the Crown, which was terminated on the 9th of July, by the nomination of Lord Minto himself to the office in question.

During the interim, the acting governor-general exhibited a marked determination to follow out the peace policy so warmly advocated by his immediate predecessor. In pursuance with this resolution, he endeavoured as much as possible to avoid new alliances, and to neglect those which had already been formed. The Cutch Rajah, being dispossessed of his authority by rebels, sought the assistance of the Company: it was amicably refused. The Rajpoot chieftains began a civil war among themselves, both parties looked to the English for aid, but the Supreme Government declined to interfere. In the meantime an insurrection broke out in

Cabool, and the province of Berar was plundered twice by Scindiah and his Pindarries. Lord Wellesley's object had been, not only to compel the native states to refrain from disturbing the English, but to constrain them to keep the peace among themselves; Sir George Barlow's aim appeared to be the depression of all neighbouring powers, by allowing them to wage, unchecked, both intestine and foreign wars.

The inauguration of the peace policy at Calcutta, soon provoked grievous complaints from the native allies, who were ungenerously abandoned to the vengeance of Holkar and Scindiah. The Rajah of Berar represented that the treaty, which had been made between himself and General Wellesley, justified him in expecting assistance from the Company, at a period when his province was being desolated on account of his fidelity to their cause. Lord Lake urged the claims of the Rajah of Boondee, and Zalim Sing, the Chief of Kotah, who had rendered signal and important services to a detachment of the army during the disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson. Sir George Barlow heard these remonstrances, heaved a political sigh of regret, and mildly lamented that nothing could be done. Yet the abstinence of the Company from war, or rather their professed determination to preserve peace at all costs, was at this time occasioning the destruction of more lives than had been wasted in the sanguinary battles and sieges of the late campaign.

During the autumn of 1803, Lord William Bentinck landed in India as Governor of Madras. He soon began to distinguish himself as an able and zealous reformer of existing abuses in the civil department of the presidency over which he had been appointed to rule. The first case of the kind that came under the new governor's notice, were certain mal-practices in the province of Tanjore. This district, one of the most fertile in the south of India, submitted to the Company's

authority in 1800. In consequence of a violent inundation, there was a deficiency in the revenue during the year 1803. Some financial measures, introduced at that time, gave rise to an attempt, on the part of the native officials and landholders, to commit frauds on the government of an extensive nature. A subsequent investigation, which took place after the conspiracy was discovered, brought to light corruptions of the most serious kind. It was proved that both public and private rights had been shamelessly violated, that justice was commonly sold to the highest bidder, and that exaction and oppression, without limit, were practised in the name of the British government. After a careful examination of the evidence brought forward, Lord William Bentinck justly decided, that the principal share of the blame must rest with the English collector, or chief magistrate of the province, who, although personally free from criminality, had shown himself obtusely insensible to the flagitious actions perpetrated in his immediate vicinity.

The collector, in self-defence, endeavoured to screen his conduct by alleging the vices of the Hindoo character; but it was proved that he entertained deep-rooted prejudices against the natives, whom he governed with oppressive severity. One man attempting to expose the villany of the officials, was flogged and banished by the orders of the chief magistrate; and it soon became manifest, that the inhabitants of Tanjore no longer entertained the slightest confidence in their governor's justice or impartiality.

By recalling the collector of Tanjore, with all his assistants, Lord William Bentinck quieted the murmurs of the natives, and received for this judicious measure the warmest approbation of the Court of Directors. Shortly afterwards some discussion, upon the subject of military patronage, arose between his lordship and Sir John Cradock, who had been recently appointed

Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Presidency. The Governor expressed himself personally willing to concede the privileges in question to the Commander-in-Chief, but his colleagues in council remonstrated against a proceeding which they asserted would lower the dignity of Government. Some judicious rules on the subject, laid down by the Court of Directors, met with great objections from Sir John Cradock, who, however, did not, as he had threatened, retire from the service.

In the month of July, 1806, happened the massacre at Vellore, an event which, for a time, appeared pregnant, with the most serious consequences. It seems requisite to examine minutely the causes which led to this melancholy catastrophe; the more especially because its occurrence was attributed by some persons to the missionary efforts of various societies among the Hindoos. More detailed information will be given respecting these efforts in another chapter, but it is necessary at present to mention cursorily the position occupied by the missionaries in 1806, in order to show that the arguments then brought forward against them were absolutely futile and void of foundation.

When the massacre of Vellore occurred, a mission conducted by the Baptists, numbering among its members Dr. Carey and Mr. Ward, both of whom were deservedly celebrated for their acquaintance with oriental learning, had been recently established at Serampore, a town near Calcutta, and a possession of the Danish government. In the south of India, some two or three Lutheran clergymen supported by the Christian Knowledge Society, were engaged in tending those missions which had been founded by the venerable Swartz. Their native congregations, small in numbers, and drawn principally from the humblest classes, excited little attention, and awakened no animosity. In Tanjore the name of Swartz, still venerated even by the heathen, secured for them the good-will of the people and the

protection of the prince. The reigning rajah had been the pupil of the great missionary, and was not inimically disposed towards the religion which his pious instructor adorned by his virtues, and recommended by his blameless life. Even the powerful Hyder Ali listened with respect to the words of Swartz, and characterised him as the only European on whose promise he could place the slightest dependence. In Tinnevely, too, Christian villages existed, inhabited by a simple and indigent peasantry, to whose quiet demeanour and harmless lives the Hindoo Tahsildar, himself a heathen, bore unsolicited testimony. Two regular services were held daily in their simple churches, where they received instruction from native priests, who had derived the first rudiments of Christian knowledge from the lips of the venerable Swartz, or from some of his pious coadjutors. Groups of women were to be seen assembled beneath the shade of the palmyra-trees, singing their Lutheran hymns to the motion of their spinning-wheels, while the men pursued their labours in the field. These peaceful scenes appeared like moral oases in the surrounding desert.

Such was the formidable aspect of Christianity when the mutiny of Vellore created in the minds of many a panic which, but for the sanguinary event that produced it, might almost occasion a smile. The real cause, however, of that lamentable massacre must be sought for in proceedings utterly remote from the humble occupations of the missionary. The outbreak, in fact, originated not from religious, but military zeal. At the close of the eighteenth century the regulations of the Prussian army under the great Frederick were considered by all European officers the special model for imitation. Under this system the care and comfort of the soldier had been sacrificed to the attempt to preserve a stiff uniformity of appearance. Men came on parade with cravats that almost impeded respiration,

with tight coats closely buttoned over the chest, and with head-coverings which, however seemly they might be considered at home, were by no means regarded as ornamental or serviceable in India.

It was whispered among the Mohammedan sepoys that these uncomfortable-looking coverings were manufactured from the skin of an animal denounced as an abomination by the Prophet, and the touch of which, according to their superstitious notions, conveyed infallible pollution. Suddenly a new set of military regulations appeared, put forth by Sir John Cradock, in which it was announced that a new turban, somewhat resembling in shape the European soldier's hat, must in future be worn by the sepoys. The latter were ordered, at the same time, to clip their mustachios, to shave their chins, to erase the marks of caste from their foreheads, and to abstain from wearing their ear-rings while on duty.

Few Europeans can duly estimate the prejudices of an oriental with regard to those habits of dress and deportment which have been handed down to him from his ancestors. They bear about them something of the sanctity of religious traditions; and this circumstance may account for the unchanging character of eastern vestments and manners. The dress and the habits of the people of India are what they were when Alexander first crossed their frontiers at the head of his Macedonians, and the similarity can only be accounted for, by referring it to the respect of eastern nations for the old customs which they have received from their progenitors. Nor could these prejudices, injudicious or puerile as they may seem, be infringed with impunity. An oriental despot might decapitate hundreds of his subjects unresisted; he would excite an insurrection if he ordered them to shave. The history of the opposition which Peter the Great encountered from a semi-oriental people, on a similar occasion, fully bears out this statement.

The new regulations called forth the most strenuous

dislike, chiefly, however, from the Mohammedans, with whom, it must be observed, the missionaries had little or no intercourse. They objected specially to the turban, and a battalion stationed at Vellore positively refused to adopt it. The existing discontent received encouragement from the noble Mohammedans who resided with Tippoo's sons in the palace of Vellore. Many of these men regretted, as was natural, their former position and advantages, while their proud Moslem spirit writhed under the yoke of the stranger. The liberal allowance made by the Company to the Mysore princes gave them the means of securing considerable influence, the more especially as great numbers of persons from their own country and the adjacent regions, visited the palace in the course of the year. It was even said that French emissaries, disguised as fakirs and dervishes, insinuated themselves among the Mohammedan population, denouncing the English, and calling upon all true believers to throw off their odious domination. Similar causes had recently occasioned in Bengal the rebellion of Vizier Ali, with which it was never pretended that missions had any concern.

The turbulent spirit of the native troops led to a court of inquiry. Sir John Cradock presided in person over its deliberations, expelled the rebellious non-commissioned officers from the service, and ordered two of the privates to receive 900 lashes each. In the meantime, an address was drawn up to the troops, but as the feeling of discontent did not appear to be widely spread, the governor refrained from making it public. Exasperated by the punishment of their comrades, and resenting the forcible imposition of the odious turban, the Vellore sepoys organized a conspiracy against their European officers. So little was any movement of the kind suspected, that the commander of the garrison, Colonel Fancourt, had invited over an old friend, Colonel Gillespie from Arcot, to dine with him the day before the

mutiny. Special business prevented the latter officer from accepting an invitation which might have cost him his life; and Colonel Fancourt, retiring to rest as usual, never supposed himself in danger, until awakened, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, by the noise of firing. The butchery had begun.

The first place assailed was the European barracks, in which four companies of the 69th, a king's regiment, were then quartered. The rebels surrounded the place in silence, and suddenly poured through the doors and windows, a heavy fire of musketry. At the same time, an attack was made upon the hospitals by other insurgents, who inhumanly murdered all the sick they found there, and then proceeded to the dwellings of the officers. Fourteen of the latter, including Colonel Fancourt, with one hundred and fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates fell victims on this occasion to the sanguinary fury of the mutineers. The remnant of the 69th maintained their ground in the barracks until the morning, when having been joined by some English officers, they contrived to break through their assailants, and occupied the top of a fortified gateway with the portion of the ramparts immediately adjoining.

Colonel Gillespie received the intelligence of his friend's murder early the next morning, just as he was mounting his horse to ride over to Vellore. He immediately ordered a troop of the 19th Dragoons to mount and follow him at full speed, while some galloper guns were to come after. The sight of their comrades gave fresh courage to the unfortunate survivors. By means of an artificial rope formed of the soldiers' belts, the Colonel was drawn up to the summit of the gateway, from whence he directed a charge to be made upon the assailants. The repulse of the latter allowed the garrison a little breathing time, until the dragoons, whom Gillespie in his haste had left behind, came up, and blew

open the gates with their galloper guns. A furious charge and a sharp fire from the artillery, broke the ranks of the insurgents, and the dragoons, bursting in upon them, cut to pieces about 400, and put the rest to flight. They were pursued, and the great majority of them imprisoned before the night came on.

No doubt was entertained by any of the Europeans concerned, that the sons of Tippoo had been the originators of this outbreak. The enraged soldiers, incensed at the sight of their murdered comrades, wished to break into the palace, and slaughter the whole of its inmates, who were imprudent enough to hoist the flag of Tippoo Sultan on the walls at the commencement of the revolt. Colonel Gillespie found considerable difficulty in saving the princes from being torn in pieces, and finally despatched them with an escort to Madras.

A special inquiry was held, in order to ascertain the cause of this insurrection. The result of the investigation confirmed previous impressions with regard to the guilt of Tippoo's family, though it appeared also that the innovations in dress had unquestionably irritated the men's minds, and prepared them for the treasonable intrigues of the Mysorean courtiers. One sepoy, Mustapha Bey by name, warned an officer of the garrison of the impending conspiracy, but the other conspirators artfully represented that he was occasionally subject to fits of insanity. He now received, by order of government, 2,000 rupees and a gold medal. The Mysore princes, of whose guilt ample proofs had been submitted to the special commissioners, were banished to Calcutta, where they remained subject to the strictest surveillance.

A court-martial having been appointed by the commander-in-chief to try the late mutineers, severe punishments were inflicted upon those proved to be guilty. These examples appeared the more necessary, since simultaneous disturbances arose among the regiments of

the subsidiary force at Hyderabad. Further mischief was, however, prevented by the prudence of the commanding officer, who immediately revoked the obnoxious order, and this seasonable measure almost instantaneously restored tranquillity.

Contrary to the advice of Lord William Bentinck, the regiments concerned in the mutiny were at once erased from the army list. About 1,100 men, more or less implicated, underwent a temporary imprisonment, but these steps scarcely abated the almost universal panic which at that time pervaded all classes of Europeans in India. Officers slept with pistols under their pillows; while most absurd suspicions were nourished against innocent persons. Purneah, the chief minister of Mysore under the British, had proved his attachment to his European masters by seven years of faithful service. Sir Arthur Wellesley, one by no means lavish in praise, when leaving his post at Seringapatam, expressed, in the warmest and most unqualified language, the high sense entertained by him of the Indian official's integrity and worth. Yet, during this period of alarm even he did not escape suspicion, and a positive accusation was brought against his brother. Purneah acted under these trying circumstances as only a man fully convinced of his own innocence could and would have acted. He suspended his relative forthwith from office, and demanded that he should be tried by a court composed exclusively of British officers. The result proved to be a triumphant acquittal; and the Madras government marked its sense of the absurd terrors of its subordinates by a request to Purneah that his brother should again resume his former duties; while the commandant of the station, his accuser, was dismissed in disgrace.

Other commandants, however, showed themselves equally terrified and equally precipitate. The gentleman who presided over the garrison at Palamcottah, took the uncalled-for precaution of disarming the

Mohammedans of his corps, while he shut himself up in the fort with a few Europeans and Hindoos, and despatched to the governor of Ceylon and the commander-in-chief of Travancore the alarming intelligence that he had discovered a plot for the extirpation of all the Europeans in Southern India. The conspiracy proved, upon examination, to be a mere phantom of the imagination. The Mohammedan soldiers received their arms again, and although doubtless much surprised at the manner in which they had been treated, never manifested the slightest sign of insubordination. The authorities at Madras issued a public document, in which, after condemning the want of confidence that had been shown in the loyalty of the native troops, they recommended, for the future, measures of conciliation and kindness. These liberal-minded views emanated principally from Lord William Bentinck, a man for whose memory the natives of Southern India still entertain the highest veneration. Unhappily, the Court of Directors receiving some exaggerated reports of the massacre at Vellore, were induced to issue orders for his lordship's recal, and that of Sir John Cradock, upon whom, indeed, must rest a considerable share of the blame connected with this unfortunate transaction. By some mistake, no measures had been taken for enabling the governor to return home immediately, and but for the kindness of Sir Edward Pellew, he would have been obliged to wait for the arrival of the homeward-bound fleet.

Several of the early Christian apologists inform us that in their day it was the custom of the heathen to attribute the misfortunes of the state to the spread of Christianity. If the harvests failed, or the Nile sank below the usual water-mark, the populace shouted, "the Christians to the lion." The credit of reviving that ancient precedent in modern times must not be withheld from certain persons at this period, who most unwarrantably attributed the massacre of Vellore to the exertions of the

few Christian missionaries in India, whose numbers and labours have been described a few pages back. To refute these accusations seriously at the present day would be as absurd as to demonstrate the falsehood of Titus Oates' narrative; but we may point out cursorily the significant fact, that while the newly-converted proselytes came almost wholly from the Hindoos, the conspiracy originated chiefly, if not entirely, among Mohammedans; its main object being the restoration of the throne of Mysore to a dynasty, which had crushed the Brahmins and propagated Islam at the sword's point. In working out these ends, it may doubtless have suited the purpose of the chief plotters to operate upon the fanatical passions of the Mohammedan sepoys, by connecting with the introduction of an obnoxious head-dress a vague and undefined charge of proselytism. But this accusation would, it is most probable, have been made, had not a single missionary existed throughout the entire continent. Similar insinuations have been disseminated, in countries entirely free from missionaries, by artful politicians, when their object was to injure a foe differing in religion from themselves. Nor could the intimation exert much influence over any but the most ignorant and fanatical, since it required no ordinary share of credulity to imagine that a government noted for its beneficence towards every religion but its own, should suddenly assume the zeal and rival the exploits of a Goa inquisitor. It seems most probable, therefore, that the charge, if indeed it was made at all, constituted but a slender portion of the political indictment brought by the Mohammedans of Mysore against the Anglo-Indian authorities. But the existence of such an impression upon the native mind was not satisfactorily proved to those who understood the native character. The desire to escape punishment, to please mission-hating superiors, or to cloke by an honourable motive reasons less reputable, may have prompted an avowal from some of the parties implicated, that

dread of religious innovation had alone turned their arms against masters who never interfered with their religious convictions. To suppose that they ever believed their faith in danger from five or six missionaries at the extreme north, or less than that number in the extreme south of a peninsula, where the inhabitants scarcely know what passes in an adjacent province, is to ascribe to a clever, though half-civilized race, an amount of credulity which they themselves would repudiate with indignation.

The newly-appointed governor-general, Lord Minto, landed at Madras in July, 1807 ; and, after the delay of a few days, pursued his journey to Calcutta. In times past, he had concurred in the impeachment of Hastings, and was generally supposed to entertain sentiments favourable to a pacific line of policy. Unhappily, that policy had been but too often the prelude to a most sanguinary war. The empire of the British in India is essentially a dominion based more upon opinion than on numerical strength. It owes its existence to the idea of the native powers that the English are superior to them in every quality likely to insure success. But this idea requires constantly some outward manifestation of power, to prevent its elimination from the oriental mind. The Eastern, credulous with respect to the past, is sceptical as regards the present. He forgets old miracles, and old lessons, in his desire for new signs and manifestations. He resembles still those of old, who wearied the great Jewish lawgiver with their importunities for supernatural interpositions, and were ever asking a fresh demonstration of celestial power from the incarnate Son of God.

Moreover, the oriental rulers had never been accustomed to contemplate the steady increase and lengthened continuance of national prosperity. With them a great state rose rapidly to its zenith, and almost instantaneously commenced its decline. The man who one

year was a mere leader of banditti, might the next be enthroned at Seringapatam or Hyderabad. The shepherd tribe that pastured their herds on the deserted tracts of some nameless region, would perhaps, in a century, have degenerated into cringing courtiers and luxurious citizens in one of the great metropolitan cities of India. On the other hand, a Nizam of the Deccan might in an incredibly short time sink into the slave of a Nabob of Arcot, or an Emperor of Delhi tremble before a Mahratta or Rohilla chieftain. Despotism in the east was unchangeable, the usurper continuing inevitably the regimen of the tyrant he had overthrown. But to make amends for this, a speedy and ever varied succession of despots stimulated ambition and encouraged hope. No eastern could believe in the stability of his own dynasties, and therefore would discredit the soundness of the English rule, unless the palpable proofs of its unaltered vigour were constantly before his eyes. The English had been great, so had the Mogul and the Mahratta, but where was the magnificence and extended sway of these latter powers, once so illustrious in Indian annals? Might there not be then even now a worm gnawing at the root of this northern gourd which covered the peninsula with its shade, soon perhaps, like its predecessors, to wither beneath the fierce sunbeams of a foreign clime.

The allies of the English complained that, after having been inveigled into a war, they were unscrupulously deserted at its termination, to bear alone and unsupported the vengeance of those whose hostility had been provoked by their league with the white strangers. In reply, however, to these murmurs, the English might often correctly allege, that their supporters rarely proved of much benefit to the common cause; that they had often weakened the best concerted operations by their incapacity or their want of faith; that they intrigued with the enemy, or withheld their contingents

until the moment when victory appeared inevitable. Yet it was often felt that neglect of these comparatively useless allies not only created discontent, but encouraged the enemies of the British supremacy in India to circulate rumours of a depreciatory character. "The Company," they said, "refrained from assisting its allies, because it feared their adversaries, or was conscious of its own weakness."

These and similar considerations pressed themselves upon the attention of the new governor-general, and Lord Minto soon found himself compelled to exercise the same degree of interference with the internal affairs of native states, which in England he had been among the first to deprecate and to condemn.

In 1808 the Nizam's minister, Meer Allum, having died, two candidates contended together for the vacant dignity. One of these, Mooneer-ool-Mulk, was the personal favourite of the Nizam; the other, Rajah Chundoo Loll, had obtained the support of the British government. The resident received instructions from Calcutta to favour Chundoo Loll; who, being elected against the known wishes of his nominal sovereign, reduced the latter eventually to a mere cipher in his own dominions.

Fresh troubles were excited about the same period by Ameer Khan, a Patan soldier of fortune, who, after serving all the northern princes of India in succession, finally joined Jeswunt Row Holkar, and fought with him against the English during the Mahratta war. He had, since the termination of that campaign, collected a mixed horde of Patans, Mahrattas, Jauts, and Pindaries, with whom he ravaged the fertile territories of Berar. The character of this freebooter may be learned from one of his exploits. During his mercenary career his aid was sought by Maun Sing, a Rajpoot usurper, against Sevaee Sing, who supported the cause of the rightful prince. Maun Sing promised the Patan a

munificent reward, if he would undertake the destruction of his enemy. Ameer Khan demanded two lacs of rupees in advance, and engaged that Sevaee Sing should soon trouble his employer no longer. The intended victim had promised to visit the Patan, but when the hour came he hesitated. The insidious Ameer Khan was informed of his fears, and removed them by an exhibition of confidence which might have terminated fatally, had the Rajpoot been equally crafty and unscrupulous.

Mounting his horse, he proceeded with a few followers to the tomb of a Mohammedan saint, beneath the walls of Nagpoor. There he sent for Sevaee Sing, and assuming an air of openness and candour, bade him judge if a man who had thus placed himself in his power could be guilty of entertaining treacherous designs against his life. To carry the deceit still further, he swore upon the tomb of the saint that he would henceforth be faithful to his new ally, who, beguiled by appearances, consented to visit him the next day in his camp. When Sevaee Sing arrived, the troops were under arms, as if to do him special honour, but the guns had been previously loaded with grape, and their muzzles pointed towards a large tent to which the unsuspecting Rajpoot was conducted. Two hundred followers entered with him, accompanied by some Patan officers, but, at a given signal, the latter overturned the tent upon their guests and fled, while the cannon poured forth showers of grape, which soon destroyed the unfortunate Rajpoots. Sevaee Sing's body was found mutilated by shot: the murderer severed his head from the lacerated trunk, and despatched it to Maun Sing, as a token that the sanguinary commission had been fully executed.

Such was the enemy who now attracted the attention of the British government, but his efforts, for the present, proved unsuccessful. An English force, under

Colonel Close, soon compelled him to retreat into Malwa, where, however, he increased his force, and remained waiting for an auspicious moment to sally forth once more.

The resident at Baroda, Colonel Walker, had been engaged during this period in settling the affairs of Baroda and Guzerat, where he succeeded in putting a stop to the practice of infanticide; and captured several strong fortresses from the Kattywar chieftains. He was succeeded by Major Carnac, who effected many important reforms in these northern regions.

The conduct of the Nabob of Oude next called imperatively for the interposition of the Company. That potentate had been guilty of intolerable oppression, by farming out his lands at exorbitant rates, and then sending soldiers to extort from his suffering subjects sums which they were unable to pay. The resident at his court, therefore, received instructions to remonstrate against the employment of a British subsidiary force on similar errands; but this interference produced little or no amelioration of the evils complained of.

Dread of the revival of French influence in India, led Lord Minto to cultivate friendly relations with the Ameers of Scinde. Mr. Hankey Smith succeeded in gaining for his government the good-will of these princes, who signed a treaty on the 9th of August, 1809, by which they engaged "to prevent the *tribe* of the French from entering their country." A little before, Mr. Elphinstone secured the accession of Shujah-ool-Mulk, King of Cabool, to the anti-gallican league. These negotiations brought our envoys, for the first time, into contact with races who were destined to play a prominent part in the recent history of British India. Mr. Elphinstone found the Afghaun sovereign surrounded by all the splendour of eastern royalty; his dress shone with jewels and diamonds, while, in one of the bracelets that decorated his wrists, glittered the

famous Koh-i-noor, "the mountain of light," the history of whose migrations, since it left its native mine, would almost furnish sufficient matter for an entertaining history. Yet the officers of this magnificent prince appropriated to their own use the camels which conveyed the splendid presents of the governor-general; they even wished to retain two English footmen, who they insisted formed part of the donation, and the monarch, himself, condescended to covet the silk stockings worn by the envoy and the gentlemen of his suite.

The kingdom of Cabool was, however, at this period, far from being in a position to render much assistance to the English. A civil war raged between the Shah Shujah-ool-Mulk and one of his relatives, Prince Mahmoud. While the embassy awaited in the vale of Cashmere permission from the Sikhs to pass through their territories, news reached Mr. Elphinstone that Shah Shujah had been completely defeated. The whole of Cabool was soon a prey to anarchy of the worst kind; every petty chieftain asserted his independence, and collecting around him a band of marauders, waged war with his neighbours, and devastated their lands.

As the British ambassador passed through the Sikh region, he was overtaken by the harem of Shujah-ool-Mulk, after whom came Zemaun Shah, now a blind and helpless captive, but formerly monarch of Cabool. The aged man spoke of his misfortunes, with that appearance of placid philosophy and stoic indifference, by which an oriental endeavours to conceal from the outer world his sorrows and inward repinings. He affected to consider his fate one of those misfortunes common to princes, which all elevated above the ordinary sons of Adam must anticipate daily, and endure, when it arrives, with dignified resignation. His philosophy might have been sincere, but they who understand and appreciate the deceitfulness of the human heart, will, perhaps, consider that such expressions are but too often the very

reverse of those internal feelings which they are supposed to represent.

Towards the termination of 1807, intelligence reached the governor-general, that the French, in conjunction with the Turks and Persians, were organizing an invasion of India. In order to counteract the influence acquired by Buonaparte's envoy over the Persian Court, Sir John Malcolm was despatched to Bushire. He received instructions to proceed farther, if practicable, and even to attempt a journey to Teheran. The French ascendancy, however, was then paramount in the councils of Persia, and Colonel Malcolm, after transmitting some able state papers from Bushire, returned to Calcutta without proceeding into the interior. He proposed to Lord Minto, that the English should seize an island in the Persian Gulf, and thus work upon the fears of the Shah, but this hostile movement was rendered unnecessary by the arrival of Sir Harford Jones, who had been empowered by George III., to act as ambassador to the Persian Shah. Just at this time, also, a coolness ensued between that monarch and his French allies, which tended to procure for Sir Harford Jones a more favourable reception than perhaps he would otherwise have experienced. The rich presents displayed by the English envoy decided the matter; the French were dismissed in disgrace, and the Shah agreed, finally, to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, with England.

In August, 1809, the government opened negotiations with Runjeet Sing, whose recent territorial acquisitions now brought him to the frontier of the Company's dominions. The English bound themselves to leave him the territories north of the Sutledge, while he promised to maintain as few troops as possible near the Company's boundaries. The present of an English carriage and a pair of horses, forwarded by the governor-general on this occasion, tended materially, we are told, to cement harmony.

Some of the Ghoorka tribes, in Nepaul, invaded the territories of a rajah in alliance with the English government; these marauders were finally driven back, in 1813, after many fruitless negotiations and threats. The Mhugs, a Burmese tribe, also made incursions into Chittagong, and the hostile feeling thus engendered on the frontiers, led eventually to a war between the English and the King of Ava.

CHAPTER XVII.

DISTURBANCES AT MADRAS—EXPEDITION TO CHINA—CONQUEST OF
JAVA—ADMINISTRATION OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES,

1809—1811.

DURING the year 1809, serious disturbances took place in the Madras Presidency. They originated in the exclusion of the commander-in-chief, General Hay McDowall, from a seat in council, by the order of Sir George Barlow, who, upon Lord Minto's arrival in India, had been transferred from Calcutta to Madras. At first this ill-judged measure seemed likely to terminate in a mere official dispute, but, finally, several detachments of the army took up the question and broke out into open mutiny. In addition, however, to the exclusion of the commander-in-chief from council, there existed other causes of discontent. During the rule of Lord William Bentinck, the quartermaster-general had been commissioned to draw up a report on the subject of "Tent Contract," a monthly allowance made to the officers of native corps for the provision of camp furniture. In his remarks, the quartermaster-general characterised the "Tent Contract" as a system which might place an officer's public and private interest in opposition to each other. This observation created universal dissatisfaction, and the officers of the different native corps addressed a communication to their commander-in-chief, demanding that the writer should be placed under arrest, and be tried by a court-martial. Their requisition, however, received little notice,

until General McDowall, finding himself involved in a quarrel with the civil authorities, determined, by espousing the complaints of the officers, to attach them more firmly to his party. He accordingly arrested the quartermaster-general, who forthwith appealed to the council, they having sanctioned his report, and acted upon it by abolishing the "Tent Contract." The council, finding remonstrance and entreaty fruitless, released the prisoner by their own authority. The commander-in-chief, irritated beyond measure, threw up his office, and, without tendering a formal resignation, left the Presidency for England, having previously forwarded a letter of complaint from the officers of the army to the council. He also placed in the hands of the deputy-adjutant general, an address, reflecting somewhat severely upon the conduct of the quartermaster-general. The deputy-adjutant published the order, the governor suspended him forthwith, and issued a public notice, removing General McDowall from the office of commander-in-chief. The officers next presented an address to the suspended deputy-adjutant, approving his conduct, which the government severely censured, cashiering at the same time some of those who had signed it.

An open war now broke out between the civil and military authorities, part of the troops remained faithful, others, with their officers, mutinied, and two battalions who had embraced different sides, meeting accidentally, they fired upon each other like mutual enemies. Purneah, the chief minister of Mysore, distinguished himself under these trying circumstances by the most unshaken fidelity towards the English government. Although the mutineers threatened to pillage his effects, the Hindoo official could not be induced to act contrary to the advice of the resident, whom he materially aided, by placing 550 horses at the disposal of a king's regiment of dragoons. When Purneah delivered these to the resident, he assured him that every opportunity

offered him of evincing his attachment and gratitude to the British government, added a new term of years to his life, and an additional increase to his happiness.

Upon hearing of these commotions in the south, Lord Minto immediately repaired to Madras, where, by tempering the firmness of Sir George Barlow with his own leniency, he succeeded in allaying the mutinous spirit of the officers, which for a time had even endangered the stability of government. Few of the offenders incurred punishment, and the commander-in-chief, whose example and encouragement had unhappily instigated them to rebellion, was lost on his passage home; a fate which, however deplorable, saved him from the censure and probable disgrace that awaited him in England. By way of preventing similar misfortunes for the future, the Court of Directors wisely decided that the new Madras commander-in-chief, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, should take his seat in council with the civil authorities.

In the year 1809 a naval armament, under Admiral Drury, had been despatched to take possession of Macao, a port in China hitherto colonised by the Portuguese. The power of the latter in this settlement was controlled almost entirely by the Chinese authorities, who manifested considerable jealousy towards the English. The sepoys, although permitted to land, were insulted by the Chinese inhabitants, and, menaced by their government, the tea trade was stopped at Canton, and a fleet of war junks drew themselves up in line of battle, for the purpose of assailing the English fleet. The admiral made a show of attacking the hostile squadron; but, after the exchange of a few shots, he altered his determination, and remained inactive, a circumstance which led the Chinese to lay claim to the victory. Their self-complacency was much increased by the evacuation of Macao and the departure of the naval force, the Court of Directors having severely

censured the whole expedition. About the same period the Mauritius and the Spice Islands fell into the hands of the English.

The last great act of Lord Minto's administration proved to be the conquest of Java and its dependencies. This island, the most southern of the group known by the generic appellation of Sunda, had fallen into the hands of the Dutch during the course of the year 1619. Before their arrival it was divided into three independent kingdoms or states, but the early history of the place, like that of most oriental countries, is buried in obscurity, or illustrated only by fabulous narratives. The climate is tropical, the year consisting of two seasons, marked by the occurrence of the dry and wet monsoons. The former commences during the months of April and May, and terminates early in October; the latter begins in November, and renders the season extremely unhealthy, there being usually at this time great abundance of wind and rain.

The soil of Java is famed for its fertility, being covered by magnificent forests, and yielding the most luxuriant fruits. Cotton, coffee, rice, indigo, tobacco, and sugar, occupy a prominent rank among the productions of this fruitful region. Here is to be found the famous upas or poison-tree, the effluvia of which was supposed, though erroneously, to destroy all animal and vegetable life within a circle of two miles' distance.

The quadrupeds and reptiles of Java are noted for their magnitude. The great boa, a serpent inhabiting the forests, measures thirty feet in length; the buffalo and rhinoceros are equally large in proportion to their species found elsewhere, while a multitude of the most beautiful birds, with countless tribes of numerous insects alternately awaken admiration and inspire disgust or alarm. The large ape, entitled wow-wow, is supposed by the Javanese to have been the progenitor of their race, and is, therefore, regarded by them with peculiar

reverence. Their national character, as generally described, does not seem unworthy of such an origin. Revengeful and cowardly, servile and vain, they are sunk in the grossest sensuality, and endure tamely the most fearful oppression. The tyranny of their native rulers has been closely imitated by the Dutch, whose colonial policy in all parts of the world was never distinguished for its mildness.

Great services were rendered to the English expedition by Mr., afterwards Sir Stamford Raffles. In the year 1808 he had been secretary to the government of Prince of Wales' Island, whence he repaired to Malacca, the arduous nature of his duties having materially affected his health. The information he acquired in that peninsula respecting the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, led him to suggest to Lord Minto the importance of attempting the conquest of Java. This island, like all the Dutch possessions, came under French authority after the subjugation of Holland by Napoleon; it formed the centre of their influence in the East, and would have enabled them to carry on designs against India with both secrecy and facility.

The governor-general was so much struck by the representations of Mr. Raffles, that he not only determined to take immediate measures for the reduction of Java, but also resolved to accompany the expedition in person. His lordship left Calcutta in the *Mornington* cruiser, and reached Penang on the 18th of April. Some discussion arose with respect to the route, a question which excited considerable anxiety, as the favourable monsoon season was now drawing rapidly to a close. The northern passage round Borneo had been hitherto considered the only practicable one, but Mr. Raffles recommended strongly the south-west route between Caramata and Borneo, "staking his reputation upon the result." Undeterred by the opposition of the naval authorities, Lord Minto decided in favour of Mr. Raffles' plan. The

event justified the wisdom of this course, and in six weeks the fleet arrived safely at Batavia without the slightest accident.

The troops under General Sir Samuel Auchmuty were disembarked on the 4th of August, and Batavia, the capital, surrendered on the 8th; the garrison having evacuated the place and retreated to Weltevreden. From hence they retired at the approach of the English to Cornelis, about two miles distant, in the vicinity of which some sharp fighting occurred. The Dutch defended their position with the most unyielding valour, multitudes perished, or were taken prisoners; but finally the English remained masters of the field, and on the 18th of September a capitulation of the whole island was agreed upon between General Jansens and Sir Samuel Auchmuty.

Various schemes were now agitated respecting the future government of the country. Some advocated that it should be given up to the natives; but this proposition the governor-general wisely checked, as not being consistent with either sound policy or the welfare of those it affected to serve. Finally, the care of the newly-acquired empire devolved upon Mr. Raffles, who, under the title of lieutenant-governor, was appointed to regulate the affairs of a country, which in his despatches he enthusiastically described as "the other India." This distinction, although fully deserved by the valuable services he had rendered, and the abilities which he displayed, unfortunately excited the jealousy of the Bengal civil service, while differences arose after the departure of Lord Minto between the new governor and General Gillespie, whose bravery during the reduction of the island procured for him the public thanks of Government. The general even went so far as to demand an investigation into certain charges that he brought against Mr. Raffles: his desire was complied with; but the accusations laid before the commissioners appointed

for the purpose of investigating them, were completely refuted, and shortly afterwards General Nightingall succeeded the accuser as commander-in-chief of Java.

Freed from these vexations, Mr. Raffles devoted himself wholly to the improvement of the country over which he ruled. At the commencement of his sway great financial difficulties existed, but these were modified by the introduction of an improved system of land revenue, succeeded by a reform of the currency. It was believed at the India House, that "the colony would soon liquidate its own expenses by the lieutenant-governor's lenient, mild, and equitable administration." Many disadvantages, however, had to be grappled with and overcome before that beneficent rule could exhibit its true character, and some remained afterwards to retard its progress, and neutralise the blessings it conferred; yet in no country of the world was Anglo-Saxon government more thoroughly successful, or so entirely free from blame. Mr. Raffles introduced among the natives the practice of vaccination, and, in order that the system might not fall into desuetude through the parsimony or indifference of his successors, he allotted certain tracts, under the denomination of "the Jennerian lands," for its perpetual support. He advocated the instruction of the natives in useful arts, and did his utmost to discourage gaming, slavery, and the very general use of opium. This drug, like the spirituous liquors of the north, has always been the curse of oriental populations, wherever the lust of gain may have led to its introduction. It undermines the powers of the body and mind; it demoralises the wretched being who subjects himself to its sway; and by a strange fascination that few can explain, and scarcely any resist, it rivets its chains so firmly upon the victim's energies and will, that scarcely any instances are on record in which they have been entirely shaken off.

Lord Minto left Calcutta for England during the

latter part of the year 1813. Although the design of his administration had been to inculcate the advantages of peace, and demonstrate the futility of war, it can hardly be said to have answered the end proposed. On the continent of India the Pindarees were gathering strength for another campaign, while the north-eastern frontier was menaced by the Burmese and the wild tribes of Nepaul. The policy of Lord Minto deferred the evil day, but it did not prevent the possibility of its recurrence. On the other hand, the armaments to Java and the Dutch possessions, while they crushed the intrigues of the French in the eastern seas, and added materially to the reputation of the English nation, produced few substantial and lasting benefits, in return for the immense outlay that had been expended upon them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AFFAIRS OF THE COMPANY IN ENGLAND—WAR WITH NEPAUL—DISTURBANCES AT HYDERABAD—TRIMBUCKJEE DAINGLIA—HIS CAPTIVITY AND ESCAPE.

1811—1816.

FOR five years previous to 1813, a strong feeling of opposition to the commercial privileges of the East India Company had been gaining ground in England. On the 22d of February, 1813, the Directors addressed Parliament in defence of their monopoly, pleading that it was necessary, as a means of supplying funds for the numerous political expenses in which they were called upon to engage. The determination of ministers, however, to annihilate the Company's privileges remained unshaken, and in the month of July, 1813, a bill passed through both Houses, which permitted all persons to trade with India, if furnished with a licence from the Court of Directors. The liberty of withholding this permission was not even left at the option of the latter, since, upon their refusal to issue the requisite passport, an appeal might be made to the Board of Control. The Board also acquired increased power in matters of finance and education; the college at Haileybury and the seminary at Addiscombe, belonging to the Company, being placed under their supervision. All governors, commanders-in-chief, and the governor-general, were now rendered almost entirely dependent on the Crown; no servant of the Company could be dismissed or reinstated without the consent of the board, nor might the Court of Directors make any grant exceeding 600*l.*, unless it had pre-

viously received the sanction of the controlling powers. Numerous petitions having been presented to Parliament praying that measures should be taken for the better support and extension of Christianity in India, an episcopal establishment was also authorized, a subject which will be more fully discussed in a succeeding chapter.

Lord Minto had been replaced in his government by the Marquis of Hastings, then Earl of Moira; this nobleman had served, with some distinction, during the American war, and appeared, therefore, the better qualified to grapple with the numerous military questions which arose about this time. The first of these, that called for his attention, was connected with the affairs of Nepaul.

The region known by this name, stretches along the foot of the mountain range called Kuchar, which divides Thibet from Northern Hindoostan. Its inhabitants are remarkable for their bravery and want of civilization. Ancient remains scattered throughout the country, attest the prevalence of the Brahminical superstition in it from the earliest ages, while the neighbourhood of China accounts for the existence of Bhuddism among a certain class of the inhabitants. The bravest and most warlike tribe of Nepaul, was that of the Ghoorkas, so called from the province of Hindoostan, whence they migrated nearly a century ago. Their incursions having attracted the notice of the Bengal government, in 1796, a force was despatched against them under Captain Kinlock, but the progress of the troops being arrested by sickness, the expedition returned without accomplishing its object, and since this period the Ghoorkas adopted a system of perpetual encroachment. During the interval between 1787 and 1812, they possessed themselves of more than two hundred villages, situated beyond the frontiers of Nepaul. Colonel Bradshaw, who had been deputed by the governor-general to arrange amicably

the various points in debate, found his friendly advances misconstrued and rejected. The overbearing demeanour of the Ghoorkas seemed to be increased by the pacific policy of the Company. The British envoy was often perplexed to discover the just limits of their frontier, since the Nepaulese commissioners equivocated without scruple, and lied without shame.

Hostilities now appeared unavoidable. The governor-general prohibited all commercial intercourse with the state of Nepaul, and at once turned his attention to the organization of an invading army. Four divisions were appointed to act upon as many different points; Major-General Marly was entrusted with the reduction of the capital, Catmandoo; Major-General Wood received orders to possess himself of Bootwal; Major-General Gillespie had been instructed to occupy the passes of the Jumna and Ganges; while Major-General Ochterlony marched into the western provinces of the Ghoorkas. The hill chieftains, under the protection of the English government, were commanded to support these movements at the head of their irregulars, and the Company opened, through the medium of General Ochterlony, a friendly correspondence with Runjeet Sing.

The forces of the Ghoorkas numbered about twelve thousand men, clothed, armed, and disciplined like the Company's sepoys. They were brave, intelligent, and active; their country possessed many natural defences, and their new and unusual mode of warfare proved, at the outset, formidable and embarrassing to the invaders. The Ghoorka officers issued a public order that the wells and springs should be poisoned; to which the governor-general replied by intimating his intention to inflict the punishment of death on any person who might be concerned in this nefarious design.

Of the four divisions mentioned above, those under Generals Wood and Marly proved signally disastrous; General Gillespie succeeded in possessing himself of the

Kheree pass, but he afterwards fell during the assault on Kalunga. The operations in Kermaon were, however, more fortunate; while Major-General Ochterlony performed several brilliant exploits on the heights of Maloun. Seriously affected by these reverses, Ummeer Sing, the Ghoorka leader in the west, agreed to retire across the Kali river, and a treaty of peace was once more proposed.

The fickle mountaineers, however, soon repented of their pacific measures; the war broke out afresh, and was now committed wholly to the charge of General Ochterlony. The prolonged and obstinate resistance offered by the Nepaulese to the efforts of the English troops, may be attributed to their skilful use of stockades, a species of defence with which the sepoys had not yet come in contact. Perceiving their advantage in this respect, General Ochterlony was not ashamed to take lessons from a semi-civilized enemy in the art of war. After some masterly evolutions in the forest of Saul, the English advanced to Muckwanpoor, where they gained a complete victory over the Nepaulese, who, in consequence, found themselves obliged to sue for peace.

They had invoked the aid of the Emperor of China, their nominal sovereign, against the Company, endeavouring to alarm the fears of the Chinese for the safety of their own territory. The authorities at Pekin remained some months inactive, doubting, apparently, whether the audacity of the foreign barbarians would proceed so far as this. At length, moved by reports from their officers on the frontier, they condescended to despatch an army from Pekin, but these forces marched so slowly, that two campaigns were terminated before they arrived.

The affairs of Oude now attracted the attention of the governor-general, who sought to extract from the Nabob-Vizier some assistance towards defraying the expenses of the Nepaulese war. A meeting was to have

taken place between them, but during the governor-general's progress through the upper provinces, Saadet Ali Khan expired at Lucknow. His son, Refaut-ood-Dowlah, succeeded him on the musnud, and immediately offered the government of Calcutta about two millions sterling, as a mark of gratitude for their support. This sum the Company accepted in the shape of a loan, for which it was agreed that they should pay six per cent. interest, to be disbursed in pensions formerly defrayed by the Nabob-Vizier. Subsequently, however, the latter remitted one half of this debt, in consideration of the cession of the district of Kyreghur, and some other tracts, by the Company.

An expedition to Cutch obtained for the English the fort of Anjar, thus advancing the frontiers of the Anglo-Indian Empire nearer to the mouths of the Indus. The success of the British arms in Nepaul about the same time, put a stop to the intrigues of the Mahrattas, and enabled the governor-general to arbitrate with effect between Scindiah and the Rajah of Bhopal. Two events, however, which occurred at the Courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, sufficiently demonstrated the impossibility of placing implicit reliance upon the friendly disposition of native powers. The Nizam's sons, youthful debauchees, whose excesses their father was unable or unwilling to restrain, seized upon a servant of the English resident, and subjected him, although innocent of any criminality, to imprisonment and torture. At the demand of the resident, the Nizam sanctioned the arrest of his sons, but these princes collecting together a disorderly force of Patans and other irregulars, defended themselves against the sepoys sent for the purpose of capturing them, and only surrendered when they heard that a further reinforcement of English troops had been ordered up by the resident. They were despatched forthwith, as prisoners, to Golconda, but the tumult brought to light much latent hostility towards the

English that existed in the minds of the people. It moreover became evident, that the general dissatisfaction, although stifled for the present, threatened, at no very distant period, to burst forth into a flame.

The extreme partiality of the Peishwa for a minister of the most abandoned and unscrupulous character, occasioned eventually a breach with the Court of Poonah. The police agent or spy of Bajee Row in past times, Trimbackjee Dainglia, had succeeded in gaining his master's confidence, by pandering to his depraved tastes, and, although of humble origin, soon raised himself to the highest office in the state. Being at the same time a man of some ability and ambition, he amused the vanity of his master by specious schemes for the re-establishment of Mahratta independence. Treaties were made under his auspices with Scindiah, Holkar, and the Pindarees; while the Peishwa began to evince hostile feelings towards the Nizam and the Guicowar family, both of whom continued friendly to the English government.

By the intervention of the latter, it was, however, decided that the dispute with the Nizam should stand over for the present, until the Guicowar and the Peishwa had arranged their differences. The Guicowar state accordingly despatched, as their ambassador to Poonah, Gungadhur, the Shastree, a Brahmin of high reputation for austerity and learning. He was treated at first with great distinction by the Peishwa and his minister, the latter having even arranged a matrimonial alliance between his daughter and the Shastree's son. The envoy, however, failed in his endeavours to serve his new friends with his employers at home, and this, with other circumstances, irritated the Peishwa against him, and rendered Trimbackjee averse to the proposed affinity. The unprincipled minister, therefore, determined upon the death of one, to whom he had so far committed himself that he could not now retract..

The unsuspecting Brahmin was requested to accompany the Peishwa and Trimbuckjee on a pilgrimage to Nassick, whither, also, Mr. Elphinstone, the English resident, repaired by special invitation. From Nassick the Shastree went to visit Punderpoor, where stood a temple more than ordinarily revered by the Hindoos; here he had some conversation with Trimbuckjee, and having finished his devotions, was returning alone and unarmed, when five armed men attacked him, and cut his body literally to pieces.

The news of this outrage excited everywhere sentiments of unusual horror and disgust. The Mahrattas, although habituated to deeds of violence and bloodshed, regarded the caste and character of the deceased as investing him with peculiar holiness, and they heard of his murder with feelings, not only of natural abhorrence, but of superstitious dread. The supposed sanctity of the locality where it happened, added, in their eyes, aggravation to the crime, and as all attributed its commission to the Peishwa and Trimbuckjee, the utter ruin of both was confidently anticipated. The indignation of the people, seconded by the remonstrances of Mr. Elphinstone, made the Peishwa tremble for his own safety; but as the chief odium of the late infamous transaction rested principally upon the minister, the sovereign found it convenient to screen himself by the sacrifice of his favourite. He offered to imprison Trimbuckjee; but the resident, doubting with reason the sincerity of this proposition, insisted that the accused should be placed in the hands of the English. After considerable delays and intrigues without number, Trimbuckjee was finally surrendered, and subsequently imprisoned in the fortress of Tannah, on the island of Salsette, near Bombay.

The captors being well aware of the determination of the Peishwa to compass by any means the liberation of his minister, took every precaution against the escape

of their prisoner. All 'sepoys, and other natives, were sedulously removed from the island, and their place supplied by European troops. The nature of Indian habits, however, produced a relaxation of the rule, in favour of the servants employed about the persons of the English officers. When, therefore, a common-looking man, well recommended, appeared one day to offer his services as horsekeeper or groom, to the commandant of the fort, he was admitted without scruple, and, having been engaged by that officer, continued to pursue his humble avocations for some time unwatched and unsuspected.

He frequently led his horse past the window of Trim-buckjee's prison, and, on these occasions, was in the habit of singing what sounded like a Mahratta ballad.* The rough stanzas, unintelligible to the English guards, reached the ears of the prisoner, and informed him of the measures taken to forward his escape. At length, in December 1816, Trim-buckjee and the groom, taking advantage of an ebb tide, effected their escape from the fort, and found refuge among the Nassack mountains, where the Bheels, and other savage tribes, flocked in great numbers to the standard of the liberated captive.

* Bishop Heber gives the following translation, or rather perhaps paraphrase of these verses :—

“ Behind the bush the bowmen hide,
The horse beneath the tree ;
Where shall I find a knight will ride
The jungle paths with me ?
There are five-and-fifty coursers there,
And four-and-fifty men,
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,
The Deccan thrives again.”

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PINDAREES—TREACHERY OF THE PEISHWA—BATTLE OF KIRKEE—CRUELTY OF THE PEISHWA—HIS FLIGHT TO SATTARA—AFFAIRS OF NAGPOOR—PROCEEDINGS OF CHETOO—MURDER OF TOOLSA BAZE—SKIRMISH AT KOREIGAUM—BATTLE OF MUNDAPOOR—SURRENDER OF THE PEISHWA—CAPTURE OF ASSEERGURH—STATE OF BRITISH INDIA AT THE DEPARTURE OF LORD HASTINGS.

1816—1819.

THE Government of Calcutta had felt, since 1812, the necessity of checking the destructive inroads of the Pindarees. These robbers were originally connected with the Mahrattas, whom at first they accompanied in their predatory excursions; though unlike that warlike race, they did not form a distinct nation, their levies being composed of adventurers from every tribe inhabiting the Indian continent. The usual trysting-place of the Pindaree bands was the valley of the Nerbudda, where they assembled during the celebration of the Desra, a Hindoo festival, that generally occurs at the end of October. There they laid plans for the future campaign, or Lubhur, as it was termed, choosing a Lubhureea, or commander, to preside over and direct the enterprise. Their favourite weapon was a long spear, but a small number of their picked men carried matchlocks of primitive construction.

The incursions of these hordes inspired the timid inhabitants of the villages with the most lively alarm. To escape from their insults, whole families frequently assembled together, and shutting themselves up in their houses, kindled with their own hands the flames in which all perished. The rapid marches, the sudden

attacks of these banditti, veiled their proceedings in a cloud of mystery, that increased the terrors of the multitude. Before the alarm could be given, before the villagers were even aware of their vicinity, the plunderers appeared, mounted on their hardy tattoo ponies, and commenced immediately the work of slaughter. Rapine and desolation were in all places the companions of their route, and they disappeared as suddenly as they came.

Until a comparatively recent period, the year 1812, the Pindarees had not ventured to enter the Company's territories. They then ravaged some of the English possessions with impunity, Lord Minto being unwilling to chastise them, through fear of involving himself in a Mahratta war. Subsequently, they made fresh incursions, during the years 1815-16, which rendered their suppression or extermination a matter of positive necessity. The attitude of the different native states seemed at this period far from satisfactory. Scindiah was still powerful, and secretly hostile; the Peishwa had surrendered himself entirely to the inimical influence of Trimbackjee; while the powerful Rajah of Nagpoor, Ragojee Bhoonslah, entertained no very cordial feelings towards the English government. In March, 1816, the latter potentate died; his son proved unfit to rule, and Appa Sahib, the nephew of the late rajah, assumed the chief authority, under the title of regent. Driven by domestic intrigues to seek a foreign alliance, he finally consented to receive into his country a subsidiary force, commanded by English officers, a measure which gave considerable offence to the native statesmen of Nagpoor. The same period witnessed the accession of a youthful prince to the musnud of Bhopal, who seemed well disposed towards the English. Friendly relations were also resumed with the Rajah of Jypoor, an old ally, but one whose interests had not been sufficiently protected by the British authorities at the termination of the

Mahratta war. The negotiations, however, terminated unfavourably, chiefly through the avarice and misconduct of the rajah's vakeels, and the British troops that had marched to secure him from the attacks of Ameer Sing, faced about, and hastened to the Nerbudda, where measures were being taken to surround the Pindarees on every side.

Chetoo and Kurreem, the two leaders by whom these plunderers were principally directed, viewed at first with some alarm the formidable preparations in progress ; but finding that the English made no attempt to cross the Nerbudda, they took courage, and succeeded in passing that river to the extreme right. They then formed two Lubkars, one of which marched into the Nizam's dominions, while the other ravaged the Company's territory of Ganjam. The booty carried off in these forays, including the property destroyed by the plunderers, was estimated at 100,000*l.* ; but, on various occasions, several detachments from their main body were encountered and destroyed.

In November, 1816, the governor-general found himself enabled to devote his entire attention to the extermination of the Pindarees. Before, however, any active measures could be set on foot for that purpose, it was necessary to secure the neutrality of the neighbouring states, many of which it had been suspected were in communication with Chetoo. There existed undoubtedly at the period a plan for the revival of the Mahratta union, and the reinstatement of the Peishwa in his former dignity. Bajee Row, Scindiah, and Appa Sahib, were parties to this conspiracy, which owed, perhaps, its first organization to the subtle brain of Trimbuckjee. That individual still continued in his mountain retreat, where he levied troops, and carried on an unintermitted correspondence with his old master. The latter, upon being informed by Mr. Elphinstone of the movements of his ex-minister, affected incredulity ; and although, at the

special request of the resident, he sent an army against the fugitive, yet, in pursuance, doubtless, with private instructions, the officer employed soon returned, affirming that no sedition or disturbance had taken place in the locality indicated as the retreat of Trimluckjee.

Too well versed in oriental politics to believe the statement of the court, Mr. Elphinstone applied to Calcutta for further instructions, watching sedulously during the interim, the demeanour of the Peishwa and his courtiers. His observations soon satisfied him that Bajee Row contemplated a war with the English at no very distant period. Troops were being levied in all quarters, treasure was every day carried forth as secretly as possible from the city, workmen were seen repairing the fortifications of the Peishwa's citadels and cities, while the prince himself seemed hourly meditating flight. Under these circumstances, Mr. Elphinstone ordered up portions of the subsidiary force, and finally drew together a body of troops sufficiently numerous to invest, if necessary, the Peishwa's capital. The English officers attacked the new levies wherever they found them, and in every instance proved victorious.

Alarmed at these vigorous measures, the Peishwa resolved upon entire submission to the will of his nominal allies, but real masters. The terms exacted from him were severe, but he had unquestionably provoked them by his obstinate duplicity and general bad faith. He engaged to denounce Trimluckjee, to punish his adherents, to cede several extensive tracts of country to the British and their allies the family of Guicowar, and, finally, to renounce the character of supreme head of the Mahratta states. Besides these conditions, the Peishwa bound himself to assist in the war against the Pindarees, in conjunction with the other native allies of the Company.

The conduct of Scindiah during the latter part of the year 1816, had given rise to suspicions, while two of his messengers charged with despatches for the court of

Catmandoo, were intercepted by the English authorities. Among their papers were discovered impressions of Scindiah's great seal, with some letters concealed between the leaves of a Sanscrit book, that had been purposely glued together. No direct evidence, however, being found to inculcate their master, the men were set at liberty, and the letters returned to Scindiah, while the resident at Catmandoo received instructions to watch warily the proceedings of that court.

In the month of June, 1817, the army destined for the Pindaree war was ready to take the field. It consisted of 34,000 men from Bengal, arranged in four divisions, and accompanied by two corps of observation.

The governor-general, Lord Hastings, himself took the command of these troops, while 57,000 men under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, were concentrated in the provinces to the south of the Nerbudda. A reserve posted on the Tumboodra, commanded by Brigadier Pritzler, watched the progress of events, and two numerous bodies of irregulars followed these armies of the north and south.

The Pindarees numbered about 35,000 men, led by Chetoo, Kurreem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed. These three chiefs, however, being violently opposed to each other, their mutual rivalries rendered it somewhat difficult to establish a well-concerted plan for the campaign. At length they determined to remain inactive, and await the result of the Peishwa's movements. Sheikh Dulloo, an inferior leader, objected to this plan, and announced his intention of joining Trimbuckjee forthwith.

In the meantime, the Peishwa, irritated beyond measure by the provisions of the Poonah treaty, was daily watching for an opportunity of throwing off the mask. He succeeded in weakening the army of his allies, by demanding that a portion of their reserve should march against some of his rebellious subjects, the English

having engaged to assist him whenever his authority might be thus called in question. It was found impossible to evade compliance with his request, and Colonel Munro received orders to advance from the Tumboodra into the southern Mahratta country ; a material interference with the arrangements of the campaign.

Two persons of opposite sentiments occupied at this period the chief places in the Peishwa's council. Both were Brahmins, but the one had in early life devoted himself almost exclusively to the profession of arms, while the other preferred the less dangerous pursuits of a civilian. Gokla, the warrior, impelled his timid master to aim at the re-establishment of the Mahratta empire on its former footing ; while Moro Duckshut, the statesman, inculcated the more cautious and prudent policy, of maintaining a close alliance with the English. The former counted on the zealous support of Trimbuckjee, the Peishwa himself inclined towards the views of the latter, but wanted resolution and moral courage to oppose the will of his intriguing favourite.

At length, after a long struggle with his fears, the infatuated prince determined upon belligerent measures. He continued to carry on vigorously his hostile preparations, which he represented to Mr. Elphinstone were intended for the Pindaree war. The English envoy could not, however, remain blind to the real intentions of his perfidious allies. The sentries at his gate were insulted. Moro Duckshut dropped dark and mysterious hints to an English officer with whom he was on terms of intimacy ; while the Mahrattas daily rode through the cantonments and insulted the British sepoy. Under these circumstances, Mr. Elphinstone deemed it advisable to place the troops at his disposal in a strong position near the village of Kirkee, where he himself joined them on the 5th November, 1817. An attempt had been made that very day to surprise the Residency, and capture its inmates ; but, finding their plot anticipated, the

Mahrattas plundered the mansion, and burnt or destroyed the property it contained.

Their leader now felt that he had gone too far to recede; and Gokla, who considered the movement of the British towards Kirkee as the result of fear, urged the Peishwa to make an immediate attack. Mr. Elphinstone also instructed the English commander, Colonel Burr, to act on the offensive; and in pursuance with these directions, the light troops of the Madras Brigade moved forwards towards a range of heights intervening between the Mahratta capital and Kirkee.

It was about the hottest period of a most sultry day, when a party of observation sent out from the English camp toiled up one of the eminences commanding a full view of the plains in the direction of Poonah. Not a breeze—not the rustling of a leaf—disturbed the repose of the surrounding scene, while unmistakeable intimations of the approach of an army, rendered more distinct and audible by the accompanying stillness, broke upon the ear of the ascending officers. They reached the summit, and beheld a scene striking and impressive, even to those whose eyes had gazed frequently and familiarly upon the pageantry of war. The immense level before them was covered with horse and foot, while fresh detachments issued unremittingly from the city gates. On the distant heights, in the background of the picture, bodies of heavy infantry and artillery were taking up their position; while the advancing vanguard, like some huge inundation, swept over hedges and cornfields, driving from their peaceful labours hundreds of the startled peasantry, and rousing even the wild animals of the jungle from their mid-day sleep.

The observers cast one long and curious look upon the barbaric host, but the moment was too critical to allow of the indulgence of mere idle curiosity. The intelligence hastened the advance of their comrades,

and the Mahrattas, who had anticipated an easy triumph, now found themselves face to face with antagonists, whose aspect and demeanour savoured little of timidity or irresolution. The wavering and effeminate Peishwa would willingly have postponed the action; but Gokla, a man of spirit and intrepidity, had already opened his batteries, and detached a corps against the English left. In ten minutes the attack became general.

The haste manifested by Gokla proved fatal to his success. His cavalry, indeed, charged boldly up to the English lines, but being unsupported by their infantry, and awed by the resolute firmness of their reception, they were soon thrown into inextricable confusion. A battalion, commanded by a Portuguese officer, next advanced, but was compelled to retreat; while the sepoy, following it too far, found themselves in turn exposed to attacks from the horse behind. The Mahrattas, however, through their impetuous haste, involved themselves in marshy ground, from the edge of which the sepoy poured upon them a steady and destructive fire. At length, being thoroughly discomfited, they abandoned their position, and left the English masters of the field.

The Peishwa now became painfully sensible of the perils of his condition. He had given mortal offence to those whose armies would soon hem him in, and render retreat impossible. He counted on the desertion of the sepoy, and scarcely a single man had abandoned his colours. He hoped to drive before him in triumph the small body at Kirkee, and found it strong enough to keep the whole of his army in check; while General Smith, with a much larger force, was on his march towards Poonah, and might be expected almost hourly. As is generally the case with weak minds, his depression was varied by alternate fits of rage and cruelty; several English officers, seized unawares, and for the most part.

ignorant of recent warlike measures, fell victims to his rage, which even extended to the male and female followers of the British camp. Several of these unfortunate people, being captured by the Mahrattas, were barbarously mutilated and put to death; but their sufferings neither added courage to the Peishwa's troops, nor concealed from his own mind the conviction that a day of reckoning could not be much longer averted.

The arrival of General Smith with the expected reinforcement, proved the signal for the Peishwa's flight from his capital to Sattara, whither he was pursued by the English on the 22d of November. As, however, the subsequent history of Bajee Row, if narrated here, would draw us too far beyond the important contemporary events which exercised so marked an influence upon his fortunes, we shall now proceed to notice the state of affairs at Nagpoor.

The regent of that city, Appa Sahib, although he owed his elevation to the English, personally bore them little good-will. For some time he had been in communication with the Peishwa, and even accepted from that prince the oriental compliment of a robe of honour, though fully aware of what had occurred at Poonah. The English resident, Mr. Jenkins, was invited to witness the acceptance of this gift; but the imprudent and premature insult only warned the official of his danger, and enabled him to take measures by which it might be eluded.

The Company's troops at Nagpoor scarcely amounted to 1,400 men, while the rajah's force comprised about 20,000, a fifth part of them being Arab mercenaries, noted for courage and ferocity. The resident drew up his little army on some low eminences, known as the Seetabuldee hills, connected together by a narrow ridge, which separated the Residency from the town. On the 26th of November, the enemy began to assemble in

large numbers, while the Arabs seized upon a bazaar or market, near the base of the smallest hill. After sunset, they commenced a fire of musketry, which was succeeded by a sharp cannonade that lasted until two in the morning. The British troops suffered severely; not only in consequence of the heavy and well-directed fire, but also from the assaults which were continually made upon their position.

When the enemy retired, the English employed themselves, during the remainder of the night, in strengthening their post. The preparations, indeed, were less effective than might have been desired, owing to the want of tools and the rocky nature of the soil. They succeeded, however, in constructing a breastwork with sacks of flour, behind which they awaited with some anxiety the renewal of the attack. In the morning several bodies of Arabs, who had formed under the shelter of the booths and stalls, rushed on to the assault, while their cannon played upon the temporary defences. The bursting of a tumbril on the lower hill created a panic among the sepoys. They abandoned their post precipitately, and the Arabs not only occupied the eminence and the ridge, but speedily gained possession of the outhouses belonging to the Residency. The agonizing cries of insulted women and tortured children now rose above the din of battle, and increased the growing despondency of the British troops. One bold stroke, however, turned the impending defeat into a most brilliant victory.

The English cavalry, under Captain Fitzgerald, had hitherto remained quiescent during the action; but their commander, observing the critical position of the infantry, ordered his men to charge. They rushed forward with resistless fury, and overthrowing a body of Nagpoor horse, rode direct at one of the enemy's batteries, where they sabred the gunners, and, possessing themselves of their pieces, turned them against the

hostile ranks. The effort proved entirely successful, since it not only cleared the plain, but restored courage and confidence to the dispirited infantry. These troops, being led against the Arabs, drove them into the bazaar, where they attempted to form, but were speedily dislodged by a charge of cavalry, who chased them from post to post, until the retreat became a complete rout. Numbers fell beneath the swords of the troopers, who, having seized two cannons, directed them against the fugitives, and thus rendered their rallying impossible. Eighteen hours after the first assault, the enemy were flying in all directions, leaving nearly the whole of their guns in the hands of the British.

The victors, however, had lost a fifth part of their number, nor perhaps could they have withstood successfully a renewal of the attack. But Appa Sahib, terrified at the defeat of his troops, meditated no such daring measure. On the contrary, he seemed anxious for an accommodation, and despatched humble messages to the Residency; but Mr. Jenkins would only grant an armistice of two days; at the end of which period reinforcements arrived, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Graham. Shortly afterwards fresh supplies, with Brigadier-General Doveton at their head, reached Nagpoor; and the rajah, being now fully convinced that all further resistance would prove unavailing, showed himself most desirous of obtaining peace upon any conditions.

The terms exacted from him were severe, as, indeed, might have been expected. He promised to surrender his artillery, and disband all his mercenary troops, placing his future measures entirely under the control of the English government, and remaining in their camp as a hostage until his engagements should be fulfilled. When, however, the time for his appearance there drew nigh, the Arab leaders seized upon his person, and refused to allow him egress from the city.

General Doveton, being informed of the reason of this delay, immediately ordered his troops to advance towards Nagpoor. Alarmed by this hostile demonstration, and trembling for his own safety, Appa Sahib escaped from his chiefs, and galloped to the Residency; while the Arabs prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. Driven from the streets of the town, they took refuge in the citadel, where, after repelling several assaults directed against them, they offered to capitulate. The proposal was immediately and gladly accepted; the besieged were allowed to retain their arms and baggage, while a detachment of British troops escorted them to the frontiers of Nagpoor.

The governor-general at first intended to dethrone Appa Sahib, and to instal a new dynasty in Nagpoor; but his instructions to Mr. Jenkins only reached the latter after a treaty had been concluded with the rajah. The representations of the resident inclined Lord Hastings to sanction his arrangements, and Appa Sahib returned to his capital the vassal of the English, bearing indeed the outward semblance of authority, but deprived entirely of real power. He soon, however, grew weary of this dependent condition, and renewed his intrigues with the Peishwa and the mountain chiefs. But the former had ceased to be formidable, and the latter could only afford a precarious asylum to the rajah, when at length he escaped from Nagpoor, in the disguise of a sepoy.

During the course of these proceedings, the troops engaged against the Pindarees had successfully hemmed in those freebooters on every side. Malwa, the cradle of their race, was now occupied by the British, while the robber leaders wandered through the adjacent regions, seeking in the territories of the neighbouring chiefs that protection, which few were now in a position to afford them. Kurreem Khan and Wasil Mohammed moved towards Gwalior, while Chetoo endeavoured to

recruit his followers among the turbulent soldiers of Holkar, and to obtain a shelter for his family from one of Scindiah's officers. Even in the most hardened natures some generous emotions modify the reckless depravity of their character. This man, a homicide and robber, stained with pollution and cruelty of every kind, seems to have been tenderly solicitous for the well-being and security of those whom even his seared heart had never ceased to love. He made urgent supplications, that an asylum might be provided for his household, "Because," so the letter runs, "my mind will be then at ease, and I may face the English with confidence. Afterwards, by the blessing of God, and the fortune of the Exalted, the tumult shall be spread to the environs of Calcutta, the whole country shall be consigned to ashes, and to such distress shall they be reduced, that the accounts will not fail to reach you ; but at present this must be delayed for want of a place of refuge."

The neutrality of Scindiah was secured at this critical juncture, by the advance of a corps under Major-General Donkin, which took possession of one of the two sole outlets from his dominions, while another detachment, having at its head the governor-general in person, blockaded the other point of egress. Finding his movements thus impeded, Scindiah consented to allow the passage of British troops through his territories, and to cooperate with them in the pursuit of the Pindarees.

His great rival, Jeswunt Row Holkar, had been for some time insane, and incapable of managing public affairs. During this period, the chief authority remained in the hands of Toolsah Bae, the favourite wife of Holkar ; but her rule proving obnoxious to one of the principal retainers, this man, whose name was Dherma Kower, seized both Jeswunt and the regent, with the intention of putting them to death. The captives had been already led into the jungle, which was

selected as the place of their execution, when a Mahratta chief, sent by Ameer Khan, made his appearance, rescued the prisoners, and caused Dherma to be immediately decapitated. The latter preserved to the last the same courageous demeanour which characterised him in past life. When the executioner made an ineffectual blow at his head with one hand, Dherma cried out to him sternly, "Villain, use both hands ;—do you not know that it is the head of Dherma, which you have been ordered to cut off?"

Jeswunt Row died in 1811, and was succeeded by Mulhar Row, his son by a woman of low birth. Toolsah Bacc continued to act as regent, but she soon found it a hard task to rule the haughty and turbulent troops; who, shortly after the decease of Jeswunt, broke out into a mutiny, instigated, it was thought, by the Dewan, Balasaur Seit. Toolsah condemned him to death, but his execution irritated the soldiery, and led them to concert violent measures against the person of the regent. On the 20th of December, 1816, the young Holkar being removed by treachery from the state tent, a company of armed men seized Toolsah Bacc, conveyed her forcibly to the neighbouring river Seeptra, and cutting off her head on the bank, threw the lifeless trunk into the water.

The real cause of this murder, however, appears to have been the aversion of Ameer Khan, the Patan, and the other Sirdars, to an alliance with the English, a measure which Toolsah Bacc and her advisers recently advocated. Before her death, the Mahratta leaders had received Chetoo and his followers with open arms; and made no secret of their intention to support the Peishwa, as the acknowledged head of the Mahratta nation, against the British. About this time, Sir John Malcolm arrived at Agur, being in pursuit of Chetoo, but finding that freebooter so well supported, he deemed it best to parley with the enemy. His propositions, however, were

rejected, and falling back to Ougein, he joined the first division of the invading army under Sir Thomas Hislop.

The murder of Toolsah Bacc was followed by a series of attacks directed against the British outposts. On the 21st of December, Sir Thomas Hislop moved forward to encounter the enemy, whom he found advantageously posted near the town of Mahidpoor, on the banks of the Seepra. The British troops passed the river in the face of the enemy's guns, which kept up an incessant fire, until the bayonets of the English drove them from their position, and obliged them to retire in disorder towards Rampoorah. On this occasion, the loss sustained by the Europeans amounted to 164 killed, and 604 wounded, while that of the enemy was calculated at not less than 3,000 men. Their elephants, camels, artillery and baggage, were also captured; so that they found themselves unable any longer to shelter Chetoo, or even to afford him the slightest assistance. The freebooter continued his flight, hunted like a wild beast from place to place, until his band gradually diminished in number to about 200 men, with whom he joined Appa Sahib in the autumn of 1818. Obligated once more to abandon his retreat, he endeavoured to seek refuge in the fortress of Asseergurh, but the commandant refusing him an asylum, Chetoo fled into the jungle, where he wandered for a short time, enduring the severest privations.

One day, a horse saddled and caparisoned was seen quietly grazing on the borders of the forest. Some of the inhabitants of Asseergurh recognised the animal as the property of Chetoo, and immediately commenced a search for its master, whose mangled head and torn robes being afterwards found near a part of the jungle much frequented by tigers, it was supposed that he had become the prey of these savage denizens of the woods. The two other leaders, Wasil Mohammed and Kurreem Khan, were eventually taken prisoners; and the Pindarees being completely exterminated wherever they could be

met with, soon disappeared altogether from the face of the land.

In the meantime, the Peishwa having possessed himself of the person of his nominal sovereign, the Rajah of Sattara, was retreating before the troops commanded by General Smith. At Wuttoor, the hitherto invisible Trimbuckjee joined his master with a strong body of cavalry and infantry, while the Peishwa, whose forced marches had wearied out his troops, determined to remain for a few days in that place, and take some rest after his recent exertions.

Ere long, however, the interposition of the English between his post and Nassick, compelled Bajee Row to move towards Poonah, which was then defended by Colonel Burr, at the head of three battalions of native infantry, and 1,700 irregulars. When intelligence of the Peishwa's approach reached this officer, he immediately solicited a reinforcement from the nearest English station. A battalion of Bombay native infantry, with 300 horse, and two six-pounders, was accordingly despatched to his assistance, under the command of Captain Staunton. As these troops approached the village of Koreigaum, they came in sight of the Peishwa's army. The spectacle, though impressive, was far from welcome to the English, who found themselves unable to advance or retreat with security. The enemy's forces comprised 20,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry, a great proportion of the latter being hardy Arab mercenaries, whose obstinate valour had already been experienced by the British troops. The odds were terrible, but Captain Staunton, though surprised, did not lose for a moment his presence of mind. He immediately determined to push on for the village, and, although the enemy made an effort to prevent this, the English succeeded in carrying their point.

A strong body of Arabs now threw themselves into the unoccupied buildings, and a furious contest

ensued. The two six-pounders were ably served, while the sepoys kept their ground nobly. For nine hours they sustained a series of furious charges, not a man having tasted food or water since the morning. The English surgeons fought as bravely as the other officers; only three of whom remained uninjured towards the close of the action. The Peishwa, with his principal officers, overlooked the contest from a neighbouring hill; and his troops, especially the Arabs, encouraged by his presence and supervision, exhibited the most daring and obstinate valour. His ablest commanders, Gokla, Appa-Dessaye, and Trimbuckjee, led on the successive attacks, but on each occasion were invariably repulsed. After a sharp struggle, indeed, the Arab mercenaries gained possession of one of the six-pounders, stationed near a pagoda, within which lay several wounded English officers. The Arabs broke into the building, and commenced a savage butchery of these unfortunate men, one of whom they literally hacked to pieces. The others escaped only by counterfeiting death, and allowing the enemy to rifle them without resistance.

The battalion, finding the gun taken, and the Arabs masters of the pagoda, hesitated awhile, until their adjutant, who had just been mortally wounded, seized a musket, and dashing into the midst of the enemy, prostrated several of them, exhorting his men at the same time to follow him, and rescue the lost position. Captain Staunton hastened to second his brave subordinate, —the latter, indeed, soon fell to rise no more; but the spirits of the sepoys were now reanimated by his gallant example, and they exclaimed with loud shouts that they would either conquer or die. At length the pagoda was retaken, the Arabs were killed or driven forth, and the wounded captives rescued from their dangerous situation. By nine o'clock in the evening, the enemy retired; but being destitute of provisions, and having sustained

a severe loss of men during the action, Captain Staunton deemed it best to fall back on Seroor.

He accomplished his object unmolested, as the Mahrattas were by no means disposed to hazard a repetition of the preceding repulse, and intelligence had reached them of the approach of General Smith. That officer entered Koreigaum a day after Captain Staunton quitted it, and the Peishwa, deeply dispirited at his recent failure, marched southwards towards the territory of Mysore. The pursuit, followed closely up by Generals Smith and Pritaler, was protracted and wearisome, the Mahrattas being always enabled, by reason of their freedom from baggage and other impediments, to elude the vigilance of their enemies. At last, however, General Smith determined to occupy the enemy's strongholds, and accordingly laid siege to Sattara, the nominal metropolis of the Mahratta race. It was yielded after the first summons, and the capture of this city enabled the English authorities to put in practice a measure that had been suggested by Mr. Elphinstone, and sanctioned by the governor-general. A public proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Poonah and the vicinity, acquainted the Peishwa's subjects with the fact of his deposition, and the causes which rendered it necessary. His family was outlawed, and his followers commanded to give in their adhesion to the new government without further delay.

The English authorities next proceeded to concert measures for the pursuit of the fugitives. Hitherto the Peishwa had contrived to escape from his foes by the swiftness and rapidity of his motions; it was therefore necessary, that those who followed him should be as much as possible on an equal footing. Another circumstance proved of great advantage to the Mahratta chief: nearly all the forts and towns of his dominions were still garrisoned by his officers, who naturally endeavoured to assist their master in

his movements, or to keep him acquainted with the designs of his enemies. To meet both these emergencies, the two generals, Smith and Pritzler, divided their troops, the former following up the pursuit with a light force, composed principally of horse, but comprising also light infantry and artillery; while the latter directed his attention to the subjugation of the forts and towns; for which purpose he selected the heavy-armed regiments of the line, and the more cumbrous field-pieces.

Merely remarking that the exertions of General Pritzler were crowned with the most remarkable success, we shall now follow the more rapid movements of the other commander, who, after chasing the Peishwa through the regions of Pundapoor and Sholapoor, finally came up with him, on the morning of the 20th of February, 1818, near Mundapoor. Bajee Row fled precipitately at the sight of the English, leaving Gokla with ten thousand horse to cover his retreat.

A deep ravine or nullah separated the armies from each other, on the edge of which Gokla drew up his men, and seemed disposed to await the attack of the British. All at once, however, he changed his tactics, and passing the nullah, fell furiously upon the advancing squadrons. For a time they were thrown into confusion; but a brisk charge from the 22d left a space free for manœuvring, and compelled the enemy reluctantly to give way. The brave Gokla endeavoured, in vain, to rally his men, and with sabre in hand, performed prodigies of valour, until, borne down by numbers, he breathed his last upon the ensanguined plain. The Mahrattas, seeing their leader fall, lost all hope of success, and fled in every direction, leaving the Rajah of Sattara and his family in the hands of the victors. It will be remembered that this prince, the lineal descendant of Seevajee, was considered as the rightful head of the Mahratta Empire, and therefore the possession of his person, and

the sanction of his name, proved an invaluable advantage to the English conquerors.

The Peishwa continued his flight towards the east, but found nowhere either an asylum or an ally. Scindiah and Holkar, overawed by English troops, were negotiating with the governor-general, while Ameer Khan consented to break up his disorderly Patan irregulars, and to place himself entirely under the Company's control. These results were mainly owing to the universal dread occasioned by the gigantic army which Lord Hastings organized; and which he was determined not to dismiss before some prospect could be entertained of a sure and lasting peace. The southern division of this force, however, termed the army of the Deccan, and under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, was now broken up, and its chief ordered to march towards Madras with the greater part of the troops, the remainder being despatched to strengthen General Doveton's corps. As Sir Thomas passed along, he reduced several of the hill forts in his way, replacing their garrisons by detachments of sepoys. One of these droogs, near Talner, had been formally given up to the English by Holkar, but the killedar, or governor, firing upon the troops as they moved along, Sir Thomas found it necessary to invest the place formally. During a parley, some of the garrison attacked an English officer, and wounded him severely; but this treachery was immediately avenged by the storming party, who, forcing their way in, put all they found there to the sword. Sir Thomas Hislop conceiving that the whole affair evinced some evil designs on the part of the killedar, ordered that he should be hanged the same evening, from a turret of the fort, an act of stern retribution, which however procured the surrender of several fortified places in the vicinity.

Appa Sahib, in the meantime, had been resuming his intrigues against the English. He daily made

additions to his army, principally from among the Arab mercenaries who abounded in that part of India, and directed the killedars of his fortresses to hold out as long as there remained the remotest chance of success. Animated by him, the Gonds and other savage mountain tribes fell upon the English convoys and stragglers, as they moved from place to place, thus materially impeding the pacification of the country. The suspicions of Mr. Jenkins were awakened, and his vigilance redoubled by these hostile manifestations, of which he received a more corroborative proof, when the arrest of some of the rajah's couriers brought to light a correspondence, that he was then carrying on with the Peishwa, through the medium of a chief named Gumpot Row.

Appa Sahib was forthwith arrested and confined to the Residency, while Mr. Jenkins sent a statement of his proceedings to Calcutta. The captive despatched pressing messages to the Peishwa, soliciting assistance, but Bajee Row, being at present much straitened in his own affairs, could not pay much attention to those of his allies. A short time afterwards, he made an attempt to reach Nagpoor, which proved unsuccessful, since his path was hedged in on all sides by watchful enemies ever on the alert. At Soonee his whole army retreated in confusion before a regiment of cavalry and a brigade of artillery, while the number of his followers daily diminished. Despairing of success, he fled at last to the fortress of Asseergurh, where the governor who commanded for Scindiah, seemed disposed to afford him assistance; from this place Bajee Row opened a negotiation with Sir John Malcolm, by which it was finally agreed that he should renounce for ever the dignity of Peishwa, place his person at the disposal of the English, and receive from them a pension of 100,000*l.* annually.

The terms granted to the fallen potentate, though deemed by some more liberal than he had deserved, received the ratification of the governor-general. Bajee

Row was conducted, under the charge of a numerous escort, to Bithoor, one of the sacred places of the Hindoos, where he spent his time chiefly in superstitious ceremonies and idle debauchery. A feeling of shame, if not some latent remains of affection, withheld the Peishwa from contributing, either directly or indirectly, to the capture of Trimbuckjee. That individual tendered his submission, but the English authorities declined to receive it, and the once powerful author of the Mahratta confederacy found himself reduced to the necessity of wandering about the country as the outlawed chieftain of a band of robbers. The Arab mercenaries, formerly in the Peishwa's service, attached themselves to Appa Sahib, who was engaged in collecting a heterogeneous host in the mountainous regions, composed principally of the relics of those armies which the English had recently defeated, or ordered to be disbanded. Being joined by Chetoo, he maintained his ground for some time, but at length he was surrounded on every side, and obliged to take refuge within the walls of Asseergurh. The fate of Chetoo has been already recorded, and the loss of that bold partisan seemed likely to terminate speedily the career of Appa Sahib. Upon learning that the latter had sought shelter at Asseergurh, General Doveton and Sir John Malcolm advanced to besiege this stronghold. It capitulated on the 9th of April, 1819, when the commandant, who had hitherto declined to surrender the person of Appa Sahib, asserted that he was no longer in the town, having left it several days before. This appeared, on examination, to be the truth, and for some time the precise retreat of that chieftain remained enveloped in mystery, until it was discovered that he had fled to Lahore, where Runjeet Sing afforded him an asylum, and granted annually a small pension for his maintenance.

The fort of Asseergurh belonged nominally to Scin-

diah, the professed ally of the English government; but his subordinates, nevertheless, resisted our troops, and endeavoured to mislead their officers. The cause of all this inconsistency soon came to light. Papers were discovered, after the taking of Asseergurh, which proved that a constant correspondence had been carried on between Scindiah and the Peishwa, while the latter remained in a state of open hostility to the English government. As no danger could now be apprehended from such a proceeding, it was judged expedient to take little notice of the discovery. Lord Hastings forwarded the principal paper to Scindiah, and annexed Asseergurh to the Company's territories; two practical reproofs that drew from the chieftain, to whom they were addressed, a humble and submissive apology for his past conduct.

The conclusion of the Mahratta war gave the governor-general an opportunity of carrying into effect certain measures that he had long contemplated, and deemed indispensable to the welfare of the country at large. The policy hitherto pursued of allotting conquered territories to doubtful, and in many past instances, discreditable allies, now received its death-blow. Lord Hastings at once claimed for the Company the right of sovereignty over the whole of India, which had formerly been possessed by the Mogul, and thus abolished for ever the political fictions of his predecessors.

The natives of Hindoostan received this announcement with apathetic indifference, if not with positive gratification; for having been, even from the earliest times, the vassals of foreign invaders, they were strangers to the emotions of patriotism, and felt no desire for national independence. Like all orientals, they could not appreciate a strictly constitutional government, or, indeed, one in which the voice or wishes of the subject were at all recognised. They required a firm, though judicious, rule, free from the anarchy and confusion incident to their own

modes of government, and capable of holding in check the discordant elements by which it was surrounded. This desire had been in a great measure accomplished for them by the Company. Their commerce was no longer interrupted, and they tilled their lands without fearing the ravages of contending nabobs, or the incursions of Mahratta plunderers. Under the English, they experienced neither the military tyranny of Hyder, the proselytising violence of Tippoo, or the vacillating weakness of the Emperors of Delhi. Their European masters ruled indeed by right of conquest; but they exercised this right with tenfold more humanity and justice, than their predecessors had exhibited in past ages. The sway of the Company was not exempt from errors, nor perhaps from serious faults, but upon the whole, it far surpasses the most laudable native administration that ever existed, and promises to become eventually as perfect as any political machinery can be in a world where everything is defective, and nothing in all respects above censure.

The condition of British India at the departure of Lord Hastings, was peaceful and flourishing. At Satara, the source of the Mahratta race, a vassal prince enjoyed the dignities of royalty, carefully separated from every semblance of power. An English resident governed the patrimonial territories of the house of Seevajee, while an official of the Company replaced the deposed Peishwa at Poonah. Nagpoor shared the same fate, and Holkar, though deprived of the bulk of his possessions, was still permitted to retain an inconsiderable portion. Scindiah proved more fortunate, but he had now ceased to be formidable, and the dissolution of the Mahratta confederacy rendered the efforts of an individual chieftain as limited as they were void of danger.

CHAPTER XX.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO INDIA—THE STRIANS OF THE MALABAR COAST—THE ARMENIANS—PORTUGUESE—ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS—PROTESTANT MISSIONS—SWARTZ—FOUNDATION OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN EPISCOPATE—BISHOP MIDDLETON—STATE OF RELIGION IN INDIA.

ABOUT 68—1854.

ACCORDING to the oriental ecclesiastical historians, Christianity was first planted in India by the Apostle St. Thomas, who is said to have suffered martyrdom at Meliapore, a city situated near the modern Madras. This tradition, which Bishop Heber considered incontrovertible, still prevails in the country, both among native Christians and Hindoos, though some later writers dispute its authenticity. One thing, however, is certain, that our divine religion was professed on the western coast of India at a very early period, since the name of a Bishop of Persia and India appears among the signatures to the canons of the first Nicene Council. During the sixth century, Cosmas, a Nestorian Christian, styled Indopleustes, or the Indian voyager, from his travels through those regions, found numerous Christian Churches in the island of Ceylon, and in places termed by him Malè and Callianè, generally supposed to have been districts on the Malabar coast.

The early history of the Malabar Christians is involved in obscurity, but during the ninth century they acquired some important privileges from the heathen rulers of Travancore, and even became sufficiently powerful afterwards to establish a sovereign of

their own. When, however, the Portuguese arrived, they found the Syrians of Malabar living under the dominion of the king of Cochin, by whom they were treated with considerable respect, their bishop being allowed exclusive jurisdiction in all civil as well as ecclesiastical causes. At first the Portuguese behaved towards them as brethren, but subsequently the difference between their doctrines and those of the Roman Church, provoked hostility and persecution. In the Synod of Diamper a forced union was effected, chiefly through violence, although a large majority still adhere to the church of their fathers.

The Armenian Christians who reside in the three capitals of British India, have for some years possessed churches and ecclesiastical establishments at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. They hold communion with the Patriarch of Etchmiadzin, in Armenia, but their bishops and priests usually come from Persia, the nearest settlement of their church in the vicinity of India. Their creed is Monophysite, and their worship resembles generally that of the Greek communion. Neither the Armenians nor the Syrians of Malabar appear, however, to have been anxious, of late years, to propagate among the heathen the principles of the Gospel; it may even be questioned, whether the former ever attempted it during their lengthened sojourn in Hindoostan; and the zeal of the latter, although active at the commencement, has long given place to deplorable apathy and indifference.

The first missionary efforts that were put forth in modern times, emanated from the Church of Rome. Imitating the example of the Spaniards in South America, the Portuguese endeavoured, partly by persuasion and partly by coercive measures, to make converts from the Hindoos and Mohammedans under their control. The celebrated Xavier laboured for some time on the western coast, while his nephew and

successor obtained considerable influence at the court of the Emperor Akbar.

In the eastern provinces of India, the French missionaries of Pondicherry succeeded in making their way through the district of Tanjore to the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Madura. During the reign of Louis XIV., their missions, then chiefly conducted by the Jesuits, excited considerable attention. The reports of the missionaries, published in the collection termed "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*," were referred to triumphantly by the adherents of Rome, as evidences of their Church's zeal and pious activity, while they pointed disdainfully to the apathy and indolence of the reformed communions.

Very soon, however, it was rumoured that the Jesuits of Madura had but little cause to glory in their successful proselytism. The other missionary orders complained that their astute colleagues used artifices unworthy of Christian integrity, and adulterated the doctrines of the Gospel to suit the taste of their Hindoo converts. An envoy from Rome examined these allegations on the spot, and censured severely the practices and teaching of the missionaries. A large number of these so-called converts subsequently apostatized to Mohammedanism, under the iron rule of Tippoo Sultan; and since that period Roman Catholic missions have been sensibly on the decline.

At present a furious schism prevails between the Portuguese ecclesiastics and the Irish missionaries of the Propaganda, the latter of whom have attempted to supersede the former, in those stations where the Company's political authority is recognised. Anathemas and angry denunciations are mutually exchanged by the contending parties, whose quarrels scandalize their adherents, and add strength to the Protestant cause. The Portuguese Church in India is governed by two archbishops, occupying respectively the sees of Goa and Cranganore. Under these are the bishops of

St. Thomé, (the ancient Meliapore,) near Madras, and of Cochin, on the Malabar coast.

The settlements of the Dutch and Danes in Ceylon, and on the Indian Continent, witnessed the first exertions of Protestant missionaries. The Dutch converted to a nominal Christianity, of somewhat questionable character, 340,000 Cingalese; but in Hindoostan they have left no traces whatever of their ecclesiastical polity. Like the Jesuit converts of Madura, the Dutch Christians mingled many, if not the whole, of their heathen rites with the ceremonies of evangelical worship, while they displayed a marked ignorance of the doctrines and practices enjoined by the Gospel. The external profession of Christianity, however, being required as an indispensable qualification for office, it can scarcely be a matter of surprise that many should embrace it, uninfluenced by genuine convictions, and solely from interested motives.

The efforts of the Danish mission were more deserving of commendation. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, Frederick IV. of Denmark despatched Ziegenbalg and Plutschow to the ancient Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast. The former pursued his zealous and self-denying labours for twelve years before he revisited Europe. Within that period he translated the Scriptures into Tamul, for the benefit of his converts, who, though not numerous, seem to have been carefully trained and diligently instructed in the truths of Christianity.

While on a visit to England, Ziegenbalg was presented to George I., and also to Archbishop Wake, by whom he was warmly recommended to the Christian Knowledge Society. The successors of this indefatigable missionary showed themselves not inferior to him in zeal, and their pious labours gradually augmented the number of the converts. In 1787, they reckoned these latter at about 17,700, inclusive of East Indians. Subsequently, the

exertions of the missionaries being crippled for want of funds, they agreed to transfer some of their congregations and schools to the care of the Christian Knowledge Society.

That Society had made grants to the Indian missions as early as the year 1710 ; and an English Chaplain some time afterwards established a school at Madras, which he placed under the charge of the Danish missionary, Schultze, who soon collected around him a respectable native congregation of about 150 souls. Up to this period it does not appear that the English settled in India used any direct means for the conversion of the natives, although the earlier documents of the Company seem to contemplate such exertions as not only laudable, but absolutely imperative. The Charter of 1698 made provision, that a minister and schoolmaster should be appointed to every factory, specifying also that they were to learn the "Portuguese and Hindu languages, to enable them to instruct the Gentoos and others in the Christian religion." In February 1659, a despatch records the earnest desire of the Company "for the propagation and spread of the Gospel in those parts." Again, in 1677, "one hundred Bibles and two hundred Catechisms" are sent out, for the use of the factories, with a schoolmaster, part of whose duties is the instruction of "Portuguese and Gentoo children in the principles of the Protestant religion."

In 1737, the missionaries, Sartorius and Geisler, founded the Protestant mission at Cuddalore. Fifteen years afterwards, the Court of Directors empower their representatives at Madras to present the missionaries with "any sum of money not exceeding five hundred pagodas," as "a further encouragement to them to exert themselves in propagating the Protestant religion." It is directed at the same time, that the "use of a church in Cuddalore and in Madras" be accorded to the missionaries.

At that period, also, the government presented the Cuddalore mission with a donation of some tracts of land. These facts sufficiently prove, that up to a comparatively recent time, the Court of Directors, and their servants in India, were not imbued with the antichristian dread of missions and missionaries which characterised some of them at a later date. They also show that, during the rise of the English power, a period when the conciliation of native prejudices had become imperative, no one ever imagined for an instant, that the Hindoos would feel alarmed at any efforts made, even with the sanction of government, for the propagation of the Christian religion.

The labours of Gerickè established the mission of Negapatam, while Christian Frederick Swartz preached the Gospel in Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The rajah of the last-mentioned province confided his son to the care of the Christian teacher, and made many munificent donations to the mission. The virtues of Swartz impressed with admiration and respect even the stern and sanguinary Hyder Ali, who designated him as "the only European whom he could trust." A flat stone near the pulpit of the church at Tanjore marks the last resting-place of the great missionary. Upon its surface is graven an epitaph in English verse, composed by the royal pupil of the deceased, who loved him with the tenderness of a son while living, and was the first to honour his memory after his departure.* Near this humble tomb

* The inscription is as follows:—

"Firm wast thou, humble and wise;
Honest, pure, free from disguise;
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort;
To the benighted, dispenser of light;
Doing and pointing to that which is right:
Blessing to princes, to people, to me.
May I, my Father, be worthy of thee!
Wisheth and prayeth thy SARABOJEE."

even the heathen sometimes kneel in prayer, deeming that the relics of its occupant invest the locality with special sanctity, while the native Christian rarely pronounces the venerated name of the departed without an epithet of reverence, called forth by grateful recollections of the holiness and zeal which distinguished the saintly character of "Father Swartz."

During the year 1813, the discussions incident upon the renewal of the Company's charter elicited from many eminent persons in England earnest representations with regard to the spiritual wants of India. It was felt very generally, that the political advantages so rapidly acquired in that country, demanded imperatively some expression of gratitude to the Great Giver of all these national blessings, and that the most obvious manifestation of this feeling would be honour and support rendered to the cause of Christianity in the east. The Christian Knowledge Society forwarded an address on this occasion to the government, through the medium of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which they respectfully solicited the attention of the legislature to the defective character of the Church in India, as well as to the increasing religious wants of that country.

No sooner, however, were these and similar sentiments publicly expressed, than a storm of opposition encountered the benevolent efforts of the friends of Christianity. Foremost in the ranks of these opponents appeared the greater part of the men who had resided in India, and their opinion naturally tended to influence large numbers at home. The causes of this not very creditable feeling on the part of the Indian ex-officials, may perhaps be traced in some measure to the infidel sentiments so generally diffused during the last century by the French sceptical writers; to the indifference and ignorance generated by the want of Christian ordinances in India; as well as to the cold

and apathetic views respecting religion which were then too generally prevalent. An idea was entertained by some well-meaning but credulous people, that any attempts to convert the Hindoos would prove a sure prelude to the loss of our power in the East; and under the influence of this erroneous notion, many persons imagined that the slightest movement of a religious nature would deluge with blood the whole continent, from Bengal to Cape Comorin.

A few concessions, however, were with difficulty obtained. Parliament agreed to the appointment of an English bishop at Calcutta, assisted by archdeacons resident in the three presidencies. The first bishop was Dr. Thomas Middleton, the author of the celebrated treatise on the Greek Article, and at that period Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Vicar of St. Pancras, London. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 8th of June, 1814, and arrived at Calcutta towards the latter end of November in the same year. Although no public notice was taken of his arrival, that much-dreaded event passed off with the utmost tranquillity; and the natives, being accustomed to treat the heads of their own religion reverentially, only wondered that the English should suffer their chief pastor to land without any external marks of respect.

Bishop Middleton found himself, at the commencement of his episcopate, involved in difficulties of no ordinary character. The chaplains of the Company were the only clergy who ministered to the Europeans; they were few in number, and possessed fewer churches. Thirty-two clergymen constituted, in 1814, the entire ecclesiastical staff of India, and of these many were absent on sick-leave and furlough. The buildings devoted to public worship in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, did not perhaps appear entirely unworthy of their sacred object; but at the remoter stations, the ritual of the Church was performed in a mess-room or riding-

school. As might have been expected, the small number of religious instructors, and the paucity of the services, occasioned a wide diffusion of indifference throughout all classes of the European community. It could hardly be otherwise, since many persons never saw a clergyman for twenty years at a time, and the more indispensable religious offices,—such as burials, marriages, and even baptisms,—were necessarily performed by laymen.

To the Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Roman Catholics, our countrymen appeared utterly destitute of any religious sentiments; and the lower classes of the former even imagined at one time, that the only act of worship performed by the English was that of whistling, a practice unknown to them, and therefore supposed to be in some way connected with religion. Some of the English even apostatized openly, and became Mohammedans or Brahminists; while others, who remained nominally Christian, degraded that holy profession by their vices and immoralities.

The zeal, firmness, and ability of Bishop Middleton speedily gained for him respect and influence. The number of churches and of clergymen has been slowly increasing since his time, while the morals and piety of the Anglo-Indian community have materially improved. He opened communications with the ancient Armenian and Syrian Churches, visiting also on several occasions the missions in Southern India and Ceylon. But it became evident, that the effectual supervision of so large and unwieldy a diocese, including not only the Indian continent, but the island of Ceylon, far exceeded the powers of any single individual, however pious and energetic.

To describe, in detail, the exertions of Bishop Middleton, would require far more space than the limits of this work will afford; but it should never be forgotten, that although his labours excited less attention than

those of his gifted successor, Bishop Heber, they conferred most important benefits upon the Indian Church. His task indeed was not, personally speaking, a pleasant one. The fruits of his toils and anxieties scarcely manifested themselves during his life-time; and of him, indeed, it might emphatically be said that "other men entered into his labours." A mind of less firmness would have shrunk back disheartened from the aspect of the evils with which the first Anglican Bishop of Calcutta found himself obliged to grapple. One covetous of mere success must have given way to despair, when so many of his exertions proved ineffective. Bishop Middleton did neither; he followed up the path of duty calmly, soberly, and hopefully, neither too much depressed by failure, nor unduly elated by good fortune.

The episcopates of Bishop Heber and Bishop Wilson have witnessed the enlargement of the Anglican Church in India, as well as an unprecedented increase of missionary exertion. By the Act of 1833 two new bishoprics were formed at Madras and Bombay, and subsequently a bishop was appointed for the Island of Ceylon. The number of chaplains now amounts to 122, and that of the ordained missionaries may be stated at 131, exclusive of lay-assistants, schoolmasters, and native agents. The Hindoo Christians, whose spiritual necessities have been hitherto supplied by the Church Missionary and Gospel Propagation Societies, are reported to exceed 60,000 souls. The amount of benefit conferred upon the Hindoos by the labours of these religious teachers can only perhaps be fully estimated in another generation; but even at present, the difference between the native Christians and the native heathen is most remarkable. While the latter are immoral, ignorant, and uncivilized, the former are decent in their manners, cleanly in their dwellings, and far advanced beyond their countrymen in useful knowledge and intelligence. It can hardly,

indeed, be otherwise, when we consider that Brahminism professes to communicate instruction in science as well as in theology, and that it teaches in both branches of study the most puerile absurdities. The Brahminical disciple must not only believe in deities with three heads and twelve arms, but he must admit that Mount Meru is 20,000 miles high, and that the world stands on the back of a tortoise.

On the other hand, the Christian Hindoo learns from his instructors in the mission-school those sound elementary principles of science which are inculcated in the seminaries of Europe; at the same time that he derives from the pages of inspiration a theological and moral code, as far exalted in literary sublimity as in ethical truth above the childish fables and superficial erudities of the Puranas and Vedas.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CHOLERA—WAR DECLARED AGAINST BIRMAH—ARRIVAL OF SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL AT RANGOON—ATTACK UPON KEMANDINE—ILL TREATMENT OF EUROPEAN PRISONERS—DEFEAT OF THE BANDOOLAH.

1817—1824.

WHEN Lord Amherst, the successor of Lord Hastings, reached India, he found the cholera raging with considerable violence throughout the country. This fearful epidemic commenced its ravages at the beginning of the Mahratta war, and then attracted, for the first time, the particular and special attention of European medical men. It seems, however, to have prevailed on the Indian Continent from a very early period, being mentioned in ancient writings under the names of Sitanga or Vishuchi. From 1761 to 1787, occasional outbreaks took place in various parts of Hindoostan, but they called forth little notice, and were in general lightly regarded.

During the month of August, 1817, a fresh manifestation of the disease occurred in Jessore, sixty miles north-east of Calcutta. That district abounds in marshes, and is irrigated profusely by small streams and canals, which, when stagnant, influence prejudicially the surrounding atmosphere. Fevers and other disorders, produced or promoted by unwholesome air, are considered to be extremely prevalent in this part of Bengal, especially during heavy rains or partial inundations of the Ganges.

The physical characteristics of these regions are low

and flat plains, covered towards the south with immense and trackless jungles, the common refuge of the most savage animals, as well as of the most venomous insects. Tigers, serpents of every description, scorpions, lizards, and mosquitoes, swarm beneath the low dark-looking thickets, which strike the traveller as the very impersonation of disease and funereal gloom. As we ascend in a northerly direction, the jungles are replaced by rice plantations, villages, and cultivated spots; but even here, the abundant fertility of the soil originates in the humidity of the land, and the burning heat of the solar rays,—two instruments of plenty, which may frequently become the agents of pestilence and disease.

From Jessore the epidemic advanced up the river to Calcutta, where, after desolating the Black Town, or native suburb, it diffused itself through the principal cities of Bengal, sparing, however, at that time, the elevated regions of Oude and Rohilcund. A detachment from the lower provinces introduced it into the army under Lord Hastings, then encamped on the banks of the Sind. The site was by no means salubrious, and did not afford a supply of good water. Hundreds succumbed to the attacks of the invisible foe, whose footsteps seemed shrouded in mystery, and therefore occasioned a more widely-extended panic. Europeans and natives alike fell beneath the scythe of the destroyer. The roads were covered with human beings in the last stages of dissolution, while a melancholy silence pervaded the camp, interrupted only by the groan of expiring agony, or the passionate laments of despairing survivors. In ten days nearly 9,000 human beings had perished. The removal, however, of the army to a more healthy station at Erieh, on the Betwa, produced a marked change for the better, and arrested almost entirely the progress of the disease.

The scourge still continued its course through the Indian Continent, and did not finally leave unmolested

the elevated regions it had at first spared. Before Lord Amherst's arrival, the southern provinces were desolated by famine, and these severe visitations contributed, perhaps, in some measure to the universal tranquillity that prevailed everywhere. A state of profound peace continued, indeed, uninterrupted until the breaking out of the Burmese war, the origin and progress of which we must now proceed to describe.

The Burman empire occupies the greater portion of the large peninsula, forming, together with Hindoostan, the eastern and western boundaries of the Bay of Bengal. To the north of this region is situated the kingdom of Thibet; the Gulf of Siam and the narrow peninsula of Malaga forming the southern limits. Burmah is one of the most fertile countries in Asia, being intersected by numerous streams and water-courses, many of which fall into the Irrawaddi, the largest river in the empire. It takes its rise in the Chinese province of Yunan, and runs almost directly south. During the rainy season the Irrawaddi is navigable for large vessels as far as Ava, about 450 miles above Rangoon.

The population of the Burmese empire has generally been considered as not exceeding 8,000,000, but in a country where statistics are unknown, the reports of officials or the guesses of travellers can scarcely be deemed worthy of implicit credit. The government is despotic, and the law is strictly the will of the sovereign. Two supreme councils, however, are permitted to assist their monarch in the regulation of public affairs. Each of these comprises four members, entitled respectively, "Atwen Woon," or "inside" ministers of state, and "Woon Gyee," or "state scribes." Measures approved of by the Atwen Woon are again discussed in the council of the Woon Gyee, and accepted or rejected according as the majority of the votes given decides. But these deliberative bodies, although in theory a check upon the royal authority, are powerless in a country

where the prince is the irresponsible master of his subjects' lives and liberties. The slightest opposition to the monarch's will would expose the wisest and most honoured councillor to disgrace and suffering; nor can we feel surprise if, under such circumstances, the great national councils have become the mere instruments of the sovereign's wishes, or the simple registrars of his decrees.

The governors of the Burman provinces have been appropriately termed by the people "eaters or consumers." They are allowed no salary, their revenues being derived from the taxes, of which each subordinate agent takes his share. The poor people are thus obliged to satisfy a succession of harpies, who hand over what remains to the governor, between whom and the royal treasury it is finally divided.

The religion of the Burmans is Buddhism, a system which seems universally prevalent in the south-eastern regions of Asia. The chief doctrines it presents to its votaries are founded on the principle that instability, pain, and change, are the great characteristics of all existence. According to the Buddhist creed, therefore, every man is doomed to pass through a succession of transmigrations, each one varying in its character according to his previous conduct in a former stage of being. The moral precepts by which he must regulate his conduct are the instructions of the last Buddha. They enjoin the duties of worship, prayer, reverence to priests, abstinence from murder, theft, adultery, falsehood, and intoxicating liquors, combined with certain ceremonial observances of an elaborate nature. The disciple who performs these aright, may finally expect absorption into the "golden world of Nigban," or annihilation, the supreme felicity of the Buddhist sage.

The Burman empire, as at present constituted, does not boast of very high antiquity, having only been founded during the course of the last century, by an

adventurer named Alomprah. This warrior, placing himself at the head of the inhabitants of Ava, his native city, revolted against his and their liege lord, the king of Pegu. That sovereign was eventually defeated, and his nobility massacred by Alomprah, who afterwards subdued Siam, and thus laid the foundations of the present empire of Burmah. His successors inherited his abilities, and pursued his policy, until most of the adjacent states submitted to their rule, and the tide of conquest led them eventually to the boundaries of the Company's possessions.

An inroad made into the province of Chittagong first brought the Burmese under the notice of the Indian Government. An embassy from Lord Teigumouth to the court of Ava followed, in the year 1795, which apparently placed the mutual interests of both countries on a friendly footing. During the years 1797 and 1798, however, great numbers of the Mughls, an inferior race, tributaries to the Burmese, migrated to Chittagong from the adjoining province of Arracan. The English authorities endeavoured to prevent their entrance, and enforce their return; but the fugitives declared, that they would rather perish in the jungles, by famine or wild beasts, than subject themselves again to the tyranny and oppression of the Burmese. The humanity of the Company's officers being excited by the sufferings of these unhappy people, they supplied them liberally with food, and stationed them in various settlements near the borders.

At length an emigration of the Mughls, more numerous than ordinary, provoked, beyond endurance, the indignation and jealousy of the Burman government. A large body of troops advanced towards Chittagong, demanding the instant surrender of their rebellious slaves. "If you," wrote the Burmese commander to the authorities of Chittagong, "regarding former amity, will deliver up to us all the refugees, friendship and

concord will continue to subsist. If you will keep in your country the slaves of our king, the broad path of intercourse between the two states will be blocked up. Our disagreement is only about these refugees : we wrote to you to deliver them, and you have been offended thereat. We again write to you who are in the province of Chit-tagong on the part of the king of the Company, that we will take away the whole of the Arracanese ; and further, in order to take them away, more troops are coming. If you will keep the Arracanese in your country, the cord of friendship will be broken."

The Burmese having already passed the frontier, the English magistrates, in reply, commanded them to withdraw from the Company's territories, threatening that, in the event of their non-compliance, they should be forcibly dislodged by a detachment of sepoy. The invaders, however, succeeded in holding their ground, while fresh bodies of Mughs continued to emigrate from Arracan. In 1800, the court of Ava made a formal demand that the English government should expel all fugitives from its dominions, concluding with the menace, that war would prove the result of a refusal. These threats, however, were not carried out ; and for about eleven years the Burmese remained tranquil, though, during the latter portion of that period, the court of Ava undoubtedly entertained warlike designs, and ambitious projects of aggrandizement, at the expense of the British.

In the meantime the Mughs, who had been located on the frontier, made frequent incursions into the territory of Arracan. The English government attempted to stop these proceedings, but positively refused to surrender their perpetrators to the justice or vengeance of the Burmese government. Skirmishes, remonstrances, and explanations, followed in rapid succession. The Burmese, elated by some advantages they had recently gained over the Mughs, not only claimed the right of

crossing the frontier in pursuit of the latter, but demanded that the English should supply their troops with arms, ammunition, and provisions. Fresh demands elicited fresh denials, and called forth pompous threats, which were never carried into execution. As time went on, the Mughls proved themselves not altogether worthy of the protection that had been extended towards them. From plundering the Burmese, they proceeded to attack English subjects. In spite of all this, the government refrained from giving them up, though the authorities took several strenuous measures to prevent their forays into the Burman territories.

An attempt made by the Burmese, towards the close of 1823, to gain possession of the island of Shapuree, led to the commencement of actual hostilities. This place, a small sand-bank near the coast of Arracan, had been hitherto reckoned a portion of Bengal, and was, at that period, garrisoned by a few sepoy. The Burmese landed in the night, attacked the British troops, drove them from their posts, and finally established themselves on the island. The remonstrances of the English government were considered as the effects of fear; and not long afterwards, about 5,000 Burmese made an inroad from Arracan into the province of Cachar. Various skirmishes now took place, in some of which the Burmese had the advantage, a circumstance that increased their arrogance materially, and rendered them averse to a pacific termination of the dispute. Still the Court of Ava carried on negotiations, mainly, however, with a view to gain time.

Lord Amherst, perceiving that war had become inevitable, resolved to send an expedition into the enemy's country. Rangoon, a seaport situated near the mouths of the Irrawaddi, and the principal seat of the commercial transactions carried on with foreign powers, appeared the most suitable locality for commencing hostile operations. Accordingly, two divisions of troops,

about 13,000 strong, sailed from Madras and Calcutta, under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Campbell.

They arrived at Rangoon on the 11th of May, 1824. The appearance of the town presented few signs of prosperity or importance. It was oval in shape, and defended by three batteries, being surrounded also on all sides with a stockade composed of teak planks driven into the ground, and about twenty feet high. The houses were simply huts, constructed of matting and bamboo, resting upon poles, which elevated them several feet above the ground, in order that the inhabitants might be preserved from the frequent inundations. A few dwellings of brick, built more substantially, belonged to the foreign residents; while two wooden edifices, in a most dilapidated state, were used as the palace of the governor, and the hall of justice.

As the English ships approached the town, the batteries opened upon them a feeble and ineffectual fire, which was soon silenced by the leading frigate. The enemy then withdrew from their works, and a proclamation being issued that the town should be abandoned, they retreated into the adjacent forests, bearing with them all their provisions and portable articles of property. When the British troops entered within the walls, they did not find a single native, all having, to the number of 50,000, deserted their dwellings. They had, in fact, left to the invaders only a group of mat huts, situated in the midst of marshes, which the prevalence of the monsoon was each day rendering doubly pestilential.

When the expedition to Rangoon had been originally planned, it was expected that the English commander would be able to secure a large number of boats from among the numerous small craft constantly found about the mouth of the Irrawaddi. At the period of his arrival, however, Sir Archibald Campbell could only

procure two or three of these vessels, and utterly failed in his endeavours to discover a boatman who would undertake to manage them. There remained, therefore, no alternative but that the English should, for the present, take up their quarters at Rangoon.

Not far from the city is situated a Buddhist temple, known as the Golden Dagon Pagoda. It stands on an eminence, encircled by two brick terraces, from the highest of which rises a pear-shaped dome, "covered with gilding, and dazzling the eyes by the reflection of the rays of the sun. The ascent to the upper terrace is by a flight of stone steps, protected from the weather by an ornamented roof. The sides are defended by a balustrade, representing a huge crocodile, the jaws of which are supported by two colossal figures of a male and female palloo, or evil genius, who, with clubs in their hands, are emblematically supposed to be guarding the entrance of the temple.

"After ascending the steps, which are very dark, you suddenly pass through a small gate, and emerge into the upper terrace, where the great pagoda, at about fifty yards' distance, rears its lofty head in perfect splendour. The height of the Tee, 336 feet from the terrace, and the elegance with which this enormous mass is built, combine to render it one of the grandest and most curious sights a stranger can notice. From the base it assumes the form of a ball, or dome, and then gracefully tapers to a point of considerable height, the summit of which is surmounted by a Tee, or umbrella of open iron-work, from whence are suspended a number of small bells, which are set in motion by the slightest breeze, and produce a confused, though not unpleasant, sound." *

Such was the building which Sir Archibald Campbell selected as a desirable military post, affording him at once the means of commanding Rangoon, and of keeping

* Two Years in Ava.

up a communication with the sea. A tolerable road led from the pagoda to the town, on each side of which had been erected several monasteries and temples, that now served as barracks for the troops. A single regiment of native infantry remained in charge of Rangoon itself, for the purpose of protecting the supplies that were expected from Calcutta and Madras. Having made these necessary arrangements, the English officers found leisure to contemplate and enjoy the novel scenery which surrounded them. For a short time the weather continued favourable, and the gay sunshine lit up daily a panorama of exquisite beauty. Fertile and well-watered plains extended towards the north-east, bounded by distant mountains ; while to the south was situated a dense forest, the pinnacles and spires of a pagoda rising here and there from the dark foliage. The city of Rangoon, its temples and fortifications, completed the picture, which, however, soon ceased to charm, when the dreary monsoon season covered the sky with clouds, and deluged the surrounding country with unremitted torrents of rain.

In the meantime, the Burmese did not remain idle. They erected stockades throughout the neighbouring forests, gradually forming a circle around the British position, while their long war-boats covered the Irrawaddi, and seemed daily menacing an attack. Yet for about three weeks no hostile demonstration was made, nor did the enemy emerge, in a single instance, from the thick forests which concealed their active and energetic preparations for war.

On the 15th of May, 1824, some English boats were fired upon from a village called Kemandine, about three miles above Rangoon. A grenadier company of the 38th regiment attacked this post on the succeeding day, and obliged the defenders, after some hard fighting, to take refuge in the jungle. A young Burmese woman of high rank mingled with the combatants on this occa-

sion, and, being mortally wounded, was abandoned by her countrymen. The English soldiers removed her immediately from the scene of action to a place where her wounds could be tended ; but she expired a short time after the retreat of the Burmese.

While these skirmishes were taking place in the south, the attention of the Court of Ava had been directed to the Chittagong frontier, which they expected would have proved the principal point of attack. They accordingly assembled a large army there under Mingee, the Great Bandoolah, one of the king's chief favourites, and a general of no ordinary merit. He defeated a body of sepoys and Mughls, during the month of May, and might possibly have possessed himself of Chittagong itself, had he not remained too long in the vicinity of Ramoo. The arrival of an English force, however, commanded by Brigadier-General Macmorine, soon changed the aspect of affairs, and compelled the Bandoolah to retire ; but he succeeded in effecting his retreat, without disorder or positive loss.

When the Burmese authorities received intelligence of the landing of the English at Rangoon, they hastened to collect as large a force as possible, the command of which was entrusted to Sykiah Woon Gyee, the viceroy of Pegu. Under this general the natives advanced their stockades to an open space, within cannon-shot of the British ; but they soon had reason to repent their temerity, for their breastwork was almost immediately captured, and Sir Archibald Campbell at once determined on attacking the enemy with a strong body of English and sepoys.

On the 28th of May, a British column pushed forward, driving before them a detachment of Burmese, who were endeavouring to repair the breaches made in their works. The rain poured down in torrents, and the impediments offered by the saturated soil obliged the English to leave behind, under the charge of the sepoys,

a couple of six-pounders, while they themselves plunged into the recesses of the forest, to follow up the retreating enemy. Detached parties of the Burmese lurked among the trees, firing, from time to time, upon the vanguard; but at length the troops entered the plain of Jeazoang, after having carried a wooden bridge erected over a swamp. Pressing forward, they came in sight of two stockades, behind which appeared large bodies of the Burmese, who seemed disposed to maintain their position with obstinacy.

The rain had rendered the muskets of the British perfectly useless, so that, at first, they were obliged to refrain from returning the enemy's fire. The contest was eventually decided by the bayonet, but not before a sanguinary struggle had taken place. The loss on the side of the Burmese proved immense, since they neither gave nor received quarter. Unhappily, too, the English soldiers found it impossible to deal mercifully with a barbarous foe. The men they spared as disabled, rallied their remaining strength for the purpose of dealing a last and treacherous blow at those who had passed them by uninjured; and the frequent recurrence of this dastardly conduct, induced the soldiers not to give quarter to their vanquished enemies. The main body of the Burmese remained inactive during the assault upon the stockades; but, finding these defences taken, they advanced with savage yells to rescue them from the English. Their efforts proved unavailing, and terminated in a thorough defeat; while the British, now triumphant on all sides, marched slowly back to their quarters in the pagoda.

Soon after this action two envoys arrived, apparently with the intention of examining the position and resources of the English. They requested that all hostile movements might cease for a short time; but as they refused to sanction any formal intercourse between their court and the invaders, this proposition was civilly

refused. They were also informed that the position at Kemandine would shortly be attacked by the British troops.

That night the Burmese used every exertion to fortify the menaced village. The following morning a strong detachment of infantry, with some boats and artillery, prepared to invest Kemandine by land and water. Stockades had been erected wherever the approaches were undefended by natural obstacles ; but the enemy, after a show of resistance, abandoned their works during the succeeding night, and retreated, carrying off with them their dead and wounded. For some time they remained quiet ; all the stockades near Rangoon being now evacuated. The island of Chituba at this period surrendered to a corps of British troops under Brigadier M^cCreagh.

Sykiah Woon Gyee, the Burmese commander-in-chief, had been commissioned by the King of Ava to drive the British into the sea ; and his inability to accomplish this difficult achievement, occasioned his own dismissal and disgrace. He was succeeded by Shumbah Woon Gyee, a general of high rank, who, however, proved eventually more unfortunate than his predecessor. The new commander attempted to raise stockades on a point formed by the confluence of the rivers Lyne and Panlang. He designed to harass the English by a system of desultory warfare, respecting the final success of which he entertained the utmost confidence, intelligence being daily brought him, that the white strangers were sinking rapidly under the fatigues of a protracted campaign in a land of marshes and jungles.

These reports proved in some respects to be unfortunately but too true. The constant rains, the want of proper provisions, and the series of vexatious attacks endured from time to time by the British, had materially diminished the numbers, and depressed the spirits of the troops. Fortunately, however, the 89th regiment

arrived from Madras ; and this reinforcement, together with the return of some of the troops from Chituba, enabled Sir Archibald Campbell to make an immediate attack upon the Burmese position at the junction of the two rivers. Besides these works, Shumbah Woon Gyee had erected stockades in the forest of Rummeroot, from whence his men might sally forth by night, and attack the defenders of the Dagon Pagoda.

Sir Archibald Campbell arranged his forces in two divisions ; one of which, commanded by himself, was destined to proceed up the river in boats, while the other marched by land to assail the defences in the forest. Both proved eminently successful ; the Burmese were driven at the point of the bayonet from their redoubts, while their general, Shumbah Woon Gyee, only escaped disgrace and a death of torture, by falling sword in hand upon the field of battle. All the ammunition and camp furniture of the conquered enemy fell into the hands of the English, whose losses were comparatively inconsiderable.

The sufferings of the British army from sickness and want of provisions continued unabated, but they were endured with a patience that reflected much credit on the character of the men. General Campbell employed a portion of his troops during this interval in the reduction of the maritime province of Tenasserim, which they effected with little difficulty, as the people gladly submitted themselves to the British rule.

The Court of Ava had been watching these events with mingled sensations of indignation and surprise. When the intelligence first arrived, that the English were in possession of Rangoon, no doubt existed in the minds of the authorities as to their ultimate fate. Even the court ladies looked forward to the acquisition of a few white slaves ; while the king expressed his fears lest the foreigners, hearing of the approach of his dreaded army, should retire to their vessels in alarm, and sail away before they could

be secured by his troops. A few Englishmen, with the American missionary Judson, his heroic wife, and Dr. Price, another of his countrymen, were then residing at Ava. At first they escaped molestation; but the revengeful nature of the Burmese being aroused by their ill-success, the unfortunate foreigners soon felt the effects of a barbarous despot's resentment. Imprisoned in a filthy dungeon, and bound with cords, drawn so tight as to penetrate their very flesh, the unhappy men endured agonies of the most excruciating character, and expected each moment the order for their execution.

During this season of sorrow, Mrs. Judson left no means untried to obtain the liberation of her husband and his fellow-captives. Being well acquainted with the Burmese language, she addressed several written appeals to the government, and through her unwearied personal solicitations, procured some alleviation of the sufferings endured by the prisoners. "This amiable and humane female," says one, who was himself indebted to her benevolence, "though living at a distance of two miles from our prison, without any means of conveyance, and very feeble in health, forgot her own comfort and infirmity, and almost every day visited us, sought out, and administered to, our wants, and contributed in every way to alleviate our misery.

"While we were all left by the government destitute of food, she with unwearied perseverance obtained for us a constant supply.

"When the unfeeling avarice of our keepers confined us inside, or made our feet fast in the stocks, she, like a ministering angel, never ceased her applications to the government, until she was authorized to communicate to us the grateful news of our enlargement, or of a respite from our galling oppressions."

The Court was determined to recal the great Bandoolah from his equivocal position in Arracan. That chieftain gladly quitted a station where he had gained

some advantages, but might daily anticipate a painful reverse. Before he reached Ava, where he was subsequently invested by the king with unwonted honours, and exercised almost regal authority, the monarch despatched his two brothers at the head of a body of Burmese troops, styled the "Invulnerables," who had undertaken to rescue the Golden Dagon from the hands of the English. They were accompanied by a party of astrologers, by whose science the favourable moment for the attack was to be determined.

After many insignificant skirmishes, the astrologers of the Prince of Sarrawaddi announced that the hour had arrived for the total overthrow of the white strangers. It was the 30th of August, the anniversary of a great Burmese festival, which the "Invulnerables" engaged should be celebrated within the walls of the Golden Dagon, now garrisoned by British troops. At the hour of midnight they prepared to redeem their pledge. Drugged with opium, and frantic with excitement, the wild warriors rushed furiously on the English outposts, who, retiring before them, gradually gained the ramparts of the pagoda. Proud of their fancied advantage, a column of Invulnerables prepared to ascend the narrow pathway leading to the temple. A thick mass of human beings crowded the limited space, uttering ferocious yells and imprecations. And now the cannonade opens, pouring forth a death-shower upon the dense throng, whose cries of triumph were succeeded by shrieks of alarm and despair. The "Invulnerables" halted, wavered, and then, flying in disorder, sought refuge in the thickest recesses of the neighbouring forest.

The Court of Ava began to feel somewhat alarmed with regard to the final issue of the war. A lion, one of the king's favourites, was starved to death, under the sage impression that this animal being emblazoned on the British standard, his destruction would affect the army of which he constituted the symbol. In addition

to this superstitious inhumanity, fresh rigours were inflicted upon the unfortunate prisoners.

At length the great Bandoolah commenced his march towards Rangoon. He fixed his camp at Denoobew, where he concentrated his forces, and added daily to their numbers. On the 4th of October, a brigade of sepoy, with some native infantry, and field-pieces, assailed several of the enemy's breastworks which they obliged their occupants to evacuate. The prisoners informed the English commander, Colonel Smith, that a fortified pagoda at Kykloo, had recently been garrisoned by the Chud Woon and the Rayhoon of Rangoon. He accordingly hastened thither, and made an attempt to storm the place ; but the sepoy, not being accompanied by European troops, showed themselves irresolute, and remained stationary, under a heavy fire from the garrison.

Finding that his attempt had miscarried, Colonel Smith ordered a retreat, about a hundred men being numbered among the killed and wounded. This slight advantage elated the Burmese beyond measure, and the intelligence of what they termed their victory being transmitted to Ummerapoora, the authorities ordered that a salute of cannon should celebrate the successes of the golden monarch's arms. Their rejoicings proved somewhat premature ; for a force under Major Evans arriving afterwards, drove the enemy from their works, and fully retrieved the disgrace of the sepoy.

The recent occupation of Tenasserim proved of the greatest importance, the air being uncommonly salubrious, and the climate peculiarly suited to Europeans. Hence it became the sanatorium of the army, while the districts of Mergui and Tavoi furnished the British with ample supplies of cattle and grain. The seizure, however, of a territory that had been wrested by the Burmans from the Siamese, rendered the latter people somewhat inimically disposed ; the more especially, as

the emissaries, despatched to Bangkok by the Court of Ava, used every possible mode of persuasion to draw their former opponents into a close alliance against England. The capture of Martaban, however, a place of some note, situated on the Burmese frontier, opened the eyes of the Siamese to the power of the English, and induced them to preserve the strictest neutrality.

Towards the end of November, 1824, the Maha Bandoolah, having abandoned his position at Denoobew, marched at the head of about 60,000 men, towards the Golden Dagon. His advance had been made with the greatest possible rapidity and secrecy, the leading columns of his vanguard being the first heralds of his approach. Fortunately, the English were already in some measure prepared for this sudden attack, General Campbell having, during the last few weeks, anticipated a hostile movement on the part of the Burmese. The first post assailed was that at Kemandine, where the ships and gunboats in the river supported the operations of the land forces. The thunder of the artillery, the yells of the enemy, and the cheers of the British seamen, reached the ears of the main body at the pagoda, from whom a dense cloud of smoke concealed for a long time the scene of action. At length, the mist of battle dissolving, the English beheld their vessels in their old position, with their ensigns still floating proudly from the mast-head.

In a short time, the Burmans were seen moving across the plain of Dalla, in the direction of Rangoon. They advanced to all appearance with regularity and order, the gilt umbrellas of their leaders glittering in the sunshine, and the whole army presenting a splendid military spectacle, as their columns pressed forward to take up their position immediately opposite Rangoon. Almost simultaneously, another large body emerged from the forest, and formed their front to the east of the great pagoda. The subsequent proceedings are

thus graphically described by Colonel Smodgrass, the able historian of the Burmese war :—

“The centre, or the continuation of the line from the great pagoda up to Kemandine, where it again rested on the river, was posted in so thick a forest as to defy all conjecture as to its strength or situation. In the course of a few hours we thus found ourselves completely surrounded, with the narrow channel of the Rangoon river alone unoccupied in our rear, and with only the limited space within our lines, which we could still call our own. The line of circumvallation taken up by the enemy obviously extended a very considerable distance, and, divided as it was by the river, injudiciously weakened his means of assailing us on any particular point; but as far as celerity, order and regularity are concerned, the style in which the different corps took up their stations in the line, reflected much credit on the arrangement of the Burmese commander.

“When this singular and presumptuous formation was completed, the soldiers of the left columns, also laying aside their spears and muskets, commenced operations with their intrenching tools, with such activity and good-will, that in the course of a couple of hours, their line had wholly disappeared, and could only be traced by a parapet of new earth, gradually increasing in height, and assuming such forms as the skill and science of the engineers suggested. The moving masses which had so very lately attracted our anxious attention, had sunk into the ground; and to any one who had not witnessed the whole scene, the existence of these subterranean legions would not have been credited: the occasional movement of a chief with his gilt chat-tate (umbrella) from place to place, superintending the progress of their labour, was the only thing that now attracted notice. By a distant observer, the hills covered with mounds of earth, would have been taken for anything rather than the approaches of an attacking

army; but to us who had watched the whole strange proceeding it seemed the work of magic or enchantment.

"The Burman trenches were found on examination to consist merely of a succession of holes, each capable of containing two men, and excavated so as to afford shelter both from the weather and the fire of an enemy; even a shell lighting in the trench could at most kill but two men. As it is not the Burmese system to relieve their troops in making these approaches, each hole contained a sufficient supply of rice, water, and even fuel for its inmates; and under the excavated bank, a bed of straw or brushwood was prepared, in which one man could sleep while his comrade watched. When one line of trench is completed, its occupiers, taking advantage of the night, push forward to where the second line is to be opened, their places being immediately taken up by fresh troops from the rear, and so on progressively, the number of trenches occupied varying, according to the force of the besiegers, to the plans of the general, or to the nature of the ground."

The commander-in-chief, wishing to ascertain precisely the movements of the enemy, ordered Major Sale with the 13th Light Infantry to attack their trenches. The Burmese being taken by surprise, fought at a disadvantage, but although they eventually sustained a severe loss, they defended their position with courage and skill. The victors destroyed all the implements of fortification that they could find, and pursued the Burmese to the entrance of the forest; but the officers held back their men from penetrating into its dangerous recesses.

In the meantime, the Burmese war-boats on the river made desperate efforts to break through the British flotilla, lying before Kemandine, with the intention of occupying, finally, the port of Rangoon. Their attacks having been repelled in every instance, they at last attempted to force a passage by means of fire-rafts.

These destructive machines measured about 100 feet in length, being composed of strong bamboos. Rows of earthen jars, containing petroleum or earth-oil with cotton, gunpowder, and other inflammable materials, had been placed in different parts, and the combustibles being ignited, the rafts were sent down the river, when the ebb tide began to flow; the Burmese expecting they would inflict serious injury on the English vessels, or at least drive them from their anchorage. The sailors, however, succeeded in averting the anticipated peril, by conducting the flaming masses past the ships, which thus were enabled to maintain their position in perfect security.

On the 5th of December, the enemy's left wing emerged from their defences, and presented themselves on the open plain, thus affording the English a favourable opportunity for attacking them. The advantage was not neglected; two columns immediately pressed forward, under Major Sale and Major Walker; while a squadron of gun-boats, commanded by Captain Chads, ascended the river, and menaced the rear divisions of the Burmese. After a sharp conflict, the British troops proved victorious, the enemy sustaining a greater loss in this action than they had ever experienced before.

A final attack by the Burmese on the 7th, proved still more disastrous for them, and the Bandoolah, who had formerly promised to bring the governor-general in chains to Ava, now found himself obliged to concentrate at Kokien, four miles distant from the Shoo Dagon, the miserable remains of his shattered forces. The diminution in their numbers was said to be immense; but as some reinforcements arrived soon after, the Burman commander resolved to endeavour by one last effort to retrieve his tarnished honour.

Recent events, however, suggested caution rather than impetuosity, and the Bandoolah seemed disposed to trust more to the force of his stockades, than to the valour of

his troops. He also employed some secret emissaries to set fire to Rangoon in various places; but this attempt failed signally, the flames being speedily extinguished by the exertions of the British troops. The English army then marched on Kokien, where they forced the intrenchments, and obliged the Burmese to retreat after having sustained a severe loss.

CHAPTER XXII.

PANIC AT CALCUTTA—MUTINY OF BARRACKPOOR—MARCH TO PROME
—DEATH OF THE BANDOOLAH—NEGOTIATIONS—ADVANCE OF THE
ENGLISH AND CAPTURE OF MELLOON—THE KING OF HELL—PEACE
WITH THE BURMESE.

1824—1826.

THE defeat of the Bandoolah at Kokien, rendered an advance into the interior comparatively easy. The grand army of Burmah, under its best general, had sustained a succession of defeats calculated to depress the spirits of the men, and to rebuke the vaunting arrogance of their commanders. Little opposition could now be anticipated, and it seemed that a march to Amerapoor, the present residence of the court, would infallibly occasion a speedy termination of the war. Unfortunately, however, the means of transport were not yet ready, and Sir Archibald Campbell, therefore, was compelled to postpone the execution of his design until a more advanced period.

While the British troops were thus victorious in Burmah, most serious apprehensions prevailed among the native merchants at Calcutta, with regard to the final issue of the war. The slight and unimportant success of the Bandoolah on the Chittagong frontier, produced an impression that the Burmese were invincible, and unhappily, this persuasion descending to the sepoy, rendered them averse to take any part in the campaign. A serious mutiny occurred, in consequence, at Barrackpoor, when the 47th Native Infantry, being under orders for foreign service, absolutely refused to parade, and were

joined afterwards by companies from other regiments. The spirit of rebellion had indeed spread so far, that the authorities deemed severe measures absolutely necessary. The mutineers having repeatedly refused to return to their duty, were fired upon with artillery, until they suffered themselves to be disarmed. The 47th was then erased from the Army List, and those of the ringleaders who had survived, suffered capital punishment.

Plentiful supplies of boats, boatmen, and beasts of burden arrived at Rangoon from Madras and Bengal, towards the close of 1824, and at the commencement of 1825. Finding, therefore, that no obstacle now existed to impede his further progress, Sir Archibald Campbell determined to advance in the direction of Prome. On the 15th of February, 1825, three columns began their march, under the command of Sir Archibald himself, of Brigadier-General Cotton, and of Major Sale. The latter had been instructed to reduce Bassein; while the two former proceeded to Prome. The commander-in-chief pursued the land route, and General Cotton, that by water; but both divisions were to effect a junction at Denoobew, or, in case the land column might not be able to reach this place, at Sarawah.

The land column proceeded with considerable alacrity through a well wooded but desert country, until it arrived at Sarawah, a town about 30 miles beyond Denoobew. During the march, repeated rumours of the retreat of the Bandoolah, induced Sir Archibald to refrain from crossing over to the last-mentioned town, the more especially as neither ford nor bridge existed nearer than Sarawah. This city, situated on the right bank of the Irrawaddi, had been hitherto the chief station for the Burmese war-boats, as well as a place of considerable trade. The inhabitants deserted it at the approach of the British, nor could all the efforts of Sir Archibald Campbell induce them to return.

The town of Sarawah contained many objects worthy

of notice. Several ancient Kioums, or monasteries, particularly attracted the attention of the British officers, who were also much struck by the magnificent aspect of the river, which here measures more than 800 yards in width. After a halt of four days, however, all began to feel anxious as to the fate of General Cotton's division, since no intelligence had reached them respecting its movements. On the evening of the fifth day, a distant firing was heard, from the direction of Denoobew; but Sir Archibald, far from entertaining any apprehension on this score, concluded that the cessation of the cannonade indicated the surrender or downfall of the place. Finding every town and village deserted in the vicinity of Sarawah, the commander-in-chief became eager to reach Prome as speedily as possible, and his troops were about to commence their march when information arrived that the attack on Denoobew had proved unsuccessful.

Two courses now presented themselves for the adoption of the British general. He might either press forward to the capital, thus attracting the attention of the Bandoolah, and compelling him to advance to Prome, or march his column at once on Denoobew, and drive out the Burmese garrison from their strong position there. Sir Archibald determined to adopt the latter expedient, and having crossed the Irrawaddi by means of rafts, reached the place of his destination on the 25th of March. Numerous war-boats crowded the river above the fortifications, and opened a sharp fire upon the British troops, but the latter maintained their ground, and advanced within cannon shot of the defences. These consisted of solid teak-wood stockades, masking the old brick walls of the fortress, the form of which was oblong, measuring about a thousand yards in length, by five hundred in breadth. A moat filled with spikes and large nails defended the three inland sides, while the river protected the front, the besieged being thus enabled to bring the fire of their gun-boats to bear upon the invaders.

The apparent strength of the place deterred the commander-in-chief from attempting to storm it, while the small number of his troops would not permit the formation of a regular siege. He encamped, therefore, with one flank defended by the river, while on the exposed side, a line of patrols were instructed to watch diligently every demonstration of the enemy.

Having taken these precautions, the wearied soldiers retired to rest; but suddenly the sound of fire-arms, and the hasty arrival of the piquet, broke off their slumbers, and called every man to his post. As they formed hurriedly, the yells of the Burmese revealed the cause of the alarm. An attempt was being made to turn the right flank, but the steady fire of the English defeated this project, and obliged the assailants, after two or three attacks, to retreat with considerable loss. At the close of the engagement, Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to effect, if possible, a junction with General Cotton's water column; and despatched for that purpose a detachment of 100 Europeans, and some cavalry, who, having forced their way through a thick jungle, re-established the interrupted communication between the corps. On the 27th the English flotilla appeared, a steam vessel leading the way, while seventeen of the Burmese war-boats pushed off to encounter the enemy. The batteries of the fort seconded their efforts, but in vain; the steamer bore down irresistibly upon the small craft opposed to her, and thirteen of the war-boats remained the prizes of the conqueror. A sortie by the besieged was triumphantly repelled, while the English, being thus enabled to land the ammunition and mortars which the flotilla had conveyed, subsequently commenced a bombardment of the town. This mode of attack proved eventually successful; the Bandoolah himself was killed by the exploding of a shell, and the Burmese, dispirited at the loss of their leader, evacuated the works, and retreated in the dead of night to a place at some distance. Upon the

receipt of these tidings, Sir Archibald Campbell gave orders for the immediate occupation of the works, and prepared to recommence, as speedily as possible, his march towards Prome.

When tidings reached the Burmese Court that the Bandoolah having fallen, the English army was advancing into the interior, terror and anxiety succeeded the arrogance and temerity of former days. The golden-footed monarch heard the intelligence with silent amazement; while the Queen smote upon her breast, exclaiming, "Ama, ama!" (alas! alas!) The common people, who had hitherto borne the chief burden of the war, murmured against the government, and threatened an insurrection in the event of fresh levies being raised. Everywhere the greatest despondency prevailed, as to the probable fate of the capital: Bandoolah, the best general of the empire, had failed, and who could now hope for success. The English troops, formerly considered luxurious and effeminate, were now likened to the Balú, a peculiar species of demons, who, according to the Burmese superstition, feed upon human flesh. The discipline of the foreigners, their able management of artillery and rockets, together with the almost supernatural rapidity of their movements, excited alternately the admiration and dread of the Burmese. Their lively imaginations' invested the invading host with powers more than human. Some reported that they were invulnerable; others declared that the arms and legs chopped off in action had been almost instantly replaced by the English surgeons; whose wisdom and skill equalled, it was said, the courage and hardihood of the warriors. All expected the arrival of the fierce strangers at Ava, in a few hours, and anticipated the entire ruin of their capital and empire. Yet even during this period of universal panic, the national pride, so characteristic of a semi-civilized people, withheld the Burman authorities from making any attempts to avert the threatened blow

by means of negotiations. They, indeed, seemed to consider all pacific overtures as artifices useful only in gaining time, or as affording a pretext for discovering the intentions of an enemy.

The Pakan-woon, who had been disgraced at the commencement of hostilities, was once more taken into favour, being considered the sole person capable of saving the empire. He was a man of considerable talent, though generally inimical to foreigners, and full of the confident arrogance that had hitherto distinguished the Burmese. He told the king that in a short time the foreigners should be defeated, and all the captured towns restored to his majesty's governors, an assurance which, for the present, restored the confidence of the Court, and rendered them desirous of trying once more the fortune of war.

In the meantime, Sir Archibald Campbell had reached Prome, which the enemy evacuated at his approach, after making an attempt to set fire to the place. Here the English fixed their winter quarters during the wet season; small parties being sent out from time to time for the purpose of collecting provisions and examining into the nature of the surrounding country. The officers commanding these detachments found the inland regions for the most part covered with thick jungles, and exhibiting scarcely any signs of cultivation. Scattered hither and thither, appeared a few collections of miserable huts, the inhabitants of which regarded the white strangers with wonder and timid surprise. They seemed perfectly ignorant of recent events, and had not apparently been visited by the Burmese troops. The route of the latter towards the north-east lay principally along the bank of the Irrawaddi, where heaps of ashes, ruined villages, and groups of hungry, masterless dogs, bore a painful testimony to the desolating effects of warfare.

The kindness manifested by the British army towards the inhabitants, induced numbers to return and establish

themselves at Prome, bringing with them all kinds of provisions and merchandise. The plains between that city and Rangoon, also, once more assumed a flourishing appearance, being covered with droves of oxen and sheep, who fed in safety upon their rich pastures under the mild rule of the European invaders. The majority, indeed, of the Burmese seemed to feel their presence as an agreeable change from the rapacity and tyranny of the native government, while not a few wishes were breathed that the victors would not speedily abandon a soil, which, after having been heroically subdued by their valour, was magnanimously protected by their clemency and justice.

During the sojourn of the English at Prome the Pakan-woon used every exertion to raise a fresh body of troops. He persuaded the king to offer the payment in advance of a hundred ticals to each recruit; and this unwonted liberality soon furnished the Burmese ranks with many volunteers, who, not having seen the glitter of the British bayonets, were scarcely aware of the danger to which they exposed themselves. The sum total of these forces amounted, by the end of September, to nearly 70,000 men, their head-quarters being fixed at Meaday, a town situated on the banks of the Irrawaddy, sixty miles beyond Prome. Of these, 15,000 were Shans, from the borders of China, whose natural daring had been materially augmented by the presence of three young women, supposed to be possessed of miraculous powers, who promised to render the balls of the English perfectly harmless by the exercise of their magic art.

The forces at Prome under the command of General Campbell did not exceed in number 3,000 men, but he expected daily a reinforcement of 2,000 more. As his instructions from the Indian government specially inculcated the necessity of endeavouring to secure peace, whenever there seemed the slightest probability that it

could be obtained, Sir Archibald despatched a letter to the chiefs assembled at Meaday. This overture, emanating from a victorious enemy, occasioned no small surprise to the Court of Ava. Some thought that the king of England discountenanced the war, while others imagined that India had risen against the English; but the opinion most commonly prevalent was, that the king of Cochin China had sent fifty ships of war to assist the Burmese, thereby occasioning in the minds of the white strangers the most anxious fear and alarm as to the future practicability of their return to India. It was deemed advisable, however, that some notice should be taken of General Campbell's missive, but a little experience soon showed that, like all Burmese negotiations, the chief object was to gain time. Sir Archibald and his staff met the Burmese commissioners at a village about twenty miles from Prome; but while professedly desirous of peace, these envoys refused every proposition that seemed likely to terminate the war. They obtained finally an armistice of twenty days, and diligently employed that period in making preparations for an attack upon the British position. Towards the close of the truce the English general received the following laconic communication:—"If you desire peace, you may go away; but if you ask either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us. This is Burman custom."

Such an ultimatum left only one course to be pursued; and Sir Archibald commenced at once his arrangements for the renewal of hostilities. The enemy, on the other hand, rendered confident by their numbers, and by the various superstitious arts practised for the purpose of inflaming their valour, advanced in three columns from Meaday, vowing that they would speedily annihilate the presumptuous foreigners. One division followed the course of the Irrawaddi, while the other two threatened the front and rear of the English.

On the 15th of November, tidings reached the com-

commander-in-chief that the Burmese had approached within sixteen miles of Prome, and were erecting stockades at a place called Wattygoon. He instantly sent off a corps of sepoys, under Colonel McDowall, to dislodge them; but that officer, being slain at the commencement of the attack, his men grew timid, and finally retreated, though in excellent order.

This slight success so much encouraged the Burmese that they resolved to attack Prome itself without delay. Maha Nemoow, their best and most experienced general, was in command of the centre division, occupying that side of the river on which the city stands, while the Sadda-woon prepared to cooperate with him from the opposite bank. The commander-in-chief, however, took little notice of these movements, but suffered the enemy to erect and occupy their stockades unmolested until the 1st of December, 1825. He then sallied forth to attack them both by land and water, the gun-boats pouring in their fire upon the enemy's flank, while the troops assailed them vigorously in front.

The Shans, who had never before encountered the English, behaved, on this occasion, with desperate though unavailing valour. The three sorceresses rode up and down among their ranks, exhorting and encouraging the men; but the futility of their vain pretensions to supernatural skill now became evident, even to their own votaries. One of these *Athazons*, being pierced by a bullet, was borne to a neighbouring cottage by the English soldiers, where she expired shortly afterwards; while another fell from her horse into a small river, which she was crossing with a host of fugitives. The ablest of the Burmese chiefs died on the field of battle; while the mass of the army, having lost their general in the action, retreated, on all sides, towards the heights of Napadea.

The new position had been carefully fortified, by means of stockades and other defences, behind which

the Kee-ween-gyee rallied his scattered and dispirited troops. His defences proved of little use, for the British, supported by the fire of the gun-boats, ran up to their stockades with fixed bayonets, and, scaling the works, obliged their defenders to take refuge in a precipitous flight. More than forty pieces of artillery fell, on this occasion, into the hands of the victors, who had now completely broken the main strength of the Burmese army.

The division of Sudda-woon still continued entire, but it was soon destined to share the fate of the other two columns. Several English detachments passed the Irrawaddi, and, in conjunction with the flotilla, attacked the stockades, driving the defenders from their posts, and forcing them, after a frightful slaughter, to shelter themselves in the neighbouring jungles.

Sir Archibald Campbell now determined to proceed to Melloon, on the road to Amerapoor. Before he advanced, however, some arrangements, with regard to the government of the subjugated provinces, occupied his attention. Stations were established at Rangoon, Pegu, Bassein, Prome, and Sarawah, from which, as from political centres, the English officer stationed at each large town might direct the affairs of the adjoining province.

Yet, while setting on foot these necessary regulations, great care was taken to point out their temporary character and limited duration. The English disclaimed all permanent authority over the people they had been thus called upon to govern, the functions of the native magistrates remained the same, the native customs and laws continued unchanged. In this manner the commander-in-chief obtained the goodwill of the mass of the population, without committing himself or his government to any direct and definitive settlement of the conquered territories.

The appearance of the cholera among the troops, and the bad state of the roads, rendered the movements of

the army somewhat tardy. When they arrived at Meaday, the ruined stockades and heaps of putrefying corpses recalled the memory of past struggles, and saddened, by their mournful aspect, the pride of victory. Two or three gibbets, erected near the fortifications, still bore the loathsome remains of deserters, or other delinquents, who had here undergone the last penalty of martial law.

As the army approached Melloon, the Burmese endeavoured, in accordance with their usual policy, to negotiate, for the purpose of gaining time. Having now, however, become accustomed to these shifts, Sir Archibald Campbell continued his march, and soon found himself opposite the fortifications of Melloon. The guns of the flotilla being pointed against the town, and the aspect of the troops proving plainly that the English were in earnest, the Burmese resolved to make another attempt at negotiation. It was accordingly arranged that the two parties should meet on board a vessel moored in the middle of the river ; and all preliminaries having been settled satisfactorily, the interview took place accordingly. After a lengthy discussion, the Burmese commissioners agreed to surrender the provinces demanded by the British, to give up all prisoners, whether English, American, or Hindoo, and to furnish a crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. The treaty was then drawn up, and delivered to the Burmese, who undertook that it should be forwarded to Amersa-poor, for the king's approval and signature.

Notwithstanding these specious appearances, however, peace was still as far off as ever. The Burmese did not even transmit the treaty to the capital, but, during the interval of truce that had been granted them for this purpose, continued, with scarcely any intermission, their preparations for war. At the expiration of the armistice, they made an attempt to procure further delays ; but Sir Archibald refused to listen to the childish

excuses offered, and commanded that the siege should proceed. The narrative of the taking of Melloon presents the same general features that have already characterised the relations of preceding sieges, during the Burmese campaign. The English batteries, assisted by the guns of the flotilla, opened upon the stockades ; while the troops, landing under the cover of their fire, assailed the defenders with a bayonet charge. The Burmese showed, on this occasion, less courage than they had formerly manifested, flying in confusion from their defences, almost as soon as they discerned the approach of the English, and not heeding either the commands or entreaties of their officers, whose efforts to stop their flight, or rally them at some more distant post, proved utterly in vain. Abundance of warlike weapons, ammunition, gold chains, gilt umbrellas, and other ornaments, fell into the hands of the victors ; but the most curious portion of the booty was a collection of State-papers, among which appeared the identical treaty supposed to have been forwarded to Amerapooa, but which, to all appearance, had never departed from Melloon.

After a few days' halt, to refresh the men and prepare them for the fatigues of a toilsome journey, Sir Archibald once more commenced his march towards Ava. The troops passed through a desolated tract of country, abounding in "oil-wells," and possessing many natural curiosities. On the 31st a boat arrived from Ava, conveying some English prisoners, and Dr. Price, an American missionary, to whom the Burmese court had entrusted the delicate and dangerous task of conducting a negotiation. The capture of Melloon, and the continued advance of the English, created the greatest possible alarm at Ava. The fate of the Golden City, indeed, was regarded as sealed, if the Burmese ministers should fail in arresting the progress of the strangers. The anxiety entertained by the authorities even induced

them to liberate their European and American captives, that they might assist the Council with their advice. Finally, the envoys were despatched, the Government retaining the remainder of the prisoners as hostages.

When the boat containing the ambassadors returned, they found the landing-places of the river crowded by anxious multitudes, eager to ascertain the result of the embassy. Dr. Price and his companions, however, repaired, in the first instance, to the palace, where the great officers of the State awaited their tidings. These were to the effect that the English general could make no alteration in the terms formerly demanded, and would only refrain from advancing, upon condition that a hundred lacs of rupees should be paid at four different times, the first twenty-five lacs being forwarded at once within twelve days. Besides this, all prisoners, whether English or American, were to be delivered up immediately. The Council hesitated, and held another consultation with the foreign prisoners. All assured them that the English would not abate one tittle of their present demands, nor accept a smaller sum than that which had been named.

About this time an adventurer, of low birth and slender abilities, endeavoured to recommend himself to the war party, by offering to defend the city of Pagan against the English, whom, he assured the king, he could easily defeat. The boaster succeeded in imposing upon the weak and credulous monarch, who placed at his disposal about 15,000 men, and conferred on their leader the singular title of "Nee Woon Breen," or "King of Hell." The new general occupied a pagoda near Pagan, with the greater portion of his troops, keeping the reserve in the city itself. To oppose this force, the English commander could only muster about 2,000 men, having been obliged of late to send out various detachments into different parts of the country. He resolved, however, to give the enemy battle, and, finding them

drawn up in the form of a crescent, made a bold attack upon their centre. The Burmese defended this, their last post, with obstinate valour; but, the communication between their flanks being cut off, a total defeat ensued, that placed Pagan in the power of the British, and annihilated the only army on which the Court of Ava could depend for the defence of the capital.

The King of Hell arrived at Ava, followed by 1,300 men, the only remnant of his army, and was imprudent enough to present himself before the king, for the purpose of requesting a fresh supply of troops. The monarch listened, in ominous silence, to his vaunts; but when he had finished speaking, commanded the attendants to drag him off to immediate execution. The unfortunate general was now doomed to suffer every species of indignity that a mob of savage barbarians, under the influence of rage and disappointment, could invent or perpetrate. His torments were finally terminated by death, while his expedition was publicly disavowed, and his doom represented as the just punishment of one who, contrary to the express orders of the king, had presumed to attack the English army.

The same night Dr. Price received instructions to depart on a second mission to the English camp. He was accompanied, on this occasion, by a few of the prisoners, and tendered an offer, from the Burmese authorities, to pay down six lacs of rupees, instead of twenty-five. This Sir Archibald peremptorily refused, and continued to press forward without the slightest delay. At length the pride of the Court being effectually humbled, the money and prisoners were sent to Yandaboo, where the English army now lay encamped.

The appearance of the unfortunate captives excited in the minds of the British officers and soldiers emotions of indignation that could scarcely be suppressed. For nearly a twelvemonth they had endured indignities of almost daily occurrence. They were bound so tightly

with cords, that the operation often rendered the victims insensible ; loaded afterwards with irons, and confined in the lowest prisons, among thieves and criminals. Every relaxation was purchased by a heavy bribe ; and as no food was ever allowed to prisoners, the unhappy men barely escaped starvation. On festival days the Burmese women generally came to the prison, and supplied its inmates with provisions ; but on these occasions many, particularly the Hindoo sepoy, ate so voraciously, that it finally proved fatal to them. By the conditions of the treaty signed at Yandaboo on the 24th of February, 1826, the Company acquired the provinces of Arracan, Yeh, Tavoi, Mergui, and Tenasserim ; while the king of Ava agreed to leave unmolested Assam, Cachar, Jylna, and Munnipoor, to receive an English resident, who should remain permanently at Ava, and to pay over, for the expenses of the war, one crore of rupees,* in four instalments. All these engagements were punctually fulfilled by the Burmese court.

Sir Archibald Campbell, having now brought the war to a successful issue, began his march homewards, and reached Rangoon in safety, without encountering any difficulties or privations beyond those which are inseparable from the conveyance of a large body of men through a partially cultivated and semi-civilized region.

* About one million sterling.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THE BURMESE EMPIRE
—DEATH OF THE RAJAH OF BHURTPUR—INTRIGUES OF HIS FAMILY—
SIEGE OF BHURTPUR—ITS CAPTURE BY LORD COMBERMERE.

1825, 1826.

WE must now give a brief account of an attempt to enter the Burman territory from the north, that took place at the commencement of 1825. The object of this enterprise was the subjugation of Arracan; but it led to the discovery of a route to Ava, which, if known previously to the occupation of Rangoon, might have prevented many difficulties, and much unnecessary loss of life. The commander of the expedition, General Morrison, marching from Chittagong, halted a short distance from Ava; while Sir Archibald Campbell lay inactive at Rangoon, arrested by the monsoon, and losing daily numbers of troops, from the prevalence among them of pestilence, and the want of proper provisions. The advance of the northern division was unfortunately impeded by the breaking out of fever in the ranks,—a misfortune attributable, perhaps, to the unhealthy locality in which the troops encamped during the wet season. They had discovered, in the meantime, an excellent road leading across the mountains of Arracan, that, after a few days' march would have conducted them to Ava. So many, however, perished by the epidemic, which carried off about three-fifths of their number, that the design was given up, although an English officer, after the termination of the Burmese campaign, returned

with a regiment of native infantry along this very road, his march from Yandaboo to the Company's frontiers in Arracan being accomplished in nineteen days.

While the prosecution of the war in Birmah was engaging the attention of the Indian authorities, they found themselves involved in hostile measures nearer home. The repulse of Lord Lake before Bhurtpoor, in 1805, although it led to no immediate results, had impressed the people of that region with an inflated idea of their own strength. The Rajah Buldee Singh on that occasion contracted an alliance with the Company, to the terms of which he faithfully adhered, though constantly thwarted by a war party among his advisers, at the head of whom stood his own nephew Doonjah Saï. The intrigues of this faction were not confined merely to expressions of aversion to the English; its leaders encouraged certain predatory incursions into the neighbouring provinces, which, however, were promptly repelled by the British troops.

Shortly before the Rajah's decease, a natural dread of his nephew's unscrupulous character induced him to place his youthful son, Bulwunt Singh, a child of six years old, under the protection of the English Government, on which occasion he made a special appeal to Sir David Ochterlony, imploring that gallant soldier to protect the rights of one who would soon be a defenceless orphan. After the death of the Rajah, Doonjah Singh seized the person of his cousin, and proceeded to usurp the government of Bhurtpoor. In spite of the remonstrances of Sir David Ochterlony, who had prepared to take the field in defence of the young Rajah, the English authorities at Calcutta remained supine and inactive. Doonjah Singh, encouraged by their indifference, employed himself in strengthening his fortress, and endeavoured to stir up the neighbouring princes to form a league against the Company. His designs met with no small encouragement from the people over whom he

ruled. It was the boast of the Jauts, that while all the other races of India had succumbed to the Moguls, or to the English, they alone preserved their independence inviolate. The bold and manly habits of these people, their martial spirit, and the impregnable character ascribed to their chief fortress, and embodied in a proverbial saying at that time universally current,* rendered them by no means indisposed for war. A civil contest that ensued between the usurper and his brother led finally to encroachments upon the Company's territory, which the Government could no longer overlook with safety.

On the 10th of December, 1825, Lord Combermere who, as Sir Stapleton Cotton, had served with distinction in the Peninsular war, made his appearance before Bhurtpoor with a large army, accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon. His first exploit was to drive away a party of workmen whom he found busily engaged in cutting a sluice through one of the embankments, with the view of introducing water into the ditch. He next began to open trenches, and construct the necessary works for carrying on the siege. On the 24th of December the English batteries opened their fire, but as the breaching guns made little impression on the walls, recourse was had to mining. The garrison countermined in turn, and succeeded in causing the explosion of a tumbril belonging to the besiegers. By some mismanagement or want of foresight, the mines formed by the English proved generally ineffective, though both officers and men combined in pressing the siege with energy and vigour.

On the 17th of January a fresh mine had been completed, which the engineers anticipated could scarcely fail of opening a way into the town. Storming detachments stood in readiness to occupy the breach, and such

* "India is not conquered, for Bhurtpoor has never been taken."

was the eagerness displayed by the men, that they advanced to a position distant only a few yards from the mouth of the mine. The engineer gave his signal, and the explosion took place almost immediately. The effect has been described as most impressive, even to those whose profession had rendered them familiar with the awful spectacles of war.

The cannonade ceased for a few minutes, and during the terrific pause that ensued, the mighty wall was seen to heave convulsively, rocking to and fro like a ship lifted on a mighty billow; it then sank down again with a deafening crash, while a number of dark masses rose into the air amid fearful shrieks and groans, the utterers of which were concealed beneath a thick cloud of smoke and dust that for some minutes enveloped the whole scene in impenetrable obscurity. Recovering themselves quickly from this momentary dismay, the storming party rushed on, scarcely aware that their course lay over the prostrate bodies of more than a hundred of their mangled companions.

Although discouraged by the result of the explosion, the garrison stood their ground bravely. The artillerymen fell beside their guns, while their comrades resolutely opposed their pikes to the bayonets of the advancing foe. But the exertions of individual valour proved unavailing. Two breaches had been effected, through which the closely formed columns of the British poured with uninterrupted rapidity, sweeping all opposition before their impetuous bayonet charge. In two hours a loud cheer proclaimed that the town was won, while the standard of England waved triumphantly over the crumbling ramparts.

Four thousand of the enemy perished during this siege, but the wounded and killed on the side of the British hardly exceeded a tenth part of that number. Doonjah Sal, who had attempted to escape, was made prisoner, and sent to the fortress of Allahabad; the

other strongholds in his usurped dominions surrendered to the English without delay, and the young Rajah, Bulwunt Singh, remounted, unopposed, the throne of his ancestors. What proved of still greater importance, the warlike spirit of the Jauts had now been completely broken, for the impregnable fortress was taken, and the invincible race were constrained to acknowledge themselves vanquished by British courage and British skill.

CHAPTER XXIV.

**AFFAIRS OF COLAPOOR—DEATH OF SIR THOMAS MONRO—THE DAGOITS—
THE THUGS—PROHIBITION OF SUTTEES—NORTHERN PROGRESS OF
LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK—WAR WITH COORG—RETIREMENT OF LORD
WILLIAM BENTINCK.**

1826—1834.

AT the commencement of 1826 some differences arose between the Rajah of Colapoor, a small Mahratta state in the province of Bejapoor, and the Bombay Government. That petty potentate, misinterpreting the pacific tone assumed by the British authorities, raised troops and committed depredations in the territories of the Company's allies. He also oppressed his own subjects with intolerable rigour, and drove many of them to solicit the protection of the nearest English commander. The appearance, however, of a small detachment of sepoy's sufficed to render the Rajah more reasonable, and to obtain from him guarantees with regard to his future conduct.

In July 1827 the Indian service suffered a severe loss in the death of Sir Thomas Monro, one whose name is still remembered, and will long be revered in the southern parts of India. By his exertions several marked improvements were made in the revenue and judicial systems, through which an immense saving of expenditure has been effected. Nominated in 1819 to the government of Madras, Colonel Monro acquired, by a constant though unostentatious display of ability and probity, the confidence and esteem of both natives and Europeans. Some of his remarks on the promotion

of Christianity in India seem so just and appropriate, that they deserve special mention, and will prove worthy of the attention of those who aspire to the arduous and honourable office of a Missionary. Writing from Madras, on the 12th of October, 1820, he observes :—

“ I should expect more benefit from the circulation of short tracts by the natives, or of translations of short European tracts by natives, than from translations precipitately made of the Bible, or any great work by the Missionaries. I have no faith in the power of any Missionary to acquire in four or five years such a knowledge of any Indian language as to enable him to make a respectable translation of the Bible. I fear that such translations are not calculated to inspire becoming reverence for the book. In place of translating the Bible into ten or twelve languages in a few years, I would rather see twenty years devoted to its translation into one. If we hope for success, we must proceed gradually, and adopt the means by which we may be likely to attain it. The dissemination of knowledge is, I think, the surest way ; and if we can prevail upon the native princes to give it the support you propose, it will be a good beginning.”

In September, 1823, Sir Thomas Monro, having addressed the Court of Directors, requested and obtained permission to resign his post in December, 1824, but the breaking out of the Burmese war during the interim, rendered him averse to prefer his own individual convenience to the exigencies of the public service. He remained in Madras, sending on Lady Monro, and her children, to England ; one of the latter was suffering from bad health, so that the fears of the father were added to the anxieties of the statesman. At length the welcome moment of release arrived, the Burmese campaign being terminated in May, 1826. The appointment of his successor occasioned some delays, which detained him in India until his death took place from

an attack of cholera, at Pattercondah, during the month of July, 1826.

Lord Amherst repaired to Delhi in 1827, for the purpose of settling finally the relations between the English Government and the representative of the Mogul race. For some time it had been generally known that the Company assumed to themselves the exercise of those privileges formerly possessed exclusively by the descendants of Baber. They had annexed territories, altered the boundaries of provinces, and deposed rulers; yet hitherto the Mogul sovereign was allowed to enjoy the shadow of former superiority. He, or rather his dependents, heard, therefore, with feelings of pain and humiliation, that this phantom must now vanish for ever, and that the crown of Hindoostan had passed away to the adventurous race who already possessed the power typified by it. The natives at large were less affected at the deposition of a family which for many years they neither feared nor respected. The dynasty of Timour, like the dynasty of Seevagee, disappeared from the public view without attracting to itself the slightest manifestation of the public sympathy, the one event creating, in fact, as little emotion as the other had elicited.

Lord Amherst was succeeded in his high and responsible office by Lord William Bentinck, who reached Calcutta on the 4th of July, 1828. He found the Government burdened with an enormous debt, owing to the expenses incurred during the two recent campaigns in Birmah and Bhurtpoor. Measures of retrenchment therefore had become absolutely necessary, and were not only suggested by the experience of the new governor-general, but positively enjoined by the ruling body in England. Still, although the path to be pursued was well defined, and clearly marked out, the difficulties surrounding a conscientious discharge of duty presented a formidable aspect. While the Court of Directors

urged unceasingly the necessity of economy, their servants abroad deprecated the slightest change in the disposal of the finances. Party spirit ran high, and the commander-in-chief not only addressed a letter of remonstrance to Government, but finally tendered his resignation. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Barnes, after whose departure in 1833, the direction of the army devolved upon Lord William Bentinck, who thus united in his person the two greatest offices connected with the Indian administration.

Next to the proper regulation of financial matters, various questions of internal policy occupied the attention of the governor-general. The nefarious practice of gang-robbery had for some time been prevalent throughout India, under the lax rule of the Moguls and their feeble vassals. These plunderers, generally known by the appellation of Dacoits, lived unsuspected among the villages, and occupied themselves ostensibly with agricultural pursuits. Their spies were found in every direction, and forwarded to the leaders of the gang the earliest possible intelligence respecting the movements of ill-guarded caravans, or the journeys of wealthy merchants. When the route of the intended victims became known, the robber chiefs arranged an ambush in some convenient spot from whence their followers might sally forth on the unsuspecting travellers and strip them of their property. Occasionally the assailed party would offer resistance and overpower the ruffians, but this rarely happened, owing to the caution and skill with which their plans were usually concocted. They generally refrained from attacking Europeans, knowing from experience that they defended themselves stoutly, and never suffered even an attempt at violence to pass without inquiry or retribution. In most cases also, their victims seldom escaped with life, and they usually selected, as the objects of attack, persons from distant parts of the continent, two circumstances tending to

facilitate escape from the consequences of crime, as well as to augment the difficulties of detection.

Sometimes, however, these ruffians carried on their depredations with greater audacity. A gang would assemble in the woods near a village, and singling out some person's house who was suspected of being more wealthy than his neighbours, break into his dwelling and carry off his hoards. Any opposition or attempt at concealment led to the torture of the wife and children, until the agonies inflicted obliged the wretched inmates to discover any treasure which they might have hidden. Most of these bands enjoyed the protection and patronage of certain Zemindars or landed proprietors, with whom they shared their booty, and from whom they looked for aid when in the hands of justice. The European magistrate was of course incorruptible, but his subordinate native officers seldom proved entirely inaccessible to a valuable bribe, or if their integrity could not be shaken, hired false witnesses made their appearance, and endeavoured to prove an alibi. Many, even of the Brahmins, are said to have participated in these robberies, which were however carried on by Mohammedans as well as Hindoos.

The Thugs, or Phansigars, as they have been sometimes called, bore a faint resemblance to the assassins, or followers of the Old Man of the Mountain, so frequently mentioned by the historians of the Crusades. They considered their victims as sacrifices to their Divine Patroness Kali, or Bohwanee, thus investing deeds of cruelty and blood with a species of religious mystery. This wretched sect abounded chiefly in Guzerât and Malwah, but were found occasionally in other parts of Hindoostan. Women, and even children, followed them in their expeditions, and aided in carrying out their murderous designs. They generally attached themselves to small parties of travellers whom they often accompanied during several days, until a suitable place

for "the sacrifice" had been discovered. Various decoys were put in practice on these occasions. Sometimes a sick man stretched at the foot of a tree implored the passers-by to dismount and come to his assistance—in many cases, a woman covered with ornaments solicited the favour of a seat on the wayfarer's horse as far as the next town. If the unwary listened to these tales, other votaries of Bohwance were at hand to avail themselves of the opportunity. A rope with a slip knot being thrown dexterously over the heads of the victims, they soon ceased to breathe, and in a few minutes' time the grave that had generally been previously prepared by the murderers, received the last remains of the unfortunate travellers.

The discovery and punishment of the Dacoits and Thugs was not effected without considerable difficulty. These dangerous societies possessed numerous ramifications, extending far and wide among the native population, while many persons of influence and rank afforded them some degree of countenance and protection. To describe in detail the measures employed to eradicate such gigantic evils might unquestionably prove interesting, but would require more space than can be allotted to any special subject in a work of this kind. Let it suffice, therefore, to say that the exertions of the authorities proved partially successful in the one case, and entirely so in the other. Dacoitry was repressed and diminished, while Thuggism was thoroughly annihilated, and has never since been revived.

Another evil, no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity, though unhappily more consonant with Hindoo notions and prejudices, excited about this period considerable attention—the rites commonly known by the title of Suttee. From time immemorial it had been the custom for Hindoo widows to burn themselves upon the funeral pyre of the deceased husbands. The practice, though not enjoined by the Vedas and other sacred

books, is yet spoken of as a meritorious sacrifice, every act of self-immolation being thus regarded in the Brahminical Theology. But for some years previous to Lord William Bentinck's arrival, a growing feeling against these inhuman rites had been gradually pervading the better informed portion of Hindoo society. The regulations of the English Government also tended to discourage the perpetration of Suttees, which indeed never seem to have been universal, or even extremely common. The better feelings and emotions of the human heart will sometimes struggle successfully with the fanaticism that seeks to wrest from them an object of attachment, and often doubtless there existed in India as elsewhere, those whose natural affection spurned the yoke of a superstitious creed. Still, the official declaration issued in 1829, which abolished for ever this revolting practice, was much needed, and has hitherto worked well.

The same sages who had formerly opposed the Missionaries, elevated their voices both abroad and at home in favour of Suttees. Notwithstanding, however, their manifold and mournful predictions, the Hindoos remained tranquil and submissive, many of them even rejoicing that the Government of the strangers was relieving their nation from the burden and disgrace of a rite to which apathy and the tyrannical force of established custom had rendered them so long subservient.

The following touching account of a Suttee clearly proves that even while this abominable superstition existed in full vigour, the best feelings of humanity, common alike to both European and Hindoo, protested against its occurrence, and would fain have prevented its enactment. Ahalya Bacc has already been mentioned in these pages, as the queen or regent of the province of Malwa. "She had lost," says the narrator, "her only son. Her remaining child, a daughter, was married, and had one son, who died at Mhysir. His father died twelve months afterwards. His widow immediately

declared her resolution to burn herself with the corpse of her husband. Her mother and her sovereign left no effort untried short of coercion, to induce her to abandon her fatal resolution. She humbled herself to the dust before her, and entreated her, as she revered her God, not to leave her desolate and alone upon earth,

"Her daughter, although affectionate, was calm and decided. 'You are old, mother,' said she, '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 by!' The mother, when she found all dissuasion unavailing, determined to witness the last dreadful scene. She walked in the procession, and stood near the pile, where she was supported by two Brahmins who held her arms.

"Although obviously suffering great agony of mind, she remained tolerably firm till the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-command; and while her shrieks increased the noise made by the exulting shouts of the immense multitude that stood around, she was seen to gnaw in anguish those hands which she could not liberate from the persons by whom she was held. After some convulsive efforts, she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbuddah, when the bodies were consumed. She then retired to her palace, where for three days, having taken hardly any sustenance, she remained so absorbed in grief, that she never uttered a word. When recovered from this state, she seemed to find consolation in building a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented."*

At the commencement of 1829, Lord William Bentinck proceeded on a tour of inspection through the Upper Provinces. His affability and easiness of access endeared him to the natives of every rank, while the

* Sir John Malcolm, quoted in Auber's Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.

marked favour and attention which he bestowed upon these Hindoo and Mohammedan proprietors, who seemed animated by a spirit of enterprise and liberality, rendered many others emulous of imitating their example. Nor should the interest that his Lordship always manifested towards education, and the general diffusion of the knowledge of the English language and literature, be passed over unnoticed or uncommended. Even the old Anglo-Indians, those infallible prophets of evil, were obliged to own that no prejudices existed on this score among the people of Hindoostan. A lively and inquisitive race, the latter applied themselves with pleased alacrity to a study which promised to become both, in an intellectual and pecuniary point of view, productive of advantage, and in the year 1829, there were more than 3,000 youths at Calcutta alone, who daily endeavoured to render their minds familiar with the poetry of Shakspeare, and the philosophy of Bacon.

The admirers of intellectual progress will watch with interest the advances made by an ingenious people in those arts and sciences, which add to the wealth and increase the happiness of civilized nations; nor will the thoughtful Christian contemplate such a spectacle unmoved or unconcerned. Although the knowledge first communicated may not be of a direct theological character, although it cannot alone satisfy the wants and solace the sorrows of a being destined to immortality, yet secular learning, by breaking up the clods of ignorance and superstition, is doubtless preparing the soil for the reception of the good seed which shall bring forth in another generation the fruits of righteousness and peace.

During his northern progress, Lord William Bentinck had an interview with Runjeet Singh, the powerful ruler of Lahore, between whom and the English government the most friendly relations existed. At Simlah his Lordship met Lieutenant Burnes, who had recently returned from a steam voyage up the Indus, and was now

anxious to penetrate some of the regions of Central Asia. The ingenuity and love of enterprise manifested by this young officer, procured him the patronage and support of the governor-general, who being himself a man of a large mind and expansive views, was always ready to recognise and reward merit and ability in whatever grade they might be found.

Having despatched Colonel Pottinger to the Ameers of Scinde, for the purpose of ascertaining their disposition respecting the proposed navigation of the Indus, Lord William Bentinck proceeded to Delhi, where the imprudent conduct of an English official called for immediate interference on the part of the supreme authority. The king had appealed to England against the decision of Lord Amherst in 1827, and entrusted Ram Mohun Roy, a learned and distinguished Hindoo, with the delicate negotiation. This effort of fallen royalty excited some attention, and produced in the minds of many an unfavourable impression with regard to the British authorities, which was much aggravated by the injudicious behaviour of the Resident at Delhi. That officer conducted himself with intolerable arrogance towards the inhabitants, beating and insulting them in the streets whenever they omitted to make obeisance to him. The king himself was finally obliged to protest against this insolence, and the governor-general at once removed the offender.

During the year 1831, some religious disturbances arose in the Baraset district, near Calcutta. A Mohammedan fanatic, named Meer Missr Ali, having collected a mob of ill disposed persons, belonging to the lowest class of the Mussulman, attacked the police, insulted the Hindoos, and created tumults throughout the province. To mark their contempt for the idolaters, they killed a cow, sprinkled the walls of a Hindoo temple with its blood, and murdered a Brahmin. A military force, however, being sent after them by the Government, the insurgents were defeated, and their leader slain.

The next year witnessed a war with Coorg, a small mountain territory adjoining the kingdom of Mysore, the Rajah of which proved himself a trustworthy ally to the English during the war with Tippoo. The son and successor of this sovereign had become notorious for tyranny and oppression, insomuch that his own sister, dreading violence at his hands, was obliged to take refuge with her husband in the territory of Mysore. He also intrigued against the English, and received with honour a fugitive chieftain who had escaped from Bangalore. The remonstrances of the Madras government were treated with disdain by the Rajah, his insolence and ingratitude occasioned the occupation of his kingdom, and the governor-general, finding that every male of the reigning family had been put to death, annexed the state of Coorg to the other dominions of the Company.

The retirement of Lord William Bentinck in 1835, called forth from all classes of the Anglo-Indian community the warmest expressions of respect and esteem. The principal natives also presented to his Lordship a valedictory address, in which they asserted that "The only unkind treatment they had ever received at his hands, was his present departure from a grateful and admiring people." The promulgation, indeed, during his government of many useful and humane regulations, deeply affecting the welfare of the Hindoo population, together with his energetic and vigorous exertions to promote everywhere retrenchment and reform, gave to those addresses more reality and greater weight than similar compliments generally possess. Suttee had been abolished, education liberally patronised, and the pernicious practices of Thuggism and Dacoitry effectually checked. The state of the Company's revenues no longer created anxiety and alarm, although the reductions that had placed them once more on a satisfactory footing, were effected with difficulty, and occasioned much personal inconvenience to the governor-general.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMPANY—DESCRIPTION OF AFGHANISTAN—MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE—SHAH SUJAH—MURDER OF FUTTEH KHAN—RISE OF DOST. MOHAMMED—SIEGE OF HERAT—WAR PROJECTS.

1832—1838.

It was perhaps to be expected that as the commercial advantages derived by the Company from their Indian settlements became more generally understood, the monopoly they possessed should draw forth from those who enjoyed none of its benefits, successive objections and attacks. The Directors in reply urged the necessary expenses of their establishment, and the frequent wars which they found themselves obliged to wage with native powers, as reasons for the continuance of the obnoxious privileges now almost annually called into question. Select Committees, appointed to examine the various points at issue, reported favourably of the success that had hitherto attended the prevailing system, but at length it was determined that the monopoly of the company should cease to exist, and they have therefore since 1833, entirely relinquished the character of a trading corporation. They retained, however, the patronage connected with the civil and military service of India, the greater part of which, however, by recent enactments, seems likely to be transferred into other hands.

Having thus briefly notified the final result of transactions carried on during the course of many years, and avoiding in this way the repetition of uninteresting details, unsuitable to a work of this nature, I shall proceed at once to narrate the origin and progress of the war

in Afghanistan, a measure which excited considerable anxiety both at home and abroad, occasioned an almost unprecedented loss of life, and led finally to the temporary discomfiture of civilized troops by a treacherous and barbarous enemy.

The country commonly called Afghanistan, forms a portion of the extensive dominions, entitled by Orientals the Douranee empire. This territory comprised before the Mission of Sir John Malcolm, the provinces of Afghanistan, Cashmere, the Derajat, and part of Khorassan. The natural defences of the empire materially augmented its strength. To the north and east the Hindoo Koosh and other lofty mountain chains, varying in height from 10 to 20,000 feet, effectually secured the inhabitants from invasion, while towards the south and west, the River Indus and an extensive tract of sandy desert, placed numerous impediments in the way of an invader. The internal features of the country were of a no less repulsive character. Lofty mountains, long and intricate defiles, interspersed with sandy plains, over which death hovered in the blasts of the pestilential Simoom, constituted the leading outlines of a land, which seemed of all others, the least likely to awaken the lust of rule, or the cupidity of a conqueror.

The people inhabiting these unpromising regions possessed patriotism enough to value, and courage enough to defend them. A race of shepherds and soldiers, they considered the callings of civilized life beneath their attention, all trades in Afghanistan being carried on by the Hindoos, or Tadjiks, while the natives of the soil wandered from pasture to pasture with their numerous flocks, or waged among themselves those petty contests and feuds which so constantly occur among nomad tribes. In many of their customs and superstitions, they resembled the Highlanders of Scotland. Like them, they were divided into clans, governed by chieftains, continually at feud with each other, and scarcely recog-

nising the supreme authority of their nominal monarch. The Highlander, while propitiating his foe, offered him his drawn sword, held by the point; the same custom is observed among the Afghans. Both believe in demons walking at noon and midnight, the barren desert and lonely heath; both sought for the secrets of futurity in the bladebone of a sheep held up to the light. Like the Afghan, the Highlander valued his rude independence beyond the blessings of peace, and the charms of civilized existence, while war seemed to both an honourable pastime rather than a calamitous scourge.

According to travellers, the ordinary traditions prevalent among the Afghans, ascribe their origin to the Israelites of Palestine. Although this derivation has been considered somewhat doubtful, it is curious to find in the name of their chief town Cabool, a Hebrew appellation given by Hiram, King of Tyre, to twenty cities, with which Solomon had presented him.* It is not impossible, however, that as the word possesses not only a Hebrew, but also an Arabic root, it may have been derived from the Mohammedans of the west, at the period when the Afghans first embraced the religion of Islam. To that faith they still remain devotedly attached, although they seem comparatively void of that contempt and hatred of Christians which distinguishes their Persian neighbours. The possession of a written record in the Gospels, entitles the followers of the Messiah to a degree of consideration, sternly withheld from the idolatrous Hindoo. He is still looked upon as a blinded infidel, whose religion is blasphemy, and whom it is almost meritorious to destroy.

The early history of the Afghan race presents little novelty, and inspires scarcely any interest. Its pages only record the usual amount of slaughters, conspiracies, sanguinary wars, and intestine feuds, common to most Oriental annals, which disgust us by their barbarity.

* 1 Kings ix. 13.

when they do not weary us by their sameness. We may, therefore, pass rapidly onwards to the period that succeeded Mr. Elphinstone's mission. The defeat of Shah Sujah has been already mentioned as following after the departure of the English envoy, whom he had received with kindness and treated hospitably. The unfortunate prince made several successive attempts to recover his lost sovereignty from his usurping brother Mahmood, but they all terminated in his defeat, and subsequent captivity in the Vale of Cashmere. This delightful region, the scenic beauties of which form the constantly-recurring theme of Eastern poetry, could not minister tranquillity to the mind of the exile, or remove from his thoughts the remembrance of past greatness. The advance of two bodies of Seikhs and Afghans from different directions procured him liberty, and induced him to pay a somewhat compulsory visit to Runjeet Singh at Lahore. After having been the object of that sovereign's hospitality for a time, the unfortunate Shah soon discovered the reason of this venal hospitality. He had brought with him from Afghanistan the famous diamond, known by the name of "Koh-in-noor," or "the mountain of light," and this treasure Runjeet Singh determined to obtain. The negotiation was conducted on both sides with true Oriental subtlety, and the Seikh chieftain scrupled not to surround the dwelling of his guest with guards, and even to deprive him of the necessaries of life. At length moved by the offer of immediate assistance, and the promise that three provinces should be added to his dominions, Shah Sujah agreed to part with the Koh-in-noor. His faithless host made a show of performing his promise, and organized an expedition to Peshawar, but finding the difficulties greater than he anticipated, Runjeet Singh gave up his design, and returned again to Lahore, whither he was soon after followed by Shah Sujah.

The wretched monarch now perceived that he had

been miserably duped; day by day fresh articles of value were extorted from him, until at last he contrived to send his family into the British dominions, and even meditated a flight thither himself. His own pen records his sufferings at this juncture from the jealous precautions of the monarch of Lahore. "Seven ranges of guards were put upon our person, and armed men with lighted torches watched our bed. When we went as far as the banks of the river at night, the sentinels upon the ramparts lighted flambeaux until we returned. Several months passed in this manner, and our own attendants were with difficulty allowed to come into the presence. No relief was left but that of our holy religion, and God alone could give us assistance." *

Finally, however, he effected his escape, and after staying some months with the friendly Rajah of Kistawar, whom he nearly ruined by engaging him in various unsuccessful adventures, the fugitive repaired to Loodhianah, where he met with a most hospitable reception from Captain Ross, the British Resident. The hardships of his journey are described by himself as severe beyond measure. He traversed the rugged mountain passes of Thibet, where, he says, "the depth of the eternal snows was immense. Underneath the large bodies of ice the mountain torrents had formed themselves channels. The five rivers watering the Punjaub have their rise here from fountains amid the snows of ages. We passed mountains, the snows of which varied in colour, and at last reached the confines of Thibet, after experiencing the extremes of cold, hunger, and fatigue."

During the residence of Shah Sujah at Loodhianah fresh commotions arose in Afghanistan. The rebel brother of the exiled prince, Mahmood, owed his elevation mainly to the efforts of a chieftain named Futteh Khan, who afterwards exercised under the usurper the

* Kaye's War in Afghanistan.

important functions of vizier. The father of this dignitary numbered among his concubines a woman of the Kuzzilbash tribe, whose son, Mohammed, was afterwards destined to play a most prominent part in the history of his country. Such a fate, however, could hardly have been anticipated from the earliest passages in his adventurous career. The offspring of one, whom his high-born brothers on the father's side considered a barbarian and a slave, Mohammed found himself at that father's decease degraded to the lowest rank in the paternal household. He subsequently became the attendant of Futteh Khan, whose favour he obtained by killing one of the minister's enemies in the open street. In a short time the despised Kuzzilbash distinguished himself by deeds of less questionable valour, and was allowed to occupy a higher grade among the brothers of Futteh Khan.

The great vizier at this time was the virtual governor of the kingdom. Immersed in luxury and sloth, Mahmood Shah dreaded his power, and seldom ventured to question the propriety of his measures, or call him to account for his actions. Relying on the careless character of his sovereign, Futteh Khan, accompanied by Dost Mohammed, presumed to march upon Herat, then under the government of a brother to the reigning king. The fierce retainers of the vizier seized the prince's person, plundered his treasury, and even broke into the harem, on which occasion Dost Mohammed tore the jewelled wristband belonging to a lady who was the near relative of his sovereign. She immediately forwarded the rent garment to the prince royal, Kamran, who, being already on unfriendly terms with the vizier, swore to avenge the insult in a most summary manner.

Dost Mohammed escaped, but Futteh Khan, being made prisoner, was first blinded, and then literally hacked to pieces in the presence of the tyrant whom he had raised to supreme power. The victim uttered no entreaty, and

bore with unshrinking fortitude the series of barbarous outrages to which he was subjected. One ruffian cut off his ears, another his nose, while the rest severed his fingers and arms from the mutilated and bleeding trunk. At length Summurdar Khan cut off his beard, the highest insult that could be offered to an Oriental, who considers this appendage as the type of manhood, and the symbol of honour. Then, and then only, the unfortunate chieftain, losing the fortitude he had hitherto maintained unshaken, sank subdued beneath the insults of his enemies, and burst into a violent paroxysm of grief. He did not long survive this last indignity, for another savage, yielding to the impulses of compassionate cruelty, terminated his tortures and his life by the blow of a sabre.

Thus fell the head of the Barukzye tribe, formerly an insignificant sept, but the members of which had of late been gradually drawing into their hands the power once exclusively possessed by the royal clan of the Suddozyes, the heads of whom were Shah Sujah and Shah Mahmood. The latter, or rather his ferocious son, Kamran, flattered himself that the death of Futteh Khan would lead to the ruin of the obnoxious family, and recover for the royal house some portion at least of the influence they had lost. He soon discovered his mistake. Dost Mohammed and his powerful brothers marched upon Cabool, drove thence the grandson of the king, and seizing the chief instigator of the barbarities committed on Futteh Khan, deprived him of his eyesight, but spared his life. From that period the Dost remained master of Cabool, while Mahmood and Kamran were obliged to content themselves with the territories in the vicinity of Herat. Two brothers of the Barukzye race ruled over Candahar and Peshawar, and, although independent of Dost Mohammed, acknowledged, in conjunction with the other chiefs of their tribe, the superior abilities and far-sighted sagacity of the once despised Kuzzilbash.

The ruler of Cabool was distinguishing himself both as a statesman and soldier, but his youth had been disgraced by intemperance, and his active spirit fettered by his ignorance of the commonest rudiments of knowledge. He now determined to reform these errors of the past. He learned to read and write, confessed publicly the faults and mistakes of earlier days, studied attentively the Koran, and in accordance with its dictates abstained scrupulously from all intoxicating liquors. As a magistrate, he showed himself patient, humane, and just. The meanest peasant had access to the Sirdar's presence, where he found an attentive listener and an upright judge, while the common people, always acute observers of the virtues and defects of their rulers, used subsequently the proverbial saying, "Is Dost Mohammed dead, that there is no justice?"

Among a turbulent race like the Afghans internal peace and tranquillity are rather the exception than the rule. The haughty and warlike chiefs could ill endure the yoke of one who, though not naturally cruel, repressed their disorders with severity, and diminished their individual influence in every possible way. They had recourse to Shah Sujah, who, weary of inaction, consented once more to try his fortune in a struggle for the crown. He had already attempted an inroad into his former dominions, but the enterprise proved an utter failure, and his army disbanded itself at Skikarpoor. The next expedition in 1832 seemed likely to end more favourably. He subdued the Ameers of Sindh, obliged them to acknowledge his supremacy, augmented his troops to 60,000 men, and with this force, the greater portion of which had been drilled and organized by an Indo-Briton, named Campbell, marched resolutely to attack Candahar. The ruler of that place had invoked the aid of his brother, Dost Mohammed, who, arriving with a small but determined body of troops, defeated the Shah, and compelled him to take refuge in flight.

While the contending armies were moving towards each other, a keen politician had been watching for an opportunity to aggrandize himself at their expense. Runjeet Singh, the Maha-rajah of Lahore, acted for some time as the patron and plunderer of the unfortunate Shah Sujah. Not content with depriving the exile of his most costly diamonds, he used every artifice to obtain from him a cession of the city and territory of Peshawar. To this proposition, however, Shah Sujah invariably refused his assent; whereupon, Runjeet, taking advantage of the civil war now raging in Afghanistan, ordered a body of Seikhs to occupy that town. The intelligence of its capture reached Dost Mohammed after his return to Cabool from the victory of Candahar. His indignation was kindled by the news, and he determined at once to proclaim a crusade against the idolatrous Seikhs. Posts flew from place to place, rousing up the bigotry of the Afghans, and calling on all true believers to rank themselves beneath the standard of the Prophet. Vast numbers responded at once to an invitation which addressed itself alike to their patriotism and zeal for Islam. The giant savages of the mountains, the more polished dwellers in towns, all in short who could wield a sword or manage a lance, poured like a torrent upon Peshawar, dooming the unenlightened infidels of the Punjaub, to ruin and utter destruction.

Runjeet Singh beheld the mighty host advancing, and trembled at its formidable aspect. But the lion of Lahore, as he proudly styled himself, deigned sometimes to assume the cunning and craftiness of the fox. On this occasion he despatched an American adventurer to visit the Afghan camp, and, if possible, stir up dissension among the ambitious and inconstant chiefs. The efforts of the envoy were crowned with success, and Dost Mohammed, having lost by desertion the greater portion of his army, found himself obliged to return to Cabool. There he devoted the unwelcome leisure to study and

meditation ; until aroused from these peaceful pursuits by rumours of a Seikh invasion. He deputed his two sons to encounter the enemy, over whom they obtained a slight advantage ; but Peshawar still remained under the dominion of Runjeet, and formed a considerable addition to his lately acquired provinces of Cashmere and Mooltan.

Under these circumstances, Dost Mohammed resolved to seek in some foreign alliance, the means of counteracting the growing influence of the Seikhs. Two powers only were available for this purpose, England and Persia. The former had rendered itself suspected, on account of the asylum afforded to Shah Sujah, while the latter seemed the most natural ally of a zealous Mohammedan. The forces of the Persian king were, also, at this period besieging Herat, almost the sole possession of Kamran, now the representative of the Suddozye race, and the rival of Dost Mohammed, in his pretensions to the supreme authority over Afghanistan.

The policy of the Persian court had, of late years, been directed by Russia. Formerly the enemy of the great northern autocrat, it was now his most obedient vassal, ready at his behest, to carry out any project that might eventually prove favourable to Muscovite ambition. The treaty of Toorkomanchai, concluded in February, 1828, between Russia and Persia, gave to the former power the provinces of Erivan and Nakhichevan, and stipulated that the line of frontier should be fixed by the ministers of the Czar. Besides this, Russia acquired the sole right of having armed vessels on the Caspian, and received eighty millions of roubles as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. Having thus possessed themselves of various tracts of country to the north of Persia, it seems to have been the design of the Russians to make some amends to the Shah, by impelling him to extend his conquests towards the east and south. Ulterior considerations of a more selfish character

entered unquestionably into this plan. If the Persians subdued Afghanistan, and maintained a footing there, the dominions of the Shah would extend to the frontiers of India; and a power in alliance with Persia might advance to the Indus unmolested. The assertion that the Czar contemplated the immediate invasion of Hindoostan can scarcely be proved, but sufficient evidence exists to justify the fears then entertained by Indian statesmen, with regard to the movements of Persia on the Afghan frontier.

The position of Herat rendered it of considerable value as a military post. Situated in the midst of a cultivated and well-watered country, with a salubrious climate and a fertile soil, it guarded the entrance to Afghanistan, and formed the centre, where all the great roads leading to India converge. Every species of supplies that an invading army would require, might be drawn from a province, the fruitfulness of which has gained for it the surname of the "granary of India."

The city itself presented few attractions to strangers. It was strongly fortified, with narrow and dirty streets; diversified, however, by mosques, caravanserais, and public baths. The interior, indeed, has been pronounced by Lieutenant Conolly, the filthiest in the world. "No drains," he continues, "having been contrived to carry off the rain which falls within the walls, it collects and stagnates in ponds, which are dug in different parts of the city. The residents cast out the refuse of their houses into the streets, and dead cats and dogs are commonly seen lying upon heaps of the vilest filth." When the traveller expressed his wonder that any one could exist amid so much uncleanness, the inhabitants answered, "the climate is fine, and if dirt killed people, where would the Afghans be?"

Such was the town, that for some years had been to the Persian sovereigns an object of desire. Futteh Ali Shah, indeed, was opposed to the plans of conquest which

derived their origin from the warlike ardour of his son and successor, Abbas Meerza. The latter, however, on his accession, committed the reduction of Herat to the prince royal, Mohammed Meerza; who, even advanced against it, but was recalled in consequence of his father's death. When securely established in his new kingdom, the young Shah resumed the interrupted enterprise; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the British envoy, resolved to conduct it in person, at the head of a large army.

At this juncture, Kamran Shah of the Suddozye tribe, governed the territory of Herat. He was the son of Mahmood Shah, and played a prominent part in the arrest and murder of Futteh Khan. In youth a voluptuary, a bandit, and a murderer, he had arrived at a period of life when age and feebleness placed some restraint upon the passions which he once indulged without a curb. The active exercise of the royal authority was now committed to his vizier, Yar Mohammed Khan, a man outwardly strict and devoted to the forms of his religion, but ambitious, unscrupulous, faithless, and tyrannical.

Both Kamran Shah and his minister were prepared to resist stoutly the encroachments of the Persian king. In their hour of need also, an auxiliary arrived, who proved of signal assistance during the continuance of the siege. Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger had been despatched from Scinde, for the purpose of examining the hitherto unexplored regions of Afghanistan. Disguised as a Cutch horse dealer, he passed almost unheeded through the midst of an ignorant and unsuspicious people, and finally succeeded in reaching Herat without interruption or molestation. Having called upon the vizier, his abilities were soon discerned by that shrewd statesman, who deigned to seek the counsel and assistance of the young European officer.

The Persian army continued to advance, and having

possessed themselves of the Afghan town of Ghorian, laid siege to Herat in due form. Their number was intimated at 40,000 men, most of whom had been drilled by English sergeants, sent into Persia for that purpose at a former period, and more recently by Russian officers. Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, the besieged, under the direction of Lieutenant Pottinger, defended themselves with such ability, that the Shah was eventually compelled to raise the siege, and return home without having effected his object.

Leaving for the present these warlike movements in the west, we must take a brief review of the measures adopted by Anglo-Indian statesmen towards Dost Mohammed, and the authorities of Afghanistan. Lord Auckland had succeeded Lord William Bentinck, as governor-general of India, at the close of the year 1835. His attention being shortly afterwards drawn to the desirableness of making a survey of the river Indus, Captain Burnes was despatched on a mission to the Ameers of Scinde, with a view of ascertaining whether they would offer any opposition to this undertaking. The officer selected for so delicate and responsible a post had already elicited the attention of Government, as well as the favour of the public at large, by the publication of his *Travels in Loodhianah and Afghanistan*. During his sojourn in these countries, he saw, and conversed with, both Shah Sujah and Dost Mohammed. Of the latter he spoke highly; while the former seems to have impressed him less favourably.

Before he quitted the Scinde country, Burnes received orders to repair once more to Cabool, for the purpose of discovering the real disposition of Dost Mohammed. He reached Cabool on the 20th of September, 1837, and after an interview, devoted to mere ceremony, was invited to converse privately with the real ruler of Afghanistan. In this and subsequent conferences, Dost Mohammed

expressed the most friendly feelings towards the English, and even besought their intercession with Bunjeet Singh, for the purpose of obtaining from that sovereign the surrender of Peshawar. During these negotiations, however, intelligence reached the ears of the British envoy, that the brothers of the Dost, in Candahar, had fallen completely under the Russo-Persian influence, and were carrying on a correspondence with the Shah. The Ameer of Cabool denied all participation in these intrigues, but it was evident that he looked for some material assistance* from the English Government, and seemed disposed, if this should not be granted, to ally himself for the future with Persia.

Finding his official superiors unwilling to entertain the propositions of Dost Mohammed, Burnes prepared to leave Cabool. A Russian envoy, Captain Vicovich, had been for some days in the city, but hitherto met with little countenance from its ruler. Now, however, the sentiments of the Ameer underwent a complete change; Nicovich received public honours, and promised in return the most specious advantages. The British authorities, on the contrary, could hold forth no incentives to the wavering mind of the Afghan chief; for a time he remained irresolute, and finally, though with evident reluctance, threw himself into the arms of the Persian faction.

On the 1st of October, 1838, the governor-general, Lord Auckland, issued from Simlah a manifesto containing the declaration of war. This document recapitulated the efforts made by the English Government to place the question regarding the navigation of the Indus on a satisfactory footing, and mentioned in terms of

* His demands were, that the English should engage to protect Cabool and Candahar, from Persia, procure the surrender of Peshawar, by Bunjeet Singh, and interfere for the protection of those who might return to that city from Cabool.

high approbation the conduct on that occasion of the Maharajah, Runjeet Singh. It proceeded to notice the siege of Herat, the intrigues of Persia, and the inimical attitude of Dost Mohammed, who, it was said, "avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India, and threatened in furtherance of those schemes to call in every foreign aid he could command." The paper concluded by setting forth the unpopularity and ambitious designs of the Barukzye chiefs, the rights of Shah Sujah, and the determination of the British Government to aid him in recovering his lost throne.

War being now formally declared, a large force was assembled, entitled the Army of the Indus, the direction of which devolved on Sir Henry Fane, commander-in-chief of India. It consisted of three divisions—two from Bengal, under Sir Willoughby Cotton and Major-General Duncan; and the third from Bombay, led by Sir John Keane. A body of engineers, two siege trains, and nearly five regiments of cavalry, accompanied the army, which altogether mustered about 16,000 men. Besides these troops, the governor-general issued orders that a force should be levied, to be designated, "The Shah's Contingent," although organized and drilled by British officers. The reason for incurring this additional and useless expense appears to have been a wish to carry out practically the paragraph of the manifesto which stated that "His Majesty Shah Sujah-ool-Moolk would enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army."

Few political measures in modern days have excited more interest, or called forth more criticism, than the war in Afghanistan. Its disastrous results are still felt individually, if not nationally, and this consideration renders a lengthened discussion of the subject unde-

sirable in a work like the present. Yet a brief enumeration of the arguments urged in its favour, as well as of the objections levelled against it, may be not entirely out of place.

The advocates of the war rested their opinion principally upon the necessity for counteracting the designs of Russia in the East—designs made manifest by the conduct of the Persian Court, and the expedition to Herat. Few persons indeed imagined that the Czar designed to send an army to the borders of India, but merely to secure some adjacent territories that could be used for advanced posts, and from whence Russian agents might easily hold intercourse with the native populations under our sway. That these fears were not without foundation appeared from the expressed sentiments of official men, peculiarly qualified from their position and attainments to form an opinion on the subject. In July 1836, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) McNeill, then the British envoy at the Court of Persia, wrote the following statement with regard to the designs of the Shah: "His Majesty has been encouraged, and, I have been recently informed, has been promised positive assistance in this design (the attack on Herat) by the Russians, who well know that the conquest of Herat and Candahar by the Persians is, in fact, an advance for them towards India, if not for the purpose of actual invasion, certainly for that of intrigue and disorganization."

With regard to the internal affairs of Afghanistan, it was urged that while that country remained parcelled out among a number of petty chieftains, each jealous of his neighbour and ready at every moment to unite with any foreign power who promised or afforded him assistance, no security could exist for its being preserved free from foreign domination, since domestic division has been proverbially the forerunner of foreign conquest.

The consolidation therefore of the whole kingdom under one head was necessary to its political independence, as well as for its internal tranquillity. In respect to Shah Sujah, while few affected to consider him as gifted with extraordinary abilities, most admitted that he was not worse than the generality of Eastern rulers. "He was," they said, a "literary prince, of mild and studious habits, unstained by debauchery, and one who had given frequent proofs of a humane disposition in sparing, or interceding for his vanquished enemies. His claim to the throne was just; he was the eldest representative of the great Suddozye family, the royal race of Afghanistan." The people, it was intimated, groaned under the iron rule of the Barukzyes, detested their usurpation, and cast the same looks towards Loodhianah that a Jacobite of the eighteenth or seventeenth century might have directed to the Court of Versailles. The abilities, courage, and energy of Dost Mohammed were admitted; but he was a Barukzye; he was our enemy, or willing to be our friend only upon conditions that would provoke the resentment of Runjeet Singh, then esteemed one of our best and most faithful allies.

Under these circumstances, the advocates of the war recommended the occupation of Afghanistan, and its union under a monarch friendly to the English, beloved by his people, and ready to defend to the utmost his paternal dominions against Persian violence or Russian intrigue.

The opponents of this measure, on the other hand, ridiculed the idea that a Russian army could at any time penetrate into Afghanistan and menace the frontier of the Company's possessions in India. They dwelt upon the impolicy of interfering in the domestic concerns of a fierce and barbarous people, hating Christians and foreigners with more than ordinary rancour, despising Shah Sujah, as the imbecile puppet of the

English, and fully convinced that none of his enterprises would ever prove fortunate. They represented also that our occupation of the eastern bank of the Indus would serve as a sufficient defence for our Indian possessions, if indeed they should ever be seriously menaced ; while an alliance with Dost Mohammed, the bravest and most energetic of the Afghan chiefs, might repel effectually the intrigues of Russia or Persia, in a country where he possessed unbounded influence as the ruler of its metropolis, and the zealous protector of its religion.

CHAPTER XXVI.

INTRIGUES AT AVA AND NEPAUL—INTERVIEW BETWEEN LORD AUCKLAND AND RUNJEET SINGH—THE AMEERS OF SCOINDE—ADVANCE INTO AFGHANISTAN—TAKING OF CANDAHAR AND GHUZNEE—ENTRY OF SHAH SUJAH INTO CABOOL—DOURANEH ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD—FALL OF KHELAT.

1838—1841.

THE warlike attitude assumed by the British authorities in India, led to various intrigues on the part of the courts of Ava and Nepaul. An emissary from the last-mentioned state having attempted to sow discord between the English and Runjeet Singh, was arrested, and a strong force encamped on the Nepaulese frontier. In like manner, reinforcements were sent to the corps stationed in Arracan and Tenasserim, in order to check any warlike demonstration on the part of the Burmese. Having adopted these precautions against turbulent neighbours, the governor-general took a journey to Ferozepore, for the purpose of inspecting the army of invasion and to exchange civilities with the Maharajah Runjeet Singh.

On the 28th of November, 1838, the Lion of Lahore paid his first visit to the representative of the British Queen. Runjeet Singh has been described as "diminutive in person, but of a most expressive countenance; his forehead was broad and capacious, his right eye—the only one he possessed, having lost the other by small-pox—was large, prominent, and brilliant, glancing continually and restlessly around; and his appearance altogether was singular and impressive." Such was the figure who, having dismounted from his elephant, entered the tent of council supported by Lord Auckland.

and Sir Henry Fane. There he received the magnificent presents prepared for his acceptance, and performed an act of reverential homage to the portrait of Queen Victoria, which Sir Willoughby Cotton placed before him. The crowd was immense, and the noise considerable, but the magnificence of the spectacle yielded in impressiveness to the gorgeous scene which presented itself on the following day, when the governor-general returned the visit of the Maharajah. The crimson tents of the Seikhs, the gorgeous robes and arms of their officers, the glitter of armour, and the variety of colours that everywhere met the eye, constituted a magnificent illustration of Oriental splendour.

Amid this pageantry and warlike display, intelligence arrived that the Persians had retreated from Herat,—a circumstance which led to the diminution of the invading army. As Sir H. Fane judged it necessary to select the corps that were to accompany the expedition by lot, for the purpose of avoiding all invidious distinctions, one of the most effective—the Buffs—were left behind, while the 13th Light Infantry, an invalid regiment, occupied their place. Shortly after this arrangement, Sir Henry resigned his post, being compelled by ill health to return to England, and the chief command was made over to Sir John Keane, then at the head of the Bombay division.

The commencement of the expedition could hardly be considered fortunate, inasmuch as the advance of the troops through Scinde occasioned much hostile feeling on the part of the Ameers of that province, which manifested itself in their reluctance to provide supplies of provisions for the troops, and to contribute twenty-eight lacs of rupees as their share towards the expenses of the war. Originally vassals of the Afghan kingdom, they feared that the restoration of Shah Sujah would affect their independence, the more especially as that monarch, whose ideas of royalty were truly Oriental, had threatened

either to reduce them to their former condition, or to transfer his claims on their obedience to the British Government. Their inimical spirit soon rendered it necessary to menace their capital of Hyderabad; and this measure, while it unquestionably retarded the movements of the army, obliged the Ameers to enter into more amicable arrangements,

On the 20th of February, Sir Willoughby Cotton joined the Shah's Contingent at Shikarpoor. Three days afterwards, the English commander continued his march with the first division towards the Bolan pass, while the Shah and Mr. Macnaghten, the British Envoy, remained stationary, waiting for the coming up of the Bombay army, under Sir John Keane. The advance of the troops was beset on every side by the most formidable difficulties. They wanted water and forage, losing daily some of the camels and beasts of burden, while the wild Beloochee tribes hung upon the flanks and rear, plundering the stores, and murdering all the stragglers that fell into their hands. Many of these impediments were attributable to the conduct of Mihrab Khan, of Khelat, the ruler of the provinces through which the troops were now passing, who, although not openly at war with the English, disapproved of their policy, and was disposed to hinder their progress as much as possible. Others arose from the excessive amount of baggage, which required 30,000 camels to transport it; and from the number of the camp followers, who were four times more than the fighting men. Thus the army was not only obliged to provide for its own necessities, but for those of an useless and unwarlike crowd, by whom the stores were consumed, and the movements of the troops considerably retarded.

When Sir W. Cotton arrived at Dadur, he possessed only a month's supply of provisions, and had little expectation of collecting more until he reached the open country of Afghanistan. He was now at the entrance

of the Bolan pass, a narrow defile, about seventy miles in length, and hedged in on both sides by precipitous rocks and mountains more than five thousand feet high. Owing to the exertions of Sir Alexander Burnes, who went on before with a small force to remove obstacles and prepare the way for the rest of the army, the passage was accomplished in a week, the column reaching Quettah on the 26th of March. Here the scarcity of provisions obliged the commander to diminish by nearly one half the daily allowance served out to his men, a measure which, although imperatively necessary, tended to depress their spirits, and rendered them anxious with respect to the issue of the campaign.

From Quettah Sir A. Burnes hastened to Khelat, where he used every effort to conciliate Mihrab Khan. That chieftain commented unfavourably on the measures of the English, predicted an unsuccessful termination to the invasion, and complained of the losses he had sustained by the passage of an army through his territories. The promise of a lac and a half of rupees annually, as payment for supplies of provisions, rendered him apparently more favourable, but his means of aiding the army seem to have been overrated, and a blight during the preceding year had occasioned throughout the country a scarcity of grain. Moreover, notwithstanding that a treaty was entered into with the Khan, he secretly encouraged his dependents to harass and annoy the English in every possible manner. These outrages being continually committed by the savage mountaineers, naturally led to instances of severe retaliation. Their lands were devastated, and many persons suspected of robbery or murder underwent the severest penalties of martial law.

The sufferings and inconveniences endured by the troops rendered both officers and men querulous and discontented. The English generals complained that an undue share of the camels and stores were allotted to

the undisciplined rabble termed the Shah's Contingent, while the divisions destined to bear the whole brunt of the war were neglected and overlooked. This display of irritation might, perhaps, be excusable, but it was, unfortunately, succeeded by a discreditable manifestation of jealousy on the part of the Bengal and Bombay forces, each accusing the other of appropriating more than its share of the camels and stores.

At length, Sir John Keane having joined the leading column, the troops pushed on to Candahar, the capital of Western Afghanistan, which they reached on the 25th of April, 1839. The governors of the city fled at their approach, and Shah Sujah entered in solemn state, accompanied by his English allies. His reception was most flattering. The streets were crowded with spectators, who strewed flowers before the king, and hailed him with shouts of "Welcome to the son of Timour Shah!" "Candahar is rescued from the Barukzyes!" "May your enemies be destroyed!" and similar acclamations, many of which may have been as insincere as the acclamations of an ignorant and excited populace usually are. The Douranees, however, crowded around their ancient king, pleading past loyalty and sufferings, and demanding that for the future their privileges and possessions should be restored, and themselves advanced to the highest posts of the State. In a few days Shah Sujah found himself beset with the same difficulties that harassed Charles II. after the Restoration, and Louis XVIII. after the downfall of Buonaparte.

In the meantime, the English army suffered considerably from fever and dysentery, occasioned by the unprecedented heat of the weather and the privations they had undergone in their toilsome march. The Afghans regarded the invaders with unmitigated hostility, and two English officers having gone out on a fishing excursion, they were attacked by assassins at a short distance from the city, who murdered the one, and severely

wounded the other. About three hundred camp followers returning to India under the protection of a caravan, were lured into a fortress and inhumanly butchered, some few only escaping, covered with wounds, to bring the tidings to Candahar.

After a halt of two months at the latter place, the army marched forward to Ghuznee, the command of which Dost Mohammed had confided to his son, Hyder Khan. This city, though inferior in appearance to both Cabool and Candahar, possessed strong fortifications. A broad and deep moat protected three sides of the town, while the citadel, built on the slope of a lofty hill, seemed by its aspect to justify an opinion current among the Afghans, that Ghuznee would detain the English for at least a twelvemonth before its massive defences.

The prediction, however, was not destined to have a fair trial. Among the Barukzye nobles within the walls, were two nephews of Dost Mohammed. Neglected by his uncle as one suspected of being favourably disposed towards Shah Sujah, Abd-ool-resheed, the eldest, seems to have carried on a correspondence previously with Mohun Lal, the Moonshee of Sir Alexander Burnes. A few days before the English reached Ghuznee, the brothers were brought into the governor's presence, and the youngest delivered over to the executioners. Abd-ool-resheed believed his own life to be in danger, and fled, with a few followers, to the English camp, where he gave such information to Major Thomson, the chief of the engineers, as enabled him to make arrangements for blowing up the gates with gunpowder.

While preparations were making for this attempt, a band of fanatical Mohammedans, termed Ghazees, or defenders of the faith, attacked the tents of Shah Sujah, with the intention of putting to death a monarch who, they considered, had betrayed the interests of religion by allying himself with those whom they regarded

as the enemies of Islam. A charge of cavalry repulsed these zealots, captured their standard, and made several prisoners. When brought before the Shah, they reviled him in unmeasured language, and stabbed one of his attendants. Some were pardoned, but the remainder, who persisted in their abuse and gloried in their crime, suffered death, by the king's orders, as traitors and assassins.

During a stormy and tempestuous night, the engineers, guarded by a corps of light infantry, approached the doomed gate, carrying "nine hundred pounds of powder, in twelve sand-bags, with a hose seventy-two feet long." The howling of the wind drowned the noise of their footsteps, as they crept cautiously along, sheltering themselves from observation behind garden hedges and low walls. While the apparatus was being fixed, the fire from the English batteries opened, and called off the attention of the enemy towards another point of attack. The walls being instantly manned, the glare of countless blue lights flashing suddenly from the dark line of the ramparts, showed that the manœuvre had been successful. The garrison poured forth a heavy fire in their turn, which rendered the crash of the explosion almost inaudible. A thick column of black smoke, scarcely perceptible by the faint and struggling light of the early morning, announced, however, that it had taken place.

A large body of Afghans now hurried towards the gateway to repel the storming party, who were climbing over the ruins and forcing their way with fixed bayonets into the town. Colonel Dennie led the van, while Brigadier Sale supported him at the head of the main column. Being misinformed as to the success of the leading body, the latter officer remained inactive long enough to allow a party of the enemy to interpose between the two detachments. This movement led, however, to the total destruction of the Afghans, who, pressed on all

sides, and seeing no means of escape, exhibited the infuriate courage of despair. Brigadier Sale was himself cut down in the *mêlée*; his antagonist raised his sabre to repeat the blow, but the English officer grasped his sword arm, and thus averted the intended injury. They grappled together for some time on the ground among the blackened ruins of the gate, until Sale, finding his strength diminishing, called for assistance. Captain Kershaw, of the 13th, hurried to the rescue and transfixed the Afghan with his sword. He still, however, maintained his hold, but the Brigadier, exerting one last effort, freed himself from the enemy's grasp, and cleft his head in two by a stroke from his own sabre. The Moham-medan exclaimed "Ne Allah!" (Oh God!) and expired almost instantaneously.

" The troops were now pouring with resistless force through the streets and bazaars of the town. The carnage was fearful, for the besieged neither gave nor expected quarter. Yet, when helpless, and unable any longer to defend themselves, they generally obtained the mercy which they scorned to ask; and all writers agree in asserting that the property and persons of the peaceable inhabitants escaped plunder and remained free from the usual excesses of military violence. This forbearance on the part of the soldiers has generally been attributed to their abstinence from intoxicating liquors, the supply of which was exhausted during the march. The same reason, according to the medical men accompanying the army, occasioned the rapid recovery of the sick and wounded from the injuries they had sustained.

The Governor Hyder Khan having been taken prisoner, was conducted to Shah Sujah, who, after a mild rebuke, gave him his liberty, with permission to go where he pleased. Another son of Dost Mohammed, finding the English masters of Ghuznee, broke up his camp near that city and fled precipitately to Cabool, where his father absolutely refused to receive him. The

success of his enemy's arms, indeed, had impressed the Ameer with the liveliest feelings of astonishment and alarm. He resolved to treat, and for that purpose sent to the English camp his brother, Nawab Jubhar Khan, who, from the kindness and hospitality manifested by him towards European travellers, was known among them under the flattering appellation of "the good Nawab."

The terms he offered were to the effect that Shah Sujah should be acknowledged king, and received as such at Cabool, provided he would delegate to Dost Mohammed the office and title of vizier, both of which had been possessed by the Barukzyes in former times. These, however, were rejected by the English, who insisted that Dost Mohammed must resign his power altogether, and, quitting Afghanistan for ever, accept an asylum and pension within the Company's dominions.

The unfortunate chieftain being thus repulsed, made a desperate effort to awaken the courage or patriotism of his Afghan adherents. Riding up to them with the Koran in his hand, he implored them to strike at least one more blow for their religion and their prophet. They listened in moody silence to his passionate appeal, but his entreaties and exhortations awoke no responsive emotion. At length he terminated his address in the following words :—"You have eaten my salt these thirteen years. If, as is too plain, you are resolved to seek a new master, grant me but one favour in requital for that long period of maintenance and kindness—enable me to die with honour. Stand by the brother of Futteh Khan while he executes one last charge against the cavalry of these Feringhees,* in that onset he will fall; then go and make your own terms with Shah Sujah."†

Finding that his troops would not support him, he fled towards the elevated regions of the Hindoo Koosh, followed by a small but devoted band, who honourably

* Europeans.

† Kaye's History of the War in Afghanistan.

adhered to the fallen fortunes of their favourite chief-tain. The English sent a detachment of cavalry in pursuit, but, meeting with continual delays, owing to the treacherous conduct of their Afghan conductor, the Ameer succeeded in escaping across the frontier into the territories of the Walee of Khoolom, where his capture became of course impossible.

Cabool was now at the mercy of the allies, who entered the city upon the 6th of August. Shah Sujah led the way, glittering with diamonds, and clothed in the gorgeous vestments of Eastern royalty; but, to use the language of our great national dramatist—

“ No man cried, God save him ;
No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home.” *

The people preserved an ominous silence, and seemed most interested by the dresses and general appearance of the European strangers. At last the Shah reached the palace that was once the home of his childhood, and from which he had been so long an exile. He ran over the rooms, expressing every moment his varied feelings by exclamations of joy, or bursts of emotion. The British officers who attended him, watched with respectful sympathy the manifestation of feelings common alike to kings and their meanest subjects; they offered their congratulations to his Majesty upon his happy restoration, and then retired, leaving him to meditate in solitude upon the means of retaining his recently recovered inheritance.

When the excitement produced by his return and reinstalment in the Bala Hissar had somewhat subsided, there were many topics suggestive of disappointment or anxiety that presented themselves to the mind of the restored monarch. His kingdom had been stripped during his exile of its fairest provinces. Kamran Shah possessed Herat, the Seikhs were masters of Cashmere,

* Richard II. Act V.

Mooltan, and Peshawar. Although, for the present, Dost Mohammed was a fugitive, yet no one acquainted with his energy and courage could imagine that his exile would be perpetual. His reappearance would prove in the highest degree satisfactory to many who despised the Shah, and loathed, with intense bitterness, his Christian allies. Moreover, while Sujah distrusted the Afghans, he was by no means disposed to welcome the continuance of a foreign army of occupation within his capital. Yet, without the English, his reign would soon terminate; and their envoy, now well aware of the true state of affairs, could never consent to a total withdrawal of the troops, involving, as it must do, the failure of an enterprise for which so much money and so many lives had already been sacrificed.

While these and similar considerations agitated the mind of Shah Sujah, instructions arrived from the governor-general which in some measure anticipated one of the principal difficulties. Lord Auckland directed that the Bengal troops should return to India by the Khybur Pass, and those from Bombay by the route they had already traversed, a detachment being left at Cabool, for the protection of the shah, under the command of Colonel Sale.

On the 3d of September Colonel Wade, accompanied by the Shahzadah,* Prince Timour, arrived at Cabool with the Seikh Contingent. Before they reached their destination, Runjeet Singh had breathed his last, and the prospect of a disputed succession in Lahore contributed to increase the anxiety of the Anglo-Indian politicians with respect to the future. For the present, however, these troubled thoughts were shrouded beneath splendid festivities and public manifestations of joy. The Prince Royal marched into Cabool at the head of a triumphant procession, and his entry was celebrated by the institution of an order of knighthood, the chief honours of

* Heir apparent to the throne.

which were conferred upon the principal English officers by the Shah in person. Feasts, shows, and military spectacles, succeeded to this pageantry, which proved, eventually, only the brilliant prelude to scenes of misfortune and sanguinary slaughter.

Some ill-founded reports to the effect that Dost Mohammed had occupied Koondooz, and was daily gathering fresh levies on the frontier, induced Sir William Macnaghten, the English envoy, to make a requisition to the military authorities for a larger force than they originally contemplated leaving in Afghanistan. This having been arranged, the Bombay column, under General Willshire, proceeded homewards by way of Khelat, against which place they had a mission of vengeance to fulfil. The British authorities considered that its chieftain, Mihrab Khan, had forfeited his dignity by the cold welcome he afforded to the allies of Shah Sujah when they were entering Afghanistan. His deposition, therefore, was decreed, and the army entrusted with the duty of carrying the sentence into execution. Hitherto the doomed chieftain had striven, by protestations, excuses, and general servility, to avert the threatened blow. Finding, however, no alternative between surrender and resistance, he buckled on his armour, and awaited behind his strong fortifications the coming of the Feringhee foe. They arrived before Khelat on the 3d of November, and capturing some heights to the north-west, opened a heavy fire upon the besieged, who, unable to maintain their position, endeavoured to drag off their guns into the town. Before, however, this could be effected, they were charged by the English infantry, who seized the enemy's guns, but found themselves unable to enter the gate in company with the fugitives.

All the British troops having now gained the eminences, they battered the gate with artillery until it gave way, and a storming party, who had been placed in readiness for a favourable opportunity,

rushed forward impetuously and forced their way into the city. The Afghans fought with the fury of despair and deadly hate. The contest raged from street to street, every foot of ground being resolutely held to the last. At length the citadel was entered, and the besiegers encountered Mihrab Khan in person. He defended himself bravely, surrounded by his principal chiefs, eight of whom had been cut down at his side before the Khan fell. Being pierced by a musket ball he expired immediately, and the loss of their chief obliged the garrison reluctantly to surrender. A portion of his dominions was conferred on Shah Sujah, while the remainder passed over to an ancient rival of the Khan.

As the Bombay column pursued its march, the intelligence that the Russians were advancing against Khiva produced some delay; but the Russian expedition proving utterly abortive, the English troops resumed their journey, and the army of the Indus was finally broken up, a large detachment being, however, left behind in Afghanistan for the protection of Shah Sujah. All the promoters of the late war received some mark of consideration from the English Government. Lord Auckland was created an earl, Sir John Keane a baron, Mr. Macnaghten a baronet, and Colonel Wade a knight. Other honours were liberally accorded to the subordinate officers, while many considered the conquest of Afghanistan as one of the most brilliant achievements of modern days. But, even in the very hour of triumph and national exultation, sagacious and far-sighted men looked anxiously towards the future as if they could almost behold a mystic hand tracing upon its troubled front predictions of misfortune and characters of doom.

CHAPTER XXVII.

RETIREMENT OF SIR W. COTTON—FLIGHT OF DOST MOHAMMED TO BOKHARA—HIS ESCAPE, AND FINAL SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH—TROUBLES IN CABOOL—MURDER OF SIR A. BURNES—PERILOUS SITUATION OF THE ENGLISH—MURDER OF SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN—THE RETREAT.

1840—1842.

THE chief command of the army occupying Afghanistan had been given to Sir W. Cotton, but the retirement of Major-General Ramsay from active service, obliged that officer, as the next senior, to return to India in the capacity of Provincial Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. During the interval, therefore, which elapsed between the departure of General Cotton, and the arrival of General Elphinstone, General Nott commanded in Western Afghanistan, while Brigadier Sale remained encamped near Jellalabad, in what might be called the eastern division of the country; the capital Cabool being defended by the 13th Light Infantry, and a corps of Native Infantry. Ghuznee contained also a native regiment, and thus the principal strongholds being in the hands of the English, every available precaution seemed to have been taken against surprise.

In the meantime, Dost Mohammed was using every possible exertion to enlist in his cause the sympathy of the neighbouring Mohammedan sovereigns. Among these, he addressed himself specially to the King of Bokhara, a petty prince, whose inland region, almost inaccessible from every side, enabled him to indulge unchecked, in more than the ordinary caprices of Oriental tyranny. This ruler had appropriated to himself the high-sounding title of Ameer-ool-moumenin, or Com-

mander of the Faithful, a dignity that was formerly the exclusive appendage of the caliphs of Baghdad.

The advances of Dost Mohammed gratified the vanity of this potentate, and were therefore favourably received. The Afghan chief with three of his sons presented themselves at Bokhara, and for a time revelled in the sunshine of royal favour. Unfortunately the Tartar Commander of the Faithful possessed no more principle nor sense of dignity than a mere leader of banditti. He had no sooner welcomed the Afghan exile to his Court, than he began concerting plans to rob him of the property that yet remained from the wreck of his fortunes. As is generally the custom with eastern great men, this wealth consisted principally of jewels and diamonds that Dost Mohammed had left in the safe keeping of his Harem at Khooloom. In their custody the treasure was safe, since the Mohammedan who violates the sanctity of the women's apartment, exposes himself to public censure of no ordinary kind. But the ruler of Bokhara seemed either above or below these social conventionalities. Assuming as much courtesy as he was capable of exhibiting, he intimated that Dost Mohammed would do well to remove his family into the territory of Bokhara. The Afghan listened with seeming gratitude to the proposal, but he had already penetrated the design of his inhospitable protector. Open resistance he could not offer, but while feigning to despatch a letter directing his brother, Jubhar Khan, to send off his household without delay, he adroitly substituted for this document, another missive, in which the Newab was exhorted rather to sacrifice the lives of those dear to him, than suffer them to fall into the hands of a treacherous and merciless barbarian. The epistle reached its destination in safety, and Jubhar Khan, unable to provide more effectually for the security of his brother's family, placed them under the protection of the British Government.

When the king of Bokhara found that his plans had been counteracted, his rage knew no bounds. He could scarcely be restrained from putting Dost Mohammed to death; but afterwards, in the moments of cool reflection, even he shrank from such an act of unparalleled atrocity. The Afghan chief was, however, imprisoned in a small mosque near the principal bazaar. His confinement was rigorous and severe. The tyrant would not permit him the consolation of frequenting the public services of his religion, until the Shah of Persia interfered, and shamed the Tartar barbarian into abandoning a course of conduct which even the most uncivilized of his co-religionists reprobated with disgust and contempt.

The comparative freedom subsequently allotted to Dost Mohammed, enabled him to discover the means of escape. An Usbec agreed for a suitable reward to place a good horse at the distance of a few miles from the city, and to guide the fugitive in safety to the friendly town of Khoolloom. The commencement of the enterprise succeeded admirably, the Dost and his guide cleared the limits of Bokhara without interruption, and were several miles on their journey when the chief's horse became lame.

Still dreading pursuit, he dismounted from his charger, and exchanged it for the sorry hack on which the guide was mounted. The circumstance induced that individual to reflect more seriously upon the dangers of his present undertaking. He began to consider escape impossible, and to search in his own mind for some expedient by which he might bring the Dost back to Bokhara, and deliver him up again to the king.

While these thoughts were passing through his mind, two or three horsemen came riding slowly along the road in the rear of the Afghan leader, who, true to his assumed character of guide, kept considerably in advance. The Usbec conversed with these men, and finding them inimically disposed towards his companion, hastily in-

formed them who he was, exhorting them to secure a handsome reward by arresting him at once. The riders paused, examined with a critical eye the appearance of the two steeds, and then exclaimed, "This story will not do for us. It is not probable that Dost Mohammed would ride a wretched animal like the one yonder, while his guide bestrides a fine charger such as yours. No, no; it is you who are Dost Mohammed, though you wish to substitute for yourself that miserable clown. We shall, therefore, take you back to Bokhara forthwith, so follow us immediately at your peril."

The consternation of the guide, his protestations, and evident anxiety were all misinterpreted; the captors turned a deaf ear to his entreaties, and finally carried off the trembling wretch to answer before the king of Bokhara for his presumption in aiding the escape of Dost Mohammed. Meanwhile, the late prisoner galloped on unmolested for some time, but his horse sank down at last exhausted, and he was obliged to join a caravan, in which he again avoided detection by dyeing his beard with ink.

Eventually Dost Mohammed reached Khooolloom in safety, after a series of romantic adventures, and was hospitably received by his old and faithful ally, the Wallee. We must leave both engaged in devising forays into Afghanistan, while we glance hastily at the general position of affairs throughout the kingdom. The English had subjugated the country, and restored Shah Sujah; their troops occupied the best cities of the realm, and their standard floated from the ramparts of its most formidable strongholds. Yet their position was on a hidden volcano, the convulsive heavings of which from time to time gave unmistakeable signs of future commotion. The people of the towns murmured and scowled at their unwelcome guests, those of the rural districts raised disturbances, and attacked the hated strangers with the sword. The assailants were easily repressed, but it soon became evident

that the English might consider themselves at war not merely with a few malcontents, but with the whole nation. The Ghiljee and Kohistanee tribes broke out into open rebellion, the escape of Dost Mohammed raised their hopes, and kept alive the feelings of excitement that prevailed throughout their respective districts, while an extensive and well-organized conspiracy against English domination was discovered in Cabool. At Bamean, on the frontiers of Khoolloom, some companies of the newly-raised Afghan levies went over to Dost Mohammed, who, having now collected a large force, crossed the border, and re-entered Afghanistan.

Colonel Dennie was at once directed to advance to Bamean at the head of some fresh troops, for the purpose of strengthening that position. In a neighbouring defile he encountered the enemy, who were attempting to possess themselves of a fortified village. The arrival of the English brought on a general action, which terminated in the total defeat of the Afghans, Dost Mohammed being wounded during the action in the thigh.

The ill success of the confederates induced the Wallee of Khoolloom to patch up a separate peace for himself, and abandon altogether the cause of his ally, while the Ameer sought refuge among the revolted tribes of Kohistan. After various desultory movements he came in sight of the English near Nijrow, but seemed anxious to avoid a battle. Perceiving, however, the enemy's horse moving up, he gave up all thoughts of flight, and sought only to excite to the utmost the religious enthusiasm of his followers. He waved his white head dress, stood erect in his stirrups, and implored his troopers to charge in the name of Allah and the Prophet. They moved on with stern resolution, and the native cavalry, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts on the part of their English officers, durst not await the attack. They fled on all sides, while the Afghans pur-

sued them up to their guns, and then retreated in steady unbroken order.

Dost Mohammed had gained an advantage, but he entertained no hopes that his career could be protracted much longer. He knew too well the power and resource of the British to imagine that their efforts would be arrested by a repulse of this nature. But he was aware also that they had often proved themselves a generous enemy, and that he personally had done nothing to incur their indignation, or deserve their contempt. He was defending what he believed to be the best interests of his country and his religion against foreign invaders, invited into Afghanistan by one commonly considered an imbecile and degenerate prince, but his name during the whole contest had neither been stained by treachery, nor sullied like that of many others by wanton cruelty. He therefore determined to place himself at once under their protection, and withdraw altogether from a position in which he could no longer act with advantage to his country, or avoid endangering his liberty or life.

Sir William Macnaghten was returning from his evening ride in the neighbourhood of Cabool, when two Afghan horsemen galloped up to him, and asked if he was the English envoy. Upon his answering in the affirmative, one of the two rejoined, "Then I am the Ameer." Startled at such unexpected intelligence, Sir William exclaimed with hesitation, "The Ameer! What Ameer?" "Dost Mohammed," was the brief reply, as the vanquished chief dismounted, and respectfully tendered his sword. The envoy generously refused to accept it, and, inviting the Ameer to remount, they proceeded together to the Mission grounds, where Dost Mohammed took up his abode in a tent that was immediately prepared for his accommodation.

The treatment of the captive brought out many excellent features in the character of the English conquerors. There was something in the frank courtesy, daring

courage, and generally upright conduct of the prisoner, that attracted towards him men who could appreciate these qualities. A feeling went abroad that Dost Mohammed had been driven from his throne for no fault of his own, but simply because political necessity rendered his deposition necessary. With the officers Shah Sujah never became a favourite. His manners were proud, cold, and pompous, so that both he and his family gained few friends among their allies. Now, however, the English officers flocked in crowds to pay their respects to Shah Sujah's captive rival. They retired charmed with his address, and delighted with his affability. In his presence etiquette repressed all manifestation of hostile feeling towards the present occupant of the Bala Hissar, but as the visitors wended homewards to their cantonments many comparisons, doubtless, were instituted in private conversation by no means flattering to the reigning sovereign of Cabool. On the 12th of November, 1840, Dost Mohammed set out for India, where he was most hospitably received, the house formerly occupied by Shah Sujah at Loodianah being allotted to him, with an annual pension of two lacs of rupees.

Those whom he left behind him at Cabool, both English and Afghans, might almost have envied the peaceful retreat of the ex-Ameer, when they contemplated daily a fresh accession of troubles and difficulties arising on every side. The king, already obnoxious to the English on account of his personal behaviour, seemed disposed to place every possible obstacle in the way of more cordial feelings. He gave his confidence to a minister grossly incapable, and animated by the most hostile feelings towards the foreign protectors, who were thwarted and insulted whenever an opportunity offered itself. The representations of the envoy at length effected the removal of the vizier, and Shah Sujah, placed under the control of English agents, seemed for a time likely to govern more effectively. Unhappily the factious spirit

of the country created continual impediments, which prevented a satisfactory settlement of affairs. The Douranee tribes being disappointed that they were not allowed at the restoration to crush entirely their Barukzye rivals, reviled and opposed both the government and its English supporters.

The aspect of foreign affairs was not less gloomy. The Vizier of Herat carried on perpetual intrigues with Persia and Russia, and behaved so insolently to the English envoy, that Major Todd retired in anger and disgust. At the capital, General Elphinstone succeeded Sir Willoughby Cotton, but it soon became painfully apparent that his years and infirmities disqualified him for a position where energy and activity were in constant requisition. The main body of the troops had been removed from the strong fortress of the Bala Hissar, and stationed in cantonments badly situated and weakly defended. Still the envoy did his best with indifferent materials, and even deemed himself justified in reporting to a brother civilian that "matters were rapidly verging towards a most satisfactory consummation."

Notwithstanding Macnaghten's self-congratulation, however, the principal difficulties had been by no means removed. Major Pottinger, now stationed in Kohistan, represented to the envoy the hollow nature of things in general, and the disaffected character in particular of the chiefs belonging to the Mijrow district. About the same time the Ghiljie leaders stirred up a movement in the Coord Cabool, where they harassed the troops sent against them under General Sale and Colonel Dennie, but could not prevent them from keeping possession of Jellalabad.

The Ghiljies now opened a correspondence with some persons of influence at the capital, whom they endeavoured to persuade that the English intended to carry them off to London. This ridiculous assertion,

strange to say, produced the desired effect, and accelerated a catastrophe that had long been approaching. The Cabool leaders industriously circulated reports among the people, that the king himself was favourable to their cause, and anxious to bring about the utter destruction of "the infidels."

The first victim was Sir Alexander Burnes. Various native friends warned him of his danger, and one even suggested that he should seek refuge at the cantonments. He seemed incredulous, and gave little credence to the numerous rumours which came pouring in. The mob assembled beneath his windows, and still Burnes refused to fly. "He had always," he said, "been kind to the Afghans, and felt sure they would not harm him." At last after a considerable delay, he forwarded a note to the envoy, begging that troops might be sent to quell the disturbance, but even in this missive, he does not appear to have represented the commotion as anything more than an ordinary riot. He then went up to the top of his house, and commenced haranguing the mob. Their wild yells drowned his voice, and as the Shah's treasury adjoined his dwelling, cupidity began to mingle with their desire of revenge. Disguising himself in native costume, Sir Alexander then attempted to pierce through the throng, but after he had advanced a few steps, a man cried out "This is Burnes;" and the Englishman fell beneath a hundred knives.

All parties seemed paralysed by this unexpected outbreak. The shah's troops were driven back while vainly endeavouring to repress the tumult; and even an English detachment that had been sent out, retired without being able to strike a decisive blow. The troops shut up in their cantonments, grew dispirited, and their leaders spoke of retreat. A fort containing the stores and ammunition, was captured soon after by the Afghans, and the envoy, being obliged to quit the Bala Hissar, sought shelter within the cantonments. Behind their low and

scarcely defensible walls, were now collected a mingled crowd of soldiers, camp followers, and delicate ladies, whom their husbands had sent for from India, little imagining to what dangers they would afterwards be exposed.

The progress of the insurrection soon spread rapidly beyond the limits of the capital. It reached Kohistan, where Major Pottinger nearly fell a victim to the treachery of some inimical chiefs. He arrived at the cantonments in November, accompanied by Lieutenant Houghton, both being covered with wounds, and having passed almost through the midst of the enemy. As the winter drew on, various skirmishes occurred between the English and Afghans, in nearly all of which the latter proved victorious. The age and infirmities of General Elphinstone rendered him unable personally to superintend the movements of his men; and the second in command, Brigadier Skelton, looked upon the cause of his countrymen in Afghanistan, as beyond the possibility of being retrieved.

Among the victorious chiefs who directed the rebel army, Mohammed Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, occupied the most conspicuous place. Brave, daring, and crafty, he possessed all those arts and accomplishments which captivate the affections of a semi-civilized multitude. The son of one whom the English had driven from his throne, he seemed to have become their hereditary foe, and to be vindicating not only his country's injuries, but his own private wrongs. Impetuous in temper, he was utterly void of self-control, varying almost instantaneously from the gayest good-humour, to the most terrific transports of violent rage. Like all impulsive natures, he was earnest in whatever he undertook, unaccustomed to calculate deeply before he acted, capable at once of great actions and of deeds reprehensible for their perfidy or cruelty. After his arrival, the insurgents began to carry on vigorously their blockade of the cantonments.

They proclaimed King, Mohammed Zeman Khan, a cousin of Dost Mohammed, and appeared determined never to relax in their exertions, until they had driven the English from their soil.

At last the provisions of the beleaguered army were reduced to four days' allowance, with not the slightest possibility of their being able to procure a fresh supply. The envoy had tried in vain to detach some of the chiefs from the rebel confederation, but they continued firm, and nothing now remained to the English, save a treaty on almost any terms. Negotiations were commenced, and after many delays the Afghans consented to send in supplies, upon condition that the English should at once evacuate the country, and set at liberty all their prisoners, including Dost Mohammed and his family.

Pressed by famine, the Europeans agreed to these stipulations, but they soon discovered that the Afghan leaders were either unwilling or unable to fulfil their engagements. Troops of Ghazees and other fanatics intercepted the supplies, and assaulted the English soldiers whenever they could find an opportunity, the chiefs invariably pleading their inability to restrain these outrages. They indeed appeared by no means unanimous among themselves, the Ghilzyes and Kuzzilbashs being violently opposed to the Barukzyes; while Akbar Khan endeavoured to stand favourably with all parties. This chieftain sent two trusty messengers to propose that the English should treat with him alone. He offered to place under arrest Ameer-oollah, their worst enemy, to re-establish Shah Sujah with himself as vizier, to introduce into the cantonments an abundant supply of provisions, and finally to allow the English to occupy their present position until the ensuing spring.

Sir William Macnaghten accepted these proposals, and, contrary to the advice of his friends, consented to attend a meeting of the chiefs. As he rode in company with

three or four officers towards the place appointed, armed bodies of fierce-looking Afghans gradually closed round the strangers. Akbar Khan advanced to meet them with seeming cordiality, expressed his gratitude to the envoy for the present of a handsome pair of pistols, which he had received from him on the preceding day, and suggested that they should all dismount and talk over the proposed treaty. The English and Afghans then seated themselves on the grass, but the suspicions of one of the former being aroused, he made some remark on the presence of a number of armed natives who were then drawing nearer to the party, with apparently no friendly intentions.

Suddenly the British officers were seized from behind, and placed on the horses of the chiefs, who galloped off with them to a neighbouring fort. Akbar Khan himself attempted to secure the envoy, but Sir William Macnaghten struggled desperately in his grasp. At last the irritated chieftain, losing all control over his violent temper, drew a pistol from his girdle, and shot Macnaghten through the body. The Ghazees rushed upon the victim with their long knives, and in a few moments the unfortunate gentleman had ceased to breathe. His murderers dragged off the corpse to the principal bazaar, where it was hung up and exposed for several hours to the insults and outrages of the mob.

Tidings of the melancholy death of Sir William Macnaghten reached the cantonments on the following day. The intelligence only quickened the eagerness of all to depart from a spot, where hitherto nothing had been encountered but disasters and disgrace. Major Pottinger, now recovered from his wounds, undertook the painful and delicate task of conducting negotiations with the murderers of the envoy. The terms offered were such as Englishmen, with arms in their hands, had never yet subscribed to since their first landing on the Indian continent. It was stipulated that every soldier

should forthwith evacuate Afghanistan, and that all property, not portable, should be surrendered to the victors, who would also retain in their custody the married Englishmen with their wives and families, until Dost Mohammed and the other Afghan prisoners were restored to their native country. Besides this, they demanded the waggons, ammunition, and all the guns, with the exception of six field-pieces, which they permitted the troops to retain for the purpose of defending themselves during their retreat.

The strong repugnance of the English officers to place their wives at the mercy of a faithless and barbarous enemy, occasioned the final omission of one portion of the treaty; the other conditions were accepted, and the agreement having been signed, the English army commenced its disastrous march. It was the depth of an Afghan winter, the snow lay thick upon the ground; and no firewood could be obtained at any price. Even the hardy sons of a northern clime looked forward with anxiety and alarm, to a long and perilous journey during such a season, exposed to the continual attacks of enemies, whom no treaties could bind, and whom it was now hopeless to think of resisting. Yet their sufferings were as nothing compared with the agonies endured by men recently drafted from the burning regions of Hindoostan, where snow is never seen, and the existence of frozen water is regarded as a fabulous tale. The unfortunate Sepoys crowded together like a herd of animals, or crouched hopelessly over a few sticks and worn-out accoutrements, by the aid of which they had succeeded in raising a feeble flame. Without spirit, and totally deprived of energy, the men seemed to have lost even individual courage; they possessed no confidence in their leaders, and almost trembled at the very sight of an Afghan.

The number of the troops when they left the cantonments considerably exceeded 4,000; while the camp

followers, not including women and children, have been estimated at about 12,000. As they abandoned the lines, a mob of furious Ghazees poured into the deserted encampment, plundering whatever they could find, and cutting to pieces those who had not yet taken their departure. Nor did this even satiate their sanguinary and revengeful feelings; for one party turned their guns upon the retreating troops, while another, bursting in upon the crowd of defenceless camp followers, commenced an indiscriminate massacre. The miserable victims, mad with fear, and incapable of offering resistance, rushed forward to the front, thus encumbering the troops and preventing them from forming to repel the enemy. Unfortunately too the English commanders shrank from aggressive measures, and contented themselves with invoking the protection of the Afghan chiefs, who invariably proved either unable or unwilling to arrest the violence of their own followers.

As the column proceeded, numbers fell down overcome by cold, hunger and fatigue. The snow was literally covered with wounded men, and the corpses of women and children. The beasts of burden dropped exhausted beside their drivers, and it was soon found absolutely necessary to abandon two of the guns. At last, Akbar Khan made his appearance, and promised to escort the English in safety to Jellalabad. These promises proved as fallacious as all the former engagements had been. When the column entered the pass of Koord Cabool, they found the precipitous rocks on each side lined with enemies, who poured down upon them an incessant fire of juzails as they marched along. Resistance seemed hopeless, for the juzail, or Afghan matchlock, carried its ball much farther than an ordinary musket, and thus enabled the marksman to attain his object from a distance beyond the reach of an opponent's weapon. The ladies galloped on to the head of the column, exposed every moment to the flying bullets; but Lady Sale alone received a slight

wound. It was a period of intense individual suffering. Here a dying officer lay expiring on the snow, while his wife hung over him in speechless agony; there another beheld his comrade falling beneath the knives of the Ghazees, unable from weakness to lend him the slightest assistance. The excitement of action was wanting to diminish peril and inspire courage; it was in fact the horrible reality, the unadorned butchery of war.

As the troops ascended, the cold became greater, and their sufferings increased tenfold. Akbar Khan now proposed that the ladies should be placed under his protection, and secured in this manner from the dangers of the journey. They had scarcely tasted food since they left Cabool; some were nursing infants a few days old, while others expected every hour to become mothers. Under these circumstances the offer was accepted, and the ladies were accordingly led off under the escort of a strong body of Afghan cavalry, the married ones being accompanied by their husbands.

The main body of the troops still advanced, mowed down at each step by the pitiless fire of the Ghiljies, which had already almost annihilated the native regiments. Of the 4,000 armed men who quitted Cabool barely 400 now remained, scarcely able to march from weakness, and dragging along with them one solitary gun. They halted for a short time at Kubbur-i-jubbar, but soon perceived a body of Afghan horse approaching, upon which General Elphinstone, who was now in a dying state, drew up his men and prepared for an attack. The cavalry proved to be a detachment under Akbar Khan, who, as usual, affirmed that he could afford them no assistance in their present condition. He recommended, however, that the troops should lay down their arms, place themselves under his protection, and leave the camp followers to their fate. This proposition the officers rejected unanimously, and once more the weary and dispirited soldiers commenced their march.

The enemy still continued their opposition, and notwithstanding some desperate and successful efforts made by the little band of survivors, it soon became evident that few, if any, would reach Jellalabad alive. General Elphinstone being induced to hold a conference with Akbar was detained prisoner, and his troops, alarmed at his protracted absence, moved forward towards Gundamuck. Here their number had diminished to about 100 men, including officers, but these determined to sell their lives as dearly as they could.

In the meantime, General Sale, with his gallant brigade, were defending themselves stoutly at Jellalabad. At the beginning of January 1842, they had received a communication from Major Pottinger, making known officially the evacuation of Cabool, and directing that the garrison of Jellalabad should return to India. This General Sale, after some deliberation, resolved to disregard, considering that the convention had been entered into under intimidation, and was therefore not binding. He heard also, on good authority, that Akbar Khan intended to attack the Cabool army during their retreat, and imagined that by retaining possession of Jellalabad he might afford them some assistance. He therefore did his utmost to repair the fortifications of the town, and having succeeded in making suitable arrangements for its defence, awaited with anxiety some further intelligence from the retiring force.

On the 13th of January the sentry reported that an European, mounted on a small pony, was approaching the walls. As he drew near, both horse and rider seemed ready to sink with fatigue, but a party of cavalry being despatched to his assistance, they brought him half alive into the town. It proved to be a Dr. Brydon, who conveyed the melancholy tidings that out of an army of 16,000 men, he only had escaped to tell the mournful tale.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ADVANCE OF BRIGADIER WILD—EARTHQUAKE AT JELLALABAD—
ARRIVAL OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH—ASSASSINATION OF SHAH SUJAH
—THE ENGLISH ADVANCE INTO CABOOL A SECOND TIME—RECOVERY
OF THE CAPTIVES, AND FINAL EVACUATION OF THE COUNTRY.

1842.

WHEN the Government of India received intelligence of the revolt in Afghanistan, a reinforcement of 4,000 men, under Brigadier Wild, was immediately ordered to Jellalabad. They reached the Khyber Pass in January 1842, and an advanced guard succeeded in occupying the small fort of Ali Masjid. But the main body being attacked on all sides by the hill tribes were unable to support their companions, and the garrison, finding themselves in an isolated position, without stores or ammunition, cut their way through the enemy and retreated with the brigadier to the mouth of the pass.

The news of this failure soon arrived at Jellalabad, but its brave commandant, though much dispirited, determined to maintain his position. Scarcely, however, had he completed the necessary defences, when a violent earthquake destroyed nearly the whole of his labours. "The city was thrown into alarm," says the general,* "within the space of little more than one month, by the repetition of full one hundred shocks of this terrible phenomenon of nature."

The earthquake was followed by the appearance of

* General Sale's Despatches.

Akbar Khan at the head of a large force, in the vicinity of Jellalabad. He placed the town in a state of blockade, intercepting supplies and cutting off foraging parties, but refraining from any regular assault. The garrison soon began to suffer severely on account of the scarcity of provisions, the troops being on half rations, with little hope of obtaining speedy relief. Sir Robert Sale, therefore, resolved to attack the enemy's camp, and, if possible, break up their blockade. The attempt proved successful: the Afghans were driven from their entrenchments, and two standards with four guns, recently taken from the Cabool army, remained in possession of the conquerors. The latter, however, lost one of their bravest officers, the gallant Colonel Dennie, who had honourably distinguished himself on various occasions during this perilous expedition.

Meanwhile, the term of Lord Auckland's government being expired, he was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, who had been from its very commencement strongly opposed to the Afghan war. On reaching Calcutta, the new ruler found himself obliged to deal at once with the disastrous results of that unfortunate campaign. The question of the British tenure of Afghanistan had been already settled, if not formally, at least by the expressed opinions of the ablest politicians of the day. All agreed that to maintain an English force in that country, or to invade it afresh with a view to a permanent occupation, would be no less impolitic than unjust. Some doubts, however, existed as to whether the governor-general should or should not visit the Afghan chiefs with that punishment which their treachery and inhumanity so richly merited. Those who advocated this measure were opposed by others, who thought that Government would do better to rescue the captives, either by ransom or negotiation, and give up all idea of chastisement, the infliction of which might be productive of further disasters and a greater loss of life.

While these considerations engaged the attention of politicians in England and India, Shah Sujah continued for a short time to exercise undisturbed his regal authority at Cabool. He was now, however, the mere instrument of the chiefs, possessing only nominal power, and obliged to lend his sanction to any measure emanating from the majority. To Akbar Khan had been committed the arduous, though honourable office of besieging Jellalabad; but he found himself unable to make the slightest impression upon its gallant defenders, while the jealousy of his rivals at the capital deprived him of the necessary ammunition and supplies. In the meantime the English prisoners were placed in the charge of Zeman Khan, from whom they received a kindness truly paternal. Though warmly attached to his country, and firmly persuaded that the English invasion was an aggression upon its independence, he disapproved of the treacherous designs entertained by the other chiefs, and severely reprobated the cruelties practised during the retreat. His decided and manly avowal of these opinions affords a strong contrast to the ambiguous conduct of Shah Sujah, who openly denounced the Europeans as tyrants and infidels, while he secretly corresponded with their agents in India.

Finally, the duplicity of the king led to his destruction. The chiefs, suspecting his sincerity, and having perhaps obtained information of his intrigues, required that he should march at the head of a select body of men, to press more vigorously the siege of Jellalabad. When their wishes were first made known to him, the Shah, believing his person would be in danger, refused to leave his capital: but being ultimately terrified into an unwilling consent, he quitted Cabool on the 4th of April. His suspicions proved too well founded. A Barukzye noble, the son of Zeman Khan, had placed an ambush by the way-side, and as the royal retinue approached the concealed marksmen poured upon them

a volley of juzails, which killed on the spot both Shah Sujah and the principal persons of his suite. The body lay in state for some days, and the murder called forth all the marks of external respect and loyal regret, the punishment of death by stoning having been formally pronounced against its perpetrators. Owing, however, to the unquiet nature of the times, and the numerous persons implicated in the conspiracy, these villains escaped; as might have been anticipated, the extreme penalties of the law.

The bold resistance of Sale at Jellalabad, and the successful opposition offered to the Afghans by General Nott in Candahar, were slightly counterbalanced by the loss of Ghuznee. Colonel Palmer, the commandant, finding his garrison gradually diminished by the rigours of the climate and the want of water, surrendered his post to the Afghan chieftain, Shems-ood-deen. The enemy behaved, however, on this occasion with customary bad faith, the men being relentlessly slaughtered, and some of the officers put to the torture. Kelat-i-Ghilzye, under the brave Craigie, continued to hold out until the advance of the British army enabled its defenders to evacuate the place with safety and without dishonour.

While the isolated corps in Afghanistan looked eagerly for reinforcements to their countrymen on the other side of the Indus, Brigadier England was advancing from Sindh, by way of Dadar and Quettah. He encountered subsequently a strong body of Afghans near the village of Hykubzye, who repulsed the attack made upon them, and finally compelled the English commander to fall back. The intelligence of this disastrous event reaching India, suspended for a short time the determination of the governor-general: but eventually Lord Ellenborough sanctioned the advance of Generals Pollock and Nott.

The former commenced the passage of the Khyber

Pass early in March, and reached Jellalabad on the 16th of April, greatly to the satisfaction of the "illustrious garrison," who had almost begun to despair of ever being relieved. Meanwhile General Nott had been honourably distinguishing himself in Western Afghanistan. At the time of the Cabool massacre, the tranquillity existing in these regions presented so striking a contrast to the excitement prevalent elsewhere, that Colonel Maclaren's brigade was on the point of returning to India. Pressing entreaties for assistance from Sir William Macnaghten and General Elphinstone occasioned this movement to be countermanded, and Colonel Maclaren, with Captain Hart, prepared for a march on Cabool, the brigade being strengthened by the addition of several Afghan auxiliary corps. Owing to the inclemency of the weather, however, the advance was suspended, and General Nott soon found it necessary, in consequence of the spread of the rebellion, to concentrate all his outlying divisions at the town of Candahar.

Mohammed Atta Khan arrived soon after from Cabool, for the purpose of inciting the Western tribes to take up arms against the English. He was soon after joined by Sufter Jung, a son of Shah Sujah, whom ambition, avarice, or Mohammedan bigotry, had induced to oppose vigorously his father's allies. The name of a member of the royal house added strength to the cause, and gained over the whole of the Shah's troops, so that the enemy being now in considerable force ventured to take the initiative, and occupied a strong position in the vicinity of Candahar. They soon had occasion to repent of their temerity, for General Nott, sallying forth at the head of his best troops, drove them from their position, and completely broke up their force. After this the insurgents remained quiet for a short time; but the intelligence of the Cabool massacre inspiring them with fresh courage, they again assailed the English position, and having

drawn off General Nott and the majority of his forces from the immediate vicinity of Candahar, they obtained in this manner partial possession of the town. The remnant of the garrison, however, who remained within the walls, defended their post so gallantly that the rebels were not only unable to maintain their ground, but found themselves compelled to retreat, leaving behind them nearly a thousand men killed and wounded.

On the 9th of May General England, moving up from Quettah, effected a junction with Nott at Candahar. One of the first measures taken after this reinforcement arrived, was the rescue of the garrison at Khelat-i-Ghiljje, which Colonel Wymer effected with some difficulty. The absence of this detachment induced Sufter Jung and Mohammed Atta to make another attack upon Candahar, an enterprise that ended in the total defeat of 8,000 Afghans by 1,200 British troops. The loss sustained on this occasion so much discouraged the enemy, that Sufter Jung and the majority of his chiefs deemed it advisable to send in their adhesion to the British Government.

On the 8th of August the English abandoned Candahar, General England's corps returning to India by way of Quettah, while Nott moved northwards, to unite his forces with those of Pollock at Cabool. On his march, he defeated a large army of Afghans, near Ghuznee, and recovered that city from the hands of the enemy. The retaliation exacted on this occasion seems severe, but the Afghans had drawn it down upon themselves by torturing British officers, and butchering defenceless prisoners, who, in surrendering, placed themselves under the protection of the laws of war. Part of the town having been mined, was exploded by gunpowder, while the flames kindled by the victors consumed the rest.

Nor did the relics of past ages escape uninjured. The tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee, one of the earliest Mohammedan conquerors of Hindoostan, stood near the

city, and possessed two gates of sandal-wood, said to have been carried off from the Brahminical temple of Somnauth. The truth of the legend, or rather the identity of its subject, was disputed by Major Rawlinson, who carefully examined the doors in question; but Lord Ellenborough having shown in his instructions a special desire for these treasures, the troops proceeded to remove them, together with the club, or mace, suspended over the warrior's tomb. The Moollahs wept at the profanation of their hero's shrine, but the people in general seem to have regarded the whole transaction with stoical indifference.

On the 17th of September, the army of General Nott encamped near Cabool, where he found the divisions of Pollock and Sale already in possession of the town. Akbar Khan had fled, at their approach, to the frontier territory of the Hindoo Koosh; while most of his confederates were seeking refuge among the turbulent tribes of Kohistan. Futteh Jung, a son of the murdered Shah Sujah, obtained permission from the English to occupy the Bala Hissar; but the authorities purposely refrained from any step which might lead to the supposition that they intended to place a new sovereign upon the throne of Afghanistan.

The rescue of the English prisoners, now in the power of Akbar Khan, was the next question that engaged the attention of General Pollock. It had been generally understood that Akbar threatened, if pursued, to retreat into Turkistan: it became, therefore, necessary that he should be overtaken before he could cross the frontier. Accordingly, Mr.—now Sir Richmond—Shakespear, was despatched at once, with some light cavalry, to follow up the retreating Afghans; while a brigade under General Sale advanced more leisurely in the rear.

The captives had left Cabool on the 25th of August, and were hurried forward, with great rapidity, in the

direction of Bameean. As they halted, for a few minutes, at the different villages, the people issued forth to gaze upon the strangers, whom, to their honour be it spoken, they generally treated with kindness and sympathy. When they passed the fort of Mustapha Khan, the castellan, a Kuzzilbash chief, made his appearance, followed by servants bearing trays of cakes and sweetmeats for the ladies and children. Yet these courtesies could not soften the rigour of the climate, which operated severely upon the constitutions of the prisoners, who were now ascending the lofty mountains of the Hindoo Koosh. In nine days they reached Bameean, where they took up their quarters in a small fort, the narrow rooms of which are described as filthy beyond description.

The person to whose care they had been entrusted, Saleh Mohammed, was a mercenary, formerly in the British service, and afterwards in that of Dost Mohammed. He had travelled extensively, and loved to talk of his journeys and adventures. One of the English officers possessed the valuable quality of being a good listener. This attention flattered the Afghan commandant; an intimacy sprang up between them, and in a short time the officer felt emboldened to hint to his new friend that a handsome gratuity might prove the reward of his connivance at the escape of the prisoners. These suggestions were not thrown away; and finally Saleh Mohammed agreed, for a certain consideration, to set his captives at liberty. The next day he formally rebelled against Akbar Khan, the English flag was hoisted on the ramparts, and Major Pottinger, assuming the appearance of more power than he really possessed, sent out proclamations, inviting the friendship, or demanding the obedience of the surrounding chiefs.

Intelligence of the defeat of Akbar Khan at Tezeen, induced them to leave their stronghold, and proceed towards Cabool. After two days' march, a body of

cavalry came in sight, the approach of which filled the little band with anxiety and alarm. These feelings, however, soon gave way to more pleasurable emotions, when an English officer galloped forward, and announced to the liberated captives that the supposed enemies were none other than Sir Richmond Shakespear and his Kuzzilbash horse. Soon afterwards the brigade under Sir Robert Sale joined the united party; and that gallant soldier had the exquisite gratification of meeting again his wife and daughter, after so long and painful a separation.

Among the released captives, one form was looked for in vain. Enfeebled by disease, and harassed by mental suffering, General Elphinstone had breathed his last, at a town called Tezeen. He is said to have borne his afflictions with a resigned and Christian spirit, speaking kindly of all, even of those to whom he attributed most of the disasters of the campaign.

The captives had a gloomy tale to tell respecting their privations; but a few interesting and some mirthful incidents were mingled with the recital. The Lord's-day they always sacredly observed as a period of rest and worship, when all joined in the public service of the Anglican Church, one of the officers leading the devotions of the rest. To beguile the weary hours of imprisonment, they constructed rude backgammon and draft-boards; while the children, and even their elders, diversified sometimes these sedentary amusements by a game at "hop-scotch," or "blind-man's buff."

General Pollock having accomplished the release of the prisoners, began to make arrangements for his homeward journey. Before he left Cabool, however, it was necessary that some reparation should be exacted for previous injuries and cruelty. After several consultations with friendly chiefs, and other natives well disposed towards the English, Pollock determined to destroy the great bazaar, where the mangled remains of

Sir William Macnaghten had been exposed to the insults of the mob. After this act of retributive justice, the troops bade a joyous farewell to a town where their unfortunate countrymen underwent so many melancholy disasters. Prince Futteh Jung, being distrustful of the loyalty of his new subjects, abdicated his throne after a few days' reign, and was succeeded by Shah-poor, a junior member of the Suddozye family. His authority, however, proved equally short-lived, since he lost his crown before the English army quitted the frontiers of Afghanistan. Soon after, Dost Mohammed obtained his release from the honourable captivity in which he had lived at Loodianah, being permitted to return at once to his own country, where he alone seemed capable of keeping in check the turbulent spirit of the Afghan chiefs.

As the English armies approached the confines of India, they learned that it was the intention of the governor-general to meet and welcome them at Ferozepoor. When they entered the plain before that city, a gorgeous military spectacle presented itself to their eyes. The army of reserve were drawn up in military order, while a line of triumphal arches, gaily adorned, marked out the road to be traversed by the victorious bands. They advanced between two rows of elephants, richly caparisoned, to the inspiring sound of martial music, accompanied by the salutes of the artillery, and the acclamations of a numerous multitude. Two days after Pollock's arrival, Nott's division crossed the Sutledge, bearing along with them the famous gates of Somnauth. The whole army being thus assembled, banquets, festivities, and other public rejoicings, engaged for many days the attention of the officers; while the sepoys were feasted with "mehtoy" (a favourite Indian sweetmeat); and all received more lasting marks of distinction, in the shape of decorations, medals, and orders.

Thus terminated the Afghan war, a campaign remarkable both for its disasters, and the able manner in which those disasters were retrieved. The misfortunes it entailed upon the Anglo-Indian army, together with the geographical difficulties of the country, and the hardihood of its inhabitants, will probably secure Afghanistan for many years from another English invasion.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE AMEERS OF SCINDE—APPOINTMENT OF SIR CHARLES NAPIER AS
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—TAKING OF EMAUM-GHUR—BATTLE OF MEL-
ANEE—SHERE MOHAMMED—BATTLE OF DUBBAR—BANISHMENT OF
THE AMEERS.

1842—1843.

SOME allusion has already been made to the hostile feeling towards the English manifested by the Ameers of Scinde at the commencement of the Afghan war. It will now be necessary to trace the full development of their designs, as well as to record the circumstances that led eventually to the annexation of their territory to the Company's dominions.

Scinde, called anciently Sindomania, comprises the regions situated near the mouths of the Indus, having Beloochistan for their western boundary, the Indian desert to the east, and the Punjaub, with Afghanistan, towards the north. The people were originally pagans; but, since their subjugation, in the seventh or eighth century, by the Mohammedans of Damascus, they have professed the religion of their conquerors. About the close of the eighteenth century they became subject to chieftains of the Talpoora race, a powerful Belooch tribe, who, descending from the mountains, seized upon the more fertile plain country, which they eventually shared between them, assuming the title of Ameers, or Lords of Scinde. Hence arose two branches, one being that of the Kyrpoor Ameers, or rulers of Upper Scinde; while the others entitled themselves the Hyderabad Ameers, or chiefs of Lower Scinde. Of these the latter

were considered the most powerful ; and from their number was generally chosen the wearer of the Rais Puggree, or turban of rule, a dignity that conferred a species of precedence on the possessor.

Since 1775, occasional intercourse had taken place between the Ameers of Scinde, and their powerful neighbours, the English rulers of Hindoostan. The voyage of Sir Alexander Burnes up the Indus, rendered the country bordering that river better known ; and in 1832 and 1834 commercial treaties were negotiated with its governors by Colonel Pottinger, who, during the course of the last-mentioned year, had been appointed envoy to the Ameers of Scinde. The demands of the English, however, and their apparent anxiety to navigate the river, awakened the suspicions of these barbarian chiefs, who constantly endeavoured to impede the traffic in every possible way.

At the period of Colonel Pottinger's visit, the Ameers were anticipating a Sikh invasion, which rendered them less averse to connect themselves with the British Government, whose influence over Runjeet Singh they imagined might possibly prove useful. They accordingly agreed to receive a British agent at Hyderabad, to be accompanied, if necessary, by an escort of sepoys. Soon after, the Afghan war broke out ; and the Ameers, being zealous Mohammedans, naturally felt disposed to side with their co-religionists against a nation whose creed they disliked, and whose political designs they suspected. The Persians laid siege to Herat, and Noor Mohammed, the chief of the Hyderabad Ameers, wrote to the Persian Government, while he entertained at his court a person of that nation who was suspected of being a secret political agent. Moreover, these princes felt greatly indignant at the tripartite treaty between Shah Sujah, the Seikhs, and the English, in pursuance of which the latter demanded from them extensive pecuniary assistance on behalf of the rightful sovereign of

Afghanistan. For these reasons inimical feelings existed on both sides ; and the Ameers, learning that they would soon be attacked by the Bombay army in its way to Afghanistan, raised a levy of 20,000 Beloochees, and prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity.

But their valour was not proof against the approach of Sir John Keane ; and they finally consented to support a subsidiary force ; to furnish a sum of 200,000*l.* towards the expenses of Shah Sujah ; to abolish all tolls on the Indus ; and even, if called upon, to supply auxiliaries for the purpose of co-operating with the allies in the Afghan war. The unfortunate issue of the Cabool expedition subsequently excited in the minds of the Ameers a hope that the time was come when they might emancipate themselves from conditions which they regarded as unwarrantably stringent and severe. Too feeble, or too timid, to declare open war against the English, they commenced a series of intrigues and annoyances, the hostile character of which was sufficiently patent, though not tangible enough to justify a formal invasion of their territory. When the English agents remonstrated, the Scindian chiefs equivocated, shuffled, and made fair-sounding promises, endeavouring, by falsehood and flattery, to avert present danger, though without the slightest intention of removing the grievances brought before their notice. Two of the number, however, Sobdar and Ali Moorad, proved themselves honourable exceptions to the general behaviour of their family.

Matters were in this doubtful position when Lord Ellenborough appointed Sir Charles Napier to direct the affairs of Scinde. That gallant veteran arrived at Hyderabad on the 19th of September, 1842, and immediately sought an interview with the princes of Lower Scinde. He was received with marked distinction, the royal palanquin being despatched for his use, while the younger members of the princely house advanced to meet him, at the distance of a quarter of a mile beyond

the city gates. In the court of the palace he found assembled a solemn Durbar or council, presided over by the Ameers themselves, who, covered with gorgeous robes and reclining on magnificent cushions, were awaiting the coming of their Feringhee guest. They showered upon him an abundance of those poetical compliments and urbane attentions in which even the most uneducated Orientals far surpass all other nations, while they watched eagerly for any indications of character that might hereafter be turned to account. Their visitor proved himself insensible to these delicate flatteries, and made known his sentiments in respect to the future with a degree of frankness which probably surprised his princely hosts. He let them know that he had already fathomed their deceitful policy, and was prepared to counteract it if necessary by an appeal to arms. His sentiments, in fact, were the echo of Lord Ellenborough's intimation addressed to the Ameers during the same year: "I will confide in your fidelity and in your friendship, until I have proofs of your faithlessness and of your hostility in my hands; but be assured, if I should obtain such proofs, no consideration shall induce me to permit you to exercise any longer a power you will have abused. On the day on which you shall be faithless to the English Government, sovereignty will have passed from you; your dominions will be given to others, and in your destitution all India will see that the British Government will not pardon an injury received from one it believed to be its friend."

Sir Charles Napier proceeded from Hyderabad to Sukkur, where he subsequently obtained proofs that the majority of the Ameers had violated the treaty by impeding the navigation of the Indus, holding intercourse with foreign states, oppressing British subjects, and carrying on various secret intrigues inimical to their professed allies. The two eldest princes, Nusseer and Roostum, were accused of making arrangements to pro-

claim a religious war against the English, the object of which would be their total expulsion from the region of Scinde.

The Ameer Roostum was more than eighty years of age, and had reduced himself by habitual intoxication to a state of imbecility. As, however, he possessed the Rais Puggree, or turban of command, he exercised considerable influence over the other Ameers—but in all matters of importance, this influence was really wielded by his sons and his chief minister, a determined opponent to British interests. The aged prince, being fully aware that he was only the tool of others, manifested some disposition to seek the protection of the English, but his constant vacillation, and the bad faith of those around him, rendered fruitless every attempt at negotiation. On the other hand, his younger brother, Ali Moorad, proved faithful throughout to the engagements he had entered into—a course of conduct which exempted him from the calamities that were shortly to overwhelm the other members of his family.

The Ameer Roostum and his brother were residing together in the fort of Dejee-Ka-Koti, while the former carried on negotiations with the English. He was said to have contemplated transferring to his own son, a turbulent and warlike chief, the turban of command, although by the law of Scinde Ali Moorad stood next in right of succession. The general opposed this arrangement, and pressed Roostum to detach himself from the intrigues of his family; but these exhortations proved unavailing, for the old Ameer finally abandoned his brother's castle, and placed all his influence at the disposal of the war party. Before his flight, however, he formally conferred upon Ali Moorad the Rais Puggree, and caused his abdication of this ensign of dignity to be witnessed and registered according to the customs of Mohammedan law.

In the month of December 1842 the war faction, dis-

heartened by the cession of the turban to Ali Moorad, quitted their capital, Kyrpoor, and effected a junction with Roostum in the desert. Their retreat placed the whole of Upper Scinde at the disposal of the English, while the retreating Ameers took up strong positions in the direction of Lower Scinde, whence they kept up an uninterrupted communication with their relatives of Hyderabad, and drew together large bodies of mercenary troops from the neighbouring province of Beloochistan.

The confederated chiefs resolved, if possible, to protract the time by negotiations until the commencement of the hot season, which they trusted would prove fatal to the invading host. In case the English advanced, the Kyrpoor chiefs were to retreat into the desert, and shelter themselves behind the walls of Emaum Ghur, a fortress which no European had ever seen, and to which no direct road existed. By adopting this course they imagined that they should induce the British troops to go on towards Hyderabad; in which case, the Kyrpoor force, suddenly emerging from their desert fastness, might threaten their rear, and cut off their communications with Roree.

Sir Charles Napier now determined to adopt a course, the bold daring of which he rightly judged would strike terror into a barbarous foe. He resolved to march direct to Emaum Ghur, and storm the invincible fortress. The difficulties of such an enterprise were innumerable. Situated in the midst of a desert, the approaches had been carefully concealed from all save the devoted followers of the Ameers. Even Ali Moorad seemed disinclined to aid his foreign allies in this particular, and the natives of the country shrank from exposing themselves to the terrible revenge of their tyrants by acting as guides. Undeterred by these considerations, the intrepid general began his march. The very night on which they set out the guide missed the track, an ominous commencement for so perilous an under-

taking. As they proceeded, forage and water failed; while the general was compelled to send back three-fourths of his cavalry.

After a tedious march of eight days, during which they frequently wanted water, and were obliged themselves to drag forward the heavy guns, the little band came in sight of Emaum Ghur. The walls were forty feet high, quadrangular in form, and constructed of well-burned bricks. They surrounded a tower composed of the same material—the whole structure being well adapted for a long and obstinate defence. But the troops found the fortress deserted, the enemy having fled in terror at their approach. Sir Charles Napier determined that it should no longer serve as a shelter to some future foe, and, after carefully removing the stores of grain, blew up the fort with gunpowder.

From hence he marched towards Kyrpoor, sending forward Major Outram, to invite the Ameers thither for the purpose of holding a conference. In the meantime it was discovered that Roostum, with a large body of followers, lay encamped not very far distant. He promised to accompany the envoy to Kyrpoor, but always made some excuses for not keeping his word. The Ameers of Hyderabad also sent deputies to the English general, to amuse him with insincere negotiations, until they were ready for striking a decisive blow.

No person came to Kyrpoor at the time appointed but a few Vakeels,* who endeavoured to cause delays, but possessed evidently no power to conclude any definitive treaty. The Ameers of Upper and Lower Scinde were assembled at Hyderabad, whither Roostum had also gone, unaccompanied however by his sons. Sir Charles Napier now despatched Major Outram to the chiefs, with orders that they should instantly disperse their armed bands, or prepare for an immediate attack. He found them indisposed for pacific measures, since they imagined

* Native political agents.

they could now fall upon the English with advantage. They had even arranged their plans of future vengeance. Every man, woman, and child in Scinde belonging to the hated race were to be assembled on the field of battle, and put to death without mercy. The general's life they determined to spare, that "a ring being put in his nose, he might be dragged in triumph by an iron chain, and fastened to the walls of their palace, as an example of their power and vengeance."*

For several days the Ameers continued to negotiate, hoping, it appeared afterwards, that they might entice the English general to Hyderabad. When they found their intrigues unavailing, they prepared for war, and assembled 30,000 Beloochees on the plains of Meeanee. Besides this force, Shere Mohammed lay at Meerpoor, with 10,000 men; the Chandians had crossed the Indus with an equal number, to the rear of the British camp; and the chiefs of Upper Scinde commanded 7,000, at Khoonhera. To oppose these four armies, Sir Charles Napier possessed only 2,800 men, but they were inspirited by their recent success at Emaum Ghur, and entertained the fullest confidence in their gallant leader.

In the meantime, the Ameers made a formidable attack upon the Residency at Hyderabad. Major Outram had at his disposal about 100 men; but he was supported by two war steamers on the river, and occupied a strong building of stone. The conflict lasted several hours, but although the enemy gained no positive advantage, want of ammunition obliged Major Outram to embark his men on board the steam vessels, and proceed with them to head quarters. On this occasion the English lost only three men.

The main body of the army now advanced towards Meeanee, where the Ameers had taken up a strong position in the dry bed of the River Fullaillee. They mustered from 30,000 to 40,000 men—5,000 being

* Napier, Conquest of Scinde.

cavalry; and brought into the field fifteen guns. The high bank of the river formed a natural rampart, before it was stationed the artillery, which opened its fire upon the British line as they took their position, with a small wood at each flank. Between the armies extended a plain partially covered with low brushwood.

An opening in the left-hand wood being occupied by the grenadiers of the 22d, under Captain Tew, the British troops advanced in column towards the enemy's front. In spite of a heavy fire from cannon and matchlocks, they pushed forward to the foot of the bank, and then, throwing in a hasty discharge, rushed up the acclivity, and poured down furiously on the sheltered foe. The sight they beheld might have arrested less determined warriors. "Thick as standing corn," says the historian, "and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochees, in their many-coloured garments and turbans; they filled the deep, broad bed of the Fullaillee; they clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords, beaming in the sun, their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they rushed forwards, and full against the front of the 22d, dashed with demoniac strength and ferocity."*

A fierce bayonet-charge rolled back the front rank, but the Beloochees disputed obstinately every foot of ground. Throwing before them their large shields, they encountered the bayonets with their swords, leaping upon the guns, and perfectly heedless of the certain destruction they thus provoked. Several times the Europeans were obliged to give way, but the general and his officers pressed forward into the front of battle and encouraged their men to recover the lost position. For three hours the conflict raged with unremitting fury, until a charge of cavalry on the Ameers' right

* Napier, Conquest of Scinde.

flank threw the Beloochees into confusion, while another corps attacked them on the opposite side. They now began to retreat, although a portion of the right wing still stood firm; but these being mowed down by the British artillery, finally followed their companions. The enemy lost in this battle six thousand men, the Europeans about seventy, while nearly all the officers were wounded.

The next morning the victorious general summoned the Ameers to surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, that he would storm Hyderabad. Six of them accordingly made their appearance in his camp, and tendered their swords as a mark of submission. Their weapons having been returned, and themselves treated with courtesy, the army advanced in the direction of Hyderabad, which they entered on the 20th of February, 1843.

While the British troops were occupying Hyderabad, Shere Mohammed, Ameer of Meerpoor, was augmenting his army daily from the numerous fugitives that had escaped the English bayonets at Meeanee. He took up a position not far from the city, and opened communications with the captive Ameers. At first the latter had been suffered to inhabit their residences in Hyderabad, but their intrigues soon rendered it necessary that they should be sent on board a steamer, and vigilantly guarded.

After several skirmishes, in which the English proved victorious, Shere Mohammed took up his position near the village of Dubba, his principal troops being composed of the Seedees, slaves of Arab race, who notwithstanding their servile condition, defended bravely the cause of their Scindian lords. The chief of these valiant serfs was Hoche Mohammed, a native of Egypt, by whose counsels most of the recent military movements had been directed. Under his superintendence the Belooch army occupied two nullahs, or ravines, the high banks being scarp'd so as to form a parapet, while a strong detach-

ment filled the houses in the village of Dubba. To the left of the enemy, one of their corps was stationed in a small wood, or jungle, being supported by a division posted in a ravine going off diagonally from the front towards the rear.

The English horse artillery began the action by making an attack on the enemy's extreme right, while the infantry in masses assailed the first nullah. The combat became most deadly when the brave Lieutenant Coote mounted the bank, and waved from its summit a captured Belooch standard. He fell almost immediately, mortally wounded, as his soldiers with loud shouts rushed upon the swordsmen beneath, and forced them back to the second nullah. There the strife recommenced, but, after a fearful slaughter, the British burst their way through and attacked the village of Dubba. It was bravely defended by men who set no value on their own lives or those of their opponents, but charges of the English cavalry and horse artillery upon their flanks had now completely thrown the Beloochees into confusion, and silenced their guns. In a short time they were flying in confusion from the field of battle, hotly pursued by the English and native regiments. Among their killed was the brave Hoche, and several other chieftains of reputation.

The next day the English cavalry arrived at Meerpoor, forty miles from the field of battle, and the capital of Shere Mohammed. He deserted it before they reached the gates, and escaped with his family through the desert to Omercote. Thither the British followed him, and finding the town abandoned, took military possession of the streets, the citadel being occupied by the late garrison, who had retreated into it. They soon surrendered, upon condition that their lives should be spared; and the English general, placing a small corps in Omercote, concentrated his whole army at Meerpoor.

Sir Charles Napier being now appointed governor of

Scinde, employed himself in conciliating or overawing the various warlike chieftains whose power or influence might prove inimical to the English. The two most to be feared were Shere Mohammed and Ali Mohammed, of Kyrpoor. The former, after wandering about for some time in the desert, and striving to augment his army from every possible source, attacked Colonel Jacob near Shahdadpoor, but at the commencement of the action his troops deserted, and their leader, having no hopes of raising another force, sought refuge among the hill tribes to the north of Shikarpoor, where he was soon after joined by Ali Mohammed. The rest of the Ameers had been removed to Bombay, but neither their absence nor their captivity excited much commiseration or regret among their late subjects. Like the majority of Mohammedan rulers, they were barbarous and tyrannical to those under their sway, faithless in their engagements, and diametrically opposed to the introduction of commerce into their dominions. Passionately fond of the chase, they ruined whole villages to form hunting-grounds, being utterly reckless of the sufferings endured by their subjects when the interests of the latter were opposed to their own selfish gratification. Into the delicate political questions connected with the dethronement or imprisonment of the Ameers, a work of this kind cannot enter; but it may be questioned whether the most zealous of their English advocates would willingly exchange for such a sway the freedom and equity inseparable from British rule.

CHAPTER XXX.

TROUBLES IN GWALIOR—RECAL OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH—THE SEIKHS
 —NANUK—GOVIND—COMMOTIONS AT LAHORE AFTER THE DEATH
 OF RUNJEET SINGH—WAR DECLARED—BATTLES OF MOODKEE AND
 PHEEROOSHURH—VICTORY AT ALEEWAL—BATTLE OF SOBBAON—
 SURRENDER OF LAHORE—ARRIVAL OF LORD DALHOUSIE—TROUBLES IN
 MOULTAN—LIEUTENANT EDWARDS—SIEGE OF MOULTAN—CAPTURE
 OF MOOL-RAJ—BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLAH—CONCLUSION.

1843—1849.

DURING the year 1843, some disturbances took place among the Mahrattas of Gwalior. A young prince, Tyajee Row Scindia, had recently succeeded to the supreme authority, and being a minor, the regency was conferred upon his mother, who afterwards, with the consent of her principal chiefs, made over that dignity to a noble, named Mama Sahib. Subsequently, this person was driven from Gwalior by the intrigues of the princess, who henceforth bestowed her confidence on statesmen inimical to the English government. The Resident's remonstrances were treated with contempt, factions and conspiracies prevailed in every part of the country, and an assemblage of persons bent upon hostile measures possessed themselves, unopposed, of the principal offices in the state.

During the month of December 1843, Lord Ellenborough, accompanied by Sir Hugh Gough, penetrated into the Gwalior territories from Ama, at the head of one division of the invading force, while a second, under Major-General Grey, advanced from Bundelkund. In the meantime, the Mahrattas despatched an army to meet Sir Hugh Gough, whom they encountered near the town of Maha-rajpoor. The English commenced

the attack in column, but suffered considerably from the enemy's artillery. Undismayed, however, by their severe loss, the troops pushed on, and charging the Mahrattas with the bayonet, very soon threw them into confusion. They endeavoured to make a stand in the village of Maha-rajpoor, and obstinately defended every inch of ground, but, at length, the English, attacking it from the rear, obliged the enemy to evacuate their post. The Mahrattas lost on this occasion all their artillery, while more than 3,000 of their number were either killed or wounded. On the same day, Major-General Grey defeated a strong detachment at Punniar, and the Durbar not being able any longer to oppose an enemy who had twice in succession proved so signally victorious, sent envoys to negotiate a peace. The treaty was accordingly arranged, by which the English obtained possession of a fort near the capital, the Mahrattas agreeing also to disband their troops and receive into their country a subsidiary force.

Soon after these events, the Court of Directors thought fit to recal Lord Ellenborough from his post of governor-general. His departure was greatly regretted by the army, but the civilians, whom he had been thought to dislike and overlook, beheld that event with indifference, if not with positive satisfaction. Sir Henry Hardinge, already well known by an honourable military career in Spain, received almost immediately the vacant appointment.

The new governor quitted England profoundly impressed with the advantages of a pacific policy, but circumstances soon occurred that obliged him to unsheath the sword. Since the death of Runjeet Singh, the Seikhs had been growing every day more disorganized, in consequence of their domestic feuds and intestine divisions. This singular race, which first came into political existence during the sixteenth century, owed its religious constitution to Nanuk and Govind.

The former was born in the year 1469, near Lahore. His father being only a small tradesman, inhabiting a remote northern village, his education could scarcely have extended beyond the first rudiments of knowledge. Yet he was well versed in the Koran and Shasters, and comprehended thoroughly the Hindoo and Mohammedan systems. At an early age strong religious emotions arose in his mind; he grew dissatisfied with his family creed, and wandered through India, seeking for truth. After a long pilgrimage, he returned home without feeling himself convinced either by the Mohammedan or the Hindoo. From that time he became desirous of effecting a species of compromise between the doctrines of both these systems. He rejected the manifold deities of the Brahmins, believing God to be one and invisible. The supreme Lord, he taught, would reward men according to their works of piety and virtue when the day of reckoning arrived, in which punishment should certainly overtake the sinner. Like the Brahmins, he admitted into his new creed the doctrine of transmigration, by which the soul, passing through different bodies, is thus gradually purified from its transgressions. Disclaiming the power of working miracles, he forbade his disciples to consider him as an inspired teacher, while he looked upon Mohammed and the founders of Brahminism as having been raised up by God to promulgate certain beneficial though diverse portions of divine truth. He inculcated the duty of universal toleration, and discountenanced, though he did not declare sinful, the favourite asceticism of his countrymen.

After the death of Nanuk, his disciple, Unggud, succeeded to the post of Gooroo, or religious instructor. He committed to writing many of the lessons and actions of the deceased, but did little to enlarge the numbers of the sect. One of his successors, Arjoon, first attempted, in 1581, the organization of "the disciples" (Seikhs). He embodied in a volume, called Grunth, or "the Book,"

the various devotional compositions of the preceding Gooroos, exacted an annual tax from his followers, and taught them to consider Amritsir as their holy city. The son of Arjoon, Hur Govind, added to the pursuits of a religious teacher the somewhat incongruous characters of a soldier and a huntsman. Like Romulus, he admitted robbers and fugitives among his followers, and if contemporary writers speak the truth, appeared indifferent as to the morality of their future conduct. Eight hundred horses stood ready in his stables for the toils of war, or the pleasures of the chase; while a guard of sixty matchlock men guarded his person from the attacks of his numerous enemies.

The Seikh Gooroos now aspired to the functions of governors and military leaders; the number of their followers increased daily, and in 1675 Tegh Bahadur openly revolted against the Emperor Aurungzeeb. Being made captive, he was beheaded at Delhi. The fierce Mogul commanded that the corpse of the infidel should be exposed in the public streets; but before his execution the unfortunate Gooroo had transmitted to his son, Govind, his authority over the Seikhs, and the task of revenging his death.

After spending some time in retirement and meditation, Govind convoked an assembly of his followers to receive from him the outline of a new system, based, indeed, upon the precepts of past sages, but embracing other objects and different ends. Henceforth they were to believe in one God dwelling in the Khâlisa, or "special people," among whom caste could no longer exist, and who were severally to be known by the appellation of Singh (soldier). He then chose five disciples, who conferred upon him the Pahul, or rite of initiation, which he afterwards communicated to the multitude, declaring that from this time five Seikhs should constitute a lawful congregation.

Bunda, the successor of Govind, incurred the dis-

pleasure of the Mogul court, and perished by a cruel and ignominious death at Delhi. But the tenets of Nanuk, though openly proscribed under the Moham-medan viceroy of Lahore, had taken deep root in the minds of the people. The growing weakness of the Moguls at length encouraged the Seikhs to assert their faith more openly, and before 1758 the Khâlsa was proclaimed to be a state, while its chiefs took formal possession of Lahore.

Under Runjeet Singh the Seikhs became, next to the British, the most powerful nation on the Indian continent; their armies were organized by European officers and their territorial acquisitions encroached upon the kingdom of Afghanistan, towards the west, while they joined the possessions of the Company to the East. Runjeet Singh, with that acuteness of calculation which specially distinguishes an able politician, understood at once the advantages to be derived from a friendly intercourse with his European neighbours. While he lived he avoided as much as possible a collision with the East Indian Government, but after his death various changes occurred in the internal government of his kingdom, which eventually produced among the Seikhs a feeling of hostility towards their English allies.

The immediate successor of Runjeet, and his son, Nao-Nihal-Singh, each died within a few days of each other, soon after the decease of the "Lion of Lahore." The minister, Dhian Singh, then elevated to the throne a reputed son of Runjeet, named Sher Singh, who, although voluptuous and indolent, possessed the confidence and affections of the army. But the intrigues of Mace Chund Koar, the daughter-in-law of Runjeet, and mother of Nao-Nihal-Singh, raised up enemies against the new prince, who was finally expelled from Lahore. Mace Chund, however, found herself unable to govern a turbulent soldiery, who despised the authority of a woman, and Sher Singh once more regained his throne. He did

not retain it long, for soon afterwards he was assassinated at the instigation of his ambitious vizier. The conspirator perished in the same manner by the hands of his own agents, who attempted also to seize his son Heera Singh.

This youth, however, on learning the death of his father, assembled the principal officers of the army, and implored them to espouse his cause. The European Generals Ventura and Avitabile agreed to support him and avenge the vizier's murder. They marched into the city accompanied by several Sirdars, and having committed fearful excesses, installed Heera Singh as minister to the infant Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, whom the conspirators had proclaimed sovereign of Lahore.

Heera Singh did not long survive his father, being soon after murdered in his turn, as was also another vizier, Jowahir Singh. These constant assassinations deterred any of the Sikh nobles from seeking or accepting an office so environed with perils, and the chief authority fell into the hands of the army, who exercised it principally through their "Punches" or "Punchayets," committees of five, at whose periodical meetings the affairs of the Khâlsa were discussed, and the general business of the country carried on. The army offered the post of vizier to Gholab Singh, the brother of the murdered minister, Dhian Singh, but he declined the dangerous honour, more especially when he found that the troops contemplated an invasion of the Company's territories. They were impelled to this destructive policy by various intriguing nobles, who, without assuming any public functions, diffused hostile rumours through the various Punchayets.

At length the army began to move from Lahore towards the Sutlej, which they crossed on the 11th of December 1845, and three days afterwards took up a position near Ferozepoor. The Sikhs having thus commenced hostilities, the governor-general repaired to Ambala, where he met the commander-in-chief, and

both proceeded to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign. The three nearest divisions of the English army amounted altogether to 17,000 men in number, while the Seikhs mustered nearly 40,000, supported by 150 pieces of cannon.

Notwithstanding the republican form of the Khâlsa, it was found necessary to appoint certain generals to superintend the movements of the several corps, and to direct during the absence of the army the internal affairs of Lahore. Lal Singh was accordingly elected vizier, while Tej Singh commanded in the field. Both entertained selfish views, and seemed desirous to promote their own aggrandizement at the expense of the national interest. The venality of their leaders presented a striking contrast to the enthusiasm of the soldiers, each of whom considered the cause of the Khâlsa as his own. Impelled by this honourable feeling, there was no labour that appeared too servile or too arduous. The men acted occasionally as pioneers; they loaded boats, cut down trees, dragged the guns, and performed cheerfully all the offices of camp-followers.

A large detachment of Seikhs advanced on the 18th of December to the village of Moodkee, where they attacked two divisions of the British, while the latter were taking up their ground. The English repulsed their antagonists with considerable loss, and captured seventeen guns, but found themselves compelled to effect a junction with Sir John Littler's division before they could take advantage of this success. The main body of the Seikhs occupied the village of Pheerooshur, which they had strengthened by the erection of several batteries. An hour before sunset on the 21st, the English forces assailed their position in two lines, the artillery being in the centre. The battle commenced with a furious fire from the British guns which were gradually brought up to a point within 300 yards of the Seikh batteries. Finding, however, that they could

not silence the enemy's cannonade, the English infantry charged the gunners and drove them from their posts: but owing to some forage being on fire, and the darkness of the night, the men fell into confusion, and it was deemed advisable not to occupy the position thus gained.

About midnight the Seikhs returned, and finding their opponents retiring, brought up some fresh guns, with which they opened a cannonade on the retreating columns. The governor-general detached the 80th regiment against them, who spiked three guns and repulsed the enemy for the present: but the situation of the English was hourly becoming more critical, as the different corps were separated from each other, and the amount of the enemy's force had not been fully ascertained. The Seikhs exhibited both bravery and skill, and might have proved victorious but for the treachery or incapacity of their generals. These men being desirous of engrossing the irresponsible direction of affairs at Lahore, were not unwilling that the power of the Khâlsa should be broken, trusting to make their own terms with the English afterwards.

The latter held their ground during the night, and in the morning recovered the batteries; but they had scarcely done so before the second line of the enemy appeared under the command of Tej Singh. The Khâlsa urged their leader to attack the English at once, but he contented himself with mere feints, and finally withdrew towards the Sutlej, which he crossed without opposition.

The loss sustained by the British army was severe, amounting to 694 killed, and 1,721 wounded. The governor-general used every exertion to provide for the comfort of the latter; he visited the men continually in person, and addressed to the sufferers kind words of consolation and encouragement.

In the meantime, the Seikhs, perceiving the inac-

tivity of their enemies, who made no attempt to cross the river, determined themselves to try the issue of another battle. With this view they threw a bridge of boats over the Sutlej, and threatening Loodiana, placed a small corps in the neighbouring village of Buddowâl. Sir Harry Smith advanced with about 7,000 men to protect Loodiana, but on his way thither, he was assailed by a Seikh force under Runjor Singh, who plundered his baggage, but did not prevent his troops from reaching their destination.

The followers of Govind were now filled with exultation, and even their leaders began to think the Khâlsa stronger than they had anticipated it would prove when matched against the invincible English. The prudent Gholab Singh issued from the retirement to which he had betaken himself, and took part in the debates at Lahore. His known political talents rendered the leaders of the army desirous of securing his services for the benefit of the common cause; but the wisdom of his counsels proved incapable of maintaining the current of success in full flow.

On the 22d of January, Runjor Singh relinquished his post at Buddowâl, and appeared about to pass the river fifteen miles below Loodiana. Sir H. Smith, being reinforced by the arrival of a brigade from the main body, occupied the abandoned village, and six days afterwards marched forward with 11,000 men to watch the movements of the enemy. During the advance he learned that the Seikhs intended to cut off, if possible, the British line of communication with the Jumna; and in a short time a large detachment of them were observed on their route towards Jugrâon. Fearing lest they should be taken in flank, the corps wheeled round and faced the English, the extremities of their line resting upon the villages of Boondree and Aleewâl. It was evident that they contemplated an action, for the soldiers in front immediately busied

themselves in casting up embankments and dragging forward guns.

The British commander resolved not to decline a battle, and having drawn up his men in due form, commenced the engagement by an attack on the village of Aleewâl. Its defenders evinced less resolution than their countrymen had hitherto exhibited ; they poured in a straggling fire upon the assailants, and abandoned their position, leaving the artillery at the mercy of the conquerors. Just then also the left wing gave way before a vehement charge from the English cavalry, but the right still remained stationary, offering a steady and determined opposition. At length, after a desperate struggle, the Seikhs retired and attempted to rally under the cover of Boondree, but their efforts proved ineffectual ; and finally, they were obliged to repass the Sutlej, leaving behind them fifty pieces of cannon.

The victory of Aleewâl depressed the rising hopes of the Seikhs, and cooled the suddenly awakened patriotism of Gholab Singh. But the main body of the troops preserved unchanged their enthusiasm for the Khâlsa, and their belief in the high destinies of their nation. They had among them some European officers, whose scientific arrangements and military experience were of considerable service, but they wanted on all occasions a great national leader, who could at once arouse and direct their martial fervour. To awaken the religious feelings of his countrymen, a venerable chief, Shâm Singh, of Aturee, announced his intention of sacrificing himself as a propitiation for his race, in the approaching encounter with the enemy on the banks of the Sutlej.

Both parties remained inactive until the beginning of February, the Seikhs being engaged with their works near Sobraon, while Sir Hugh Gough expected some more reinforcements. The spirits of the English troops had been raised by the victory of Aleewâl, and intelligence reached them that the hero of Meeanee, Sir

Charles Napier, was on his march through Moultan, with the army of Scinde, for the purpose of joining Sir Hugh Gough. At length the English prepared, on the 10th of February, 1846, for the passage of the Sutlej. The troops commenced their march before daybreak, and by six o'clock were ranged with their faces towards the bank of the river having their artillery disposed in semi-circular form, so that the fire might be concentrated on the Seikh batteries. A thick haze concealed for some time the opposing armies from each other, till at length, dispelled by the bright sunbeams, it melted away, and exposed to view the defences of Sobraon, crowded with the armed champions of the mystic Khâlsa, who were preparing at all hazards to intercept the enemy's advance to the Sutlej.

And now the cannonade opened on both sides, the deep sound of the guns being reverberated from the hollow shores, while countless rockets winged their fiery flight through the fresh morning air. It was quickly seen, however, that the distant firing must soon be exchanged for a close conflict, since the works of the Seikhs were so constructed as to protect their men in a great measure from the balls and rockets. A French officer told Tej Singh that the English would find these defences impregnable, but the result of the experiment now about to be tried quickly proved the fallacy of this prophecy.

A line of English infantry, supported by horse artillery, formed at nine o'clock to assault the works. They moved on under a sharp fire, which made the troops pause for a few minutes as though irresolute. Soon, however, they resumed their onward progress, charged boldly up to the enemy, and gained possession of the entrenchments. As they stood upon the ramparts fresh guns opened upon them from the interior of the Seikh camp, as another division advanced from the main body to the rescue. These troops came direct against the

centre of the fortifications where the enemy was strongest, and for some time sustained severe losses. The Seikhs, being posted behind high walls that could not be climbed, fired at their leisure upon the unsheltered English, who retreated three times before the victorious foe. The followers of Govind had learned from him no lessons of mercy, since they destroyed savagely all the wounded men, neither giving nor receiving quarter.

Orders were now given that a simultaneous attack should be made on both the Sikh flanks, while Sir Joseph Thackwell and his dragoons rode in between the interstices of the entrenchments, and put their defenders to the sword. The cowardly Tej Singh fled at the commencement of the attack, which left the Seikhs during the latter part of the action without a general. And then as the English horse were riding fiercely over the sons of the Khâlsa, Shâm Singh determined to accomplish the vow he had uttered before the day of battle.—Clothed in white, the emblem of death, he exhorted those around him to fight manfully for the Gooroo, and expect Paradise as the reward of valour. When his soldiers gave way, he rallied them by his words and example, until he sank, covered with wounds upon a heap of slain.

Nearly all the works had been carried by this time; and immense masses of the enemy, unable to offer further resistance, endeavoured to escape by passing the river. The artillery poured its volleys on them as they swam across, and vast multitudes never reached the other side. When night closed that sanguinary day, a few miserable fugitives were all that remained of the brave though sanguinary champions of the Khâlsa. The British army crossed the Sutlej during the night and morning after the battle, but encountered no opposition as they marched to Lahore. Here they were joined by the Scinde troops under Sir Charles Napier; and the Seikhs, finding that they could no longer maintain

their ground, commissioned Gholab Singh to open a negotiation with the conquerors. That wily chief now took upon himself to act as mediator between the contending parties; and peace was finally made on condition that a million and a half sterling should be paid to the English, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and that the Seikhs should surrender the territory between the Beas and the Sutlej rivers. This tract of country, with the kingdom of Cashmere, was finally erected into a principality, the government of which the English conferred upon Gholab Singh as a reward for his good offices in arranging the articles of the peace.

The young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh still retained possession of the throne of Lahore, Lal Singh being allowed to continue chief minister. The latter, however, and indeed most of the Lahore authorities, petitioned that the English would leave a garrison behind for at least a twelvemonth, to protect them against their turbulent countrymen. Their request having been acceded to, the Seikh army, once so formidable, was paid off and disbanded; but notwithstanding the withdrawal of this disorderly element, the ministers retained their apprehensions, and after the year had expired begged that the troops might not be withdrawn until the young prince attained his majority. Rather than hazard another revolution in the Punjaub, the governor-general consented to this arrangement as the most effectual means of rendering peace perpetual.

Various internal measures of a beneficial tendency owed their origin to Sir Henry Hardinge. His envoys were enabled to suppress infanticide, suttees, and man-stealing, in various regions and among wild tribes not yet thoroughly subjugated or brought entirely hitherto under the humanizing influence of the British rule. Through the exertions of the governor-general, now promoted to the peerage, the communications between different districts were improved, and several burden-

some taxes remitted. He encouraged education among the Hindoos and Mohammedans, and by a special regulation discountenanced the desecration of the Lord's-day. It is, perhaps, however, to be regretted that another edict restricted all persons in the Company's service from aiding or assisting missionary efforts for the diffusion of Christian truth throughout the continent of Hindoostan. While no sincere believer in a system of peace and good-will could wish to behold the divine doctrines of his holy faith propagated by persecution, or enforced by the secular arm, it seems in no way right or desirable that a nation like Great Britain should be ashamed of its religion, or shrink from openly proclaiming the superiority of the Gospel to the corrupt dogmas of the Veda and Koran. Such a policy also is least of all qualified to conciliate the respect of Orientals, who being themselves deeply interested in religious questions, regard with abhorrence and contempt those who neglect or feel indifferent to the concerns of another life.

The Earl of Dalhousie succeeded Lord Hardinge as governor-general of India, during the year 1848, an era memorable for what might be correctly termed the second Seikh war. It derived its origin from the dastardly murder of two British officers in the neighbourhood of Mooltan. That city is the capital of a province bearing the same name, bounded on the south-east and north-west by the rivers Ghara (the Hyphasis), and Chenaub (the Acesines). The inhabitants are Seikhs, and at this period were governed by Mool-Raj, an ambitious chieftain, who had already given the government of Lahore some trouble during the administration of Heera Singh. Being now suspected of intriguing against the English, it was contemplated that he should be deposed and the Sirdar Khan Singh appointed in his room. The assistant to the resident at Lahore, Mr. Vans Agnew, with Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay Fusi-

leers, went down to Mooltan for the purpose of carrying these arrangements into effect, but were both barbarously murdered at a small fort near the city.

When first attacked Mr. Vans Agnew sent an express to General Cortlandt at Dera Futteh Khan, near Bunnoo, and also forwarded intelligence to the resident, Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore. Lieutenant Edwardes, who received the former, immediately made preparations for marching to the assistance of his countrymen; twelve hundred soldiers accompanied him, and after some difficulty had been experienced in procuring boats for the passage of the Indus, they reached the opposite bank, having lost eight of their number by the upsetting of a boat.

Lieutenant Edwardes now took up his position at Leiah, and summoned all the friendly chiefs of the adjacent regions to send in contingents to his camp. The rebels in Mooltan meanwhile were not idle, but laboured assiduously at their defences, and issued proclamations in the name of the Khâlsa, calling on all true Seikhs to rise and rescue the Maharajah and his mother from the tyranny of the English. After a few days had elapsed, Lieutenant Edwardes found himself obliged to recross the Indus, as he suspected the fidelity of his Seikh soldiers, and heard that a large detachment from Mooltan was on its way to attack him. Our outposts remained at Leiah, having orders to retire if hard pressed by the enemy, but having received a reinforcement of 200 men, they boldly awaited their approach.

On the 16th of June a body of 400 horse with ten guns advanced to Leiah, and suffered a repulse, being finally obliged to retreat and abandon their artillery.

Lieutenant Edwardes now entered into communication with Bhawul Khan, a Mohammedan Sirdar, who had long been inimical to Mool-Raj. He exhorted that chief to advance to the assistance of himself and General Cortlandt, as both were threatened with a fresh attack,

and neither could rely implicitly on their Seikh soldiers. In the month of June an engagement took place between Edwardes and the Mooltanese, in which the latter being defeated Mool-Raj fell back on his capital.

After various skirmishes the English commenced the siege of Mooltan, Lieutenant Edwardes having been reinforced by General Whish, who took the command of the entire forces. It soon, however, became evident that the Seikh auxiliaries could not be trusted, a revolt broke out in the Hazarah province, and finally Sheer Singh, who had been sent from Lahore to take Mooltan, went over to the enemy with 5,000 men.

During the autumn Sheer Singh joined Chutter Singh, the rebel chief of Hazarah, and both with a combined force of 30,000 men took up their position at Ramnuggur on the bank of the river Chenaub. In November the British army assembled at Sahurun, where their leader, Lord Gough, joined them on the 21st. Before daybreak on the morning of the 22d, the advanced guard under the commander-in-chief began their march towards the Seikh position. As the English approached and opened their fire, the enemy retired before them, but the Seikhs soon commenced a furious cannonade, which obliged their opponents in turn to retreat with the loss of a gun. The dragoons then made several brilliant charges, but could not sustain the fire poured in upon them from the various nullahs and entrenchments in which the Seikhs lay almost concealed. The gallant Colonel Havelock led on the 14th regiment into the face of the enemy, and heedless of their determined resistance drove them in confusion from a high bank where they were posted. The horses, however, being impeded by the heavy sand, and the Seikh batteries playing upon them from all directions, the greater part of the brave band never returned alive. The commander-in-chief, finding himself unable to make any impression upon the enemy, finally withdrew his

men, and Sheer Singh soon afterwards broke up his camp and marched towards the Jhelum.

In the meantime General Whish was pressing the siege of Mooltan, which the Seikhs defended with obstinate valour. Notwithstanding the explosion of the powder magazine, Mool-Raj refused every summons to surrender, and declared his intention of holding out to the last. The town was taken by storm, and he then sought refuge in the citadel; but at length finding further resistance unavailing he gave himself up, and after inhabiting for a short time one of his own country houses, was conducted under a strong guard to Lahore, where his trial for the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson, subsequently occurred.

On the 12th of January, 1849, Lord Gough's army encamped at Dinghee, eight miles from the Sikh position at Russoul. On the next day, the English moved forward with the design of turning the enemy's left, but upon reaching the village of Chillianwallah, orders were issued to mark out ground for tents, the general-in-chief having resolved to postpone an engagement till the morrow. While, however, the necessary preparations were being commenced, the Seikhs opened their fire unexpectedly, and the troops immediately got under arms. The nature of the ground proved remarkably unfavourable to military operations, since it was covered in every direction by thick jungle or brushwood, in the midst of which the troops could not execute their manœuvres.

An advance of the English cavalry made inopportunistically, occasioned some confusion at the commencement of the action, and enabled the enemy to carry off some of the guns, while a large detachment of them assailed the British right. Here, however, Gilbert's brigade received them with unflinching bravery, and being well supported by the guns of Captain Dawes, drove the Seikhs back with terrific slaughter. Pennycuick's

brigade advanced in the same line with Gilbert's, but when they approached near the Seikh lines, the enemy poured in a heavy volley of grape and round shot, which broke their ranks and threw them into inextricable confusion. The Seikhs now rushed upon the unfortunate men with their sharp tulwars, sparing no one, and utterly heedless of entreaties for mercy.

After some more hard fighting, by which both sides suffered exceedingly, Lord Gough concentrated his men near Chillian, as night was now rapidly drawing on. The surgeons were now actively employed in their melancholy work among the troops, and their exertions for the benefit of the men's bodies were nobly rivalled by the labours of Mr. Whiting, the chaplain, for the spiritual welfare of those under his charge. This noble-minded clergyman exposed himself to countless dangers in the performance of his duty, particularly while burying the corpses of the unfortunate men who had fallen among the jungles. During the heat of the conflict, he remonstrated with a body of cavalry, who were retiring before the enemy, and induced them to retrace their steps.

On the 15th of February, the Seikhs quitted Russoul, closely followed by Lord Gough. They moved toward Goojerat, a town held in great esteem as having been hitherto invariably the scene of victory to the Khâlsa. On the 21st, the two armies were again opposed to each other, on the extensive plain near Goojerat. The Seikhs had chosen their position well. Their infantry and artillery occupied the dry bed of a river, a small nullah affording shelter to the left wing.

Notwithstanding these advantages, however, the Seikhs suffered severely from the English guns, and abandoning their entrenchments, retreated to the village of Burra Kaha, where they defended themselves stoutly against the storming brigade. This post, however, and another at Chowta Kabrah, were finally carried, and repeated

charges of the Seikh cavalry bravely repulsed. Among their horse was a body of Afghan auxiliaries, under Ahram Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed, but they were soon routed, and their flight proved a prelude to that of the whole Seikh army. They rushed from the field on all sides, leaving guns, ammunition, and tents, to the victors, whose stern dragoons followed up the fugitives, and inflicted a fearful slaughter among them.

The Seikh chieftains, finding their cause desperate, surrendered themselves to the British commander. The Afghans effected their retreat to Afghanistan, and the fortress of Attock, which had been taken by the Seikhs, now fell once more into the hands of the English. The independence of the Khâlsa has been completely destroyed by the annexation of the Punjaub, but the hopes of its votaries are said to have survived the sanguinary defeats they have sustained in its behalf. They compare their system to an infant, feeble and weak at present, but destined hereafter to reach maturity, and exercise a powerful influence over the destinies of Hindoostan.

In concluding this brief sketch of the history of a country, so deservedly interesting to every English reader, I cannot refrain from commenting upon the singular rise and wonderful development of the British power in the east. The humble and feeble exotic, transplanted from the cold regions of the north, seemed likely to wither at first beneath the scorching rays of an Oriental sun ; but it has since become a mighty tree, sheltering beneath its ample branches and protecting shade, those who despised its lowliness and prophesied its destruction. A new kingdom, owing its origin to a company of English merchants, has outlasted the ancient dynasties of Ghengis and Timour ; while the influence of English literature and science is modifying, if not gradually changing, the habits and customs that have hitherto seemed almost immutable. Events yet

concealed in the womb of time may, perhaps, one day erect the spiritual temple of Christianity, upon the ruined shrines of Hindoo idolatry and Mohammedan scepticism. One thing, however, seems clear, that God has not made over to our keeping this fine country to gratify the avarice, the luxury, or the ambition, of its governors. It is strictly a trust for which we are responsible, and which will be taken from us when we cease to administer it aright. What the future of India may be, none can tell; whether it is destined to remain ours, only One doth know; but we shall certainly be performing our duty both to Him and to our fellow-men, if we labour assiduously for the moral and spiritual welfare of those committed to our charge; and leave for the admiration of posterity a nobler and more lasting memorial, than the Grecian temple or the Roman triumphal arch.

THE END.