

imperial standard with a considerable force, Shah Alum doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to Patna, which had been left almost void of troops. Mr. Fullerton, a Scotch surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were gallantly repulsed by the English factory ; but at length, the weak rampart was scaled by the French, and hope was nearly abandoned by the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox, who had rapidly marched from Moorshedabad, in the hottest season of the Bengal year, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works.

A few days after, Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces, and about 300 native horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna and completely defeated the naib of Purneah with his 12,000 men. The naib was hotly pursued by Colonel Calliaud and Miran. But on the 2nd of July, the fourth day of the chase, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and on that night, the tent of Miran was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendance. After this evil omen, Miran's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna. He quartered his troops in and round that important place. But Miran's people went to Moorshedabad, where they threatened the life of their ruler Mir Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of arrears. Other bodies of discontented men took up arms against the old Nabob, whose coffers were quite empty. The weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Mahrattas.

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

Governor Vansittart went in person to Moorshedabad, with a strong armed force, to induce Mir Jaffier to resign his power into the hands of his son-in-law. The old nabob hesitated, but his palace was surrounded by troops, his own

army declared against him, and thereupon he sent out the seals to Mir Cossim, and offered to resign if the English would only be security for his life. The old man with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, the only place where he could be safe ; and his son-in-law, Mir Cossim Ali, was proclaimed nabob. Having procured some money, the new ruler paid the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, and sent six or seven lacs of rupees to the treasury at Calcutta.

In the month of January, 1761, Major Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Calliaud, advanced from Patna against the Mogul Shah Alum, who was once more making head in the province of Bahar. Carnac gained an easy and complete victory over him. In this battle, M. Law, who had been so long flitting from place to place,—so often heard of, yet never seen,—seated himself cross-legged on one of his guns, and, in that curious attitude, surrendered to Major Carnac and Captain Knox. Shah Alum now retired towards Delhi, whence he soon sent Mir Cossim Ali his investiture as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa : Mir Cossim agreeing, in consideration of this recognition, to pay him an annual tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees.

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

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

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

The astounded governor and council of Calcutta now saw nothing better to do than to let loose old Mir Jaffier upon his son-in-law, and set him again upon the musnud from which they had so recently pulled him down. Having issued his mandates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, as rightful and indisputable nabob, the old man joined the English, who were now taking the

field and advancing in force upon Moorshedabad. Mir Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were routed; but they made head again near Geriah, whither Mir Cossim sent nearly all his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoy, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by a European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, though he is generally called a German.

On the 24th of July the English under the command of Major Adams, dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabad without opposition. On the 2nd of August Mir Cossim risked a battle in the open plain near Geriah. The English force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1,500 sepoy, and some squadrons of native horse. Mir Cossim's army was as ten to one; it was supported by an immense train of artillery; the sepoy under Sumroo were perfectly well trained and most of the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered in Bengal. Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours, with warm and close firing. The 84th regiment, attacked both in front and rear, was at one moment in great danger, and some daring and almost successful movements were made under the eye of Sumroo. But at last the nabob's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon, and of 150 boats that lay close by in the Ganges, loaded with provisions. They fled to an intrenched camp, which had been formed on the banks of the Oodwah.

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

Murdering one or two more chiefs, Mir Cossim fled from Monghyr, towards Patna. The English advanced, and

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

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

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

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp; many of the sepoy deserted to the enemy, and whole companies of Europeans, chiefly French, Germans, and Swiss, who had been formerly in the French service, marched off for Benares with their arms and accoutrements. Major Carnac, who now arrived to take the command, deemed it prudent to retreat from the frontier of Oude to the city of Patna, for provisions had grown scarce, and the mutinous spirit seemed to continue. After a short interval, Carnac was followed by the united armies of Suja Dowlah, Mir Cossim, and Shah Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on

the 3rd of May, by what seemed an overwhelming force, foremost in which was Sumroo, with the best of his disciplined infantry. But Carnac stood like a rock; attack after attack was repulsed, and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and route of the assailants, whose loss had been immense. The two nabobs, and the poor Mogul fled, rather than retreated, from Bahar into Oude.

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

At the close of the rainy season, on the 15th September, Major Monro led his reformed army against the enemy, carrying with him no more than provisions enough for eight days. On the 22nd of October, having crossed the Sona in the teeth of their cavalry, he reached the vicinity of their intrenched camp at Buxar, and on the following morning he gave them a defeat, which entirely broke the power of the nabob of Oude. Leaving 130 pieces of artillery on the field, Suja Dowlah fled to Lucknow, cursing his allies who had hurried him into this war. Instead of following him, Shah Alum, the unsteady Mogul, came and pitched his tents close to the English army, sought an interview with the chief officers, and proposed entering into a treaty

of amity and close alliance with the Company. Monro, with the Mogul in his train, marched on through Oude.

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

CHAPTER XXVI.

SECOND RETURN OF LORD CLIVE.

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

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

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

A few days after his defeat at Corah, Suja Dowlah having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy and magnanimity of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac. He assured the general that Mir Cossim had fled into Rohilcund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the Company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oude; that he (Suja

Dowlah) was more capable of defending those territories than Shah Alum, to whom they had been promised ; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans.

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

Shah Alum, in right of the imperial authority, which would have been nothing without the presence of the armies of the Company, granted to the English the dewanee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa ; in return for which, he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad, Corah, and the Doab, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewanee, which, in fact, constituted the Company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant, the young emperor confirmed the rights of the Company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India. The grant was presented by the young Mogul, in great state, to Lord Clive, about the middle of August, 1765.

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

On the death of Mir Jaffier, the council at Calcutta had conferred the nominal sovereignty of Bengal on that nabob's eldest surviving son, Nujimul Dowlah, a spiritless, imbecile

youth. The dictator in India, for such Lord Clive now was strongly disapproved of the revolution effected by the Company in deposing Mir Jaffier, the nabob of his own making ; but he did not admire Mir Jaffier's son, and soon compelled him to retire from all public business on a pension of thirty two lacs of rupees.

During Clive's absence in England, the Company had been defrauded and robbed, and the natives of Bengal, in many instances, defrauded and oppressed by Englishmen in the Company's service, who wanted to be rich of a sudden, and who received no sufficient check from the weak government of Mr. Vansittart. Clive had come out, chiefly to put an end to this state of things. It has been well said that this was a battle harder than that of Plassey, the whole settlement rising against him and his proposed reforms. Several civil servants of the Company, relying on their powerful patronage at home, refused to act with or under him. Clive coolly sent to Madras for some other civil servants, and turned the refractory out of their offices. Flattery, entreaty, arguments (including money ones), persuasions, and prayers, were then employed. All in vain ; they could not turn Clive from his purpose. He put down innumerable abuses and vile money-getting practices ; but, at the same time, he adopted measures which might give the civil servants of the Company, whose pay had hitherto been miserably low, a proper maintenance, and a fair chance of acquiring fortunes by ability, application, and perseverance.

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

“batta” was drawn, except when marching or serving in the field. After remonstrating, two hundred English officers resigned in one day, apparently in full confidence that Clive would be intimidated.

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

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

Clive showed a disinterestedness which was rare and heroic. He aimed at a reform which, in the end, must prove beneficial to the oppressors and to the oppressed ; to

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

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

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

CHAPTER XXVII.

FIRST GOVERNOR GENERAL.—WARREN HASTINGS.

New Regulating Act—Disadvantages under which Warren Hastings began his administration—Various Reforms—Inroads of the Sanyasis—Hastings visits Benares—Resolutions—State of the country improved—Victory over the Rohillas—Cruelties perpetrated—New members of Council arrive—Their dissensions—False charges against Hastings.

In 1773, a few years after Clive's return home, the parliament of England passed a "Regulating Act," by which the administration of government in India was modified in several particulars. The most important change made, was the establishment of one central authority, to which the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to be subordinate. In proceeding to the choice of the first Governor General of India, there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the responsible and difficult post. Long experience, proved ability, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had been at the head of the government after Clive's departure from India, and he was accordingly selected for the office. Clive approved of this, and hastened to congratulate him on being the FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL. The four members of council appointed with Warren Hastings, and unfortunately each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Philip Francis.

Warren Hastings began his administration at Calcutta under numerous disadvantages. Famine had recently prevailed; and the revenues were exhausted. Hastings made a tour in the provinces, and resided some time in Moorshebadad. The dewanee, or public treasury, was removed to Calcutta and placed under English management, and thither also were carried the superior courts of justice.

At the same period Hastings was occupied in devising means for placing both the internal trade of the country,

and the external trade of the Company, upon a better footing, and in making reforms or alterations among all classes of the Company's servants in India. As to those reforms, he complained that he had received a dangerous mark of distinction in being alone intrusted with their executions, saying that the effect was, his hand was against every man's and every man's against his. Like Lord Clive, he was sowing the seeds of hatred and vengeance—the bitter fruit of which he was to taste hereafter. And to all these laborious and trying occupations were superadded constant anxieties arising out of the Company's connections with the nabob of Oude, and Shah Alum, and the encroachment of the Mahrattas, who occupied or overrun for uncertain seasons the whole of the interior of India, from Delhi to the frontiers of Oude, from the ghauts of the Carnatic to the ghauts behind Bombay. He appears to have had no respite from care and labour.

The healthy and fertile province of Cooch Bahar had been overrun by the Bootans, a resolute and daring people, who cruelly oppressed the peasantry, and proved turbulent, and dangerous neighbours. Hastings sent a detachment under Captain Jones, to drive out these Bootans and annex the country to the English dominions. At the same time his attention was called to the inroads of the Sanyasi fakirs, an assemblage of men who united in themselves the several characters of saints, living martyrs, prophets, jugglers, robbers, and cut-throats. Hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost stark-naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, murdering, and committing every act of violence and obscenity. A host of the kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurangzib. They were one of the many scourges, to which the country was periodically liable under the imbecile government of the native princes.

The present swarm fell suddenly upon Bengal like a flight of locusts. Dividing themselves into bodies, each two or three thousand strong, they rushed in search of their prey, and wherever they penetrated, they burned the villages, destroyed the crops, and committed their unnameable abominations. Five battalions of sepoys were sent

in pursuit of them ; but they moved at a speed that defied the pursuit of any regular infantry ; and Hastings, to save the Company's money, had been obliged to discharge nearly all the native cavalry. They were favoured by the superstition and infatuation of a large portion of the population, who considered them saints, while committing the greatest sins, and who stood in awe of the supernatural powers to which they laid claim. A British officer, with an entire battalion, followed them closely, but could never come up with them. Hastings hurried on another detachment to assist in the pursuit, another to cross the track which the fakirs usually took on their return. Yet, after every exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and lofty mountains, got back with their plunder to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China. Their visit proved a serious blow to the revenues of the country, as well from pretended as from real losses.

Soon after the departure of the fakirs, Hasting set out on a visit to Oude, the nabob having earnestly requested a personal conference with him at Benares. He arrived at that city on the 19th of August, 1773, and found the nabob waiting his arrival and eager for business. Their considerations, final resolutions, and agreements, were these :—

I. The chiefs of Rohilcund, when recently attacked by the Mahrattas, had made an offer of forty lacs of rupees to the nabob of Oude for his assistance, and the nabob of Oude had promised to give half of this money to the Company for the services of English troops and sepoys. The troops of Oude had been of little use, but the troops of the Company, under Sir Robert Barker, had cleared the country of the Mahrattas ; and yet the Rohilla chiefs refused to pay the forty lacs, or any part of them. The Rohillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oude. Hastings consented to employ an army against Rohillas, and to unite the country to Oude, the vizir nabob engaging to pay the entire expenses of the war, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees.

II. The ruler of Oude was anxious to recover possession of Corah and Allahabad, and the Doab, which stood within his frontiers, and which the poor Mogul could not maintain. For fifty lacs of rupees—twenty paid on the spot,

and thirty to be paid in two years—Hastings transferred Corah and Allahabad to Suja Dowlah.

III. As the unauthorised residence of British subjects unconnected with the Company was frequently embarrassing to the Calcutta government, and gave rise to intrigues, it was agreed that no Europeans whatsoever should be permitted to reside in Oude, without the knowledge and consent of the governor general.

IV. Cheyte Sing, the young raja of Benares, was included in some of the arrangements between Hastings and the nabob of Oude ; for Benares, the holy city, with its dependent district, was geographically in the province of Allahabad, and Suja Dowlah, the nabob, had long aimed at the destruction of the young raja whom the English by previous treaties, were bound to support. Hastings therefore insisted that all the territorial rights of Cheyte Sing should be confirmed to him, and that Suja Dowlah should respect his young and weak neighbour.

Owing to financial difficulties, the vizir nabob of Oude requested that the invasion of Rohilcund might be postponed ; and this was agreed to.

Returning to Calcutta, Hastings applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal, to the establishment of something like an efficient police, to the posting of detachments so as to prevent the incursion of the fakirs and other robbers, to the formation of local forts in the districts, to the protection of native trade and industry, to the removing impolitic taxes, and fees upon native marriages. Even men in India, unfriendly to this able and indefatigable administrator, confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal, in 1771, the whole country had assumed, or was rapidly assuming, a new aspect. The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease began to be filled up ; frequent immigrations of quiet, laborious people from other parts of India, sought and found that protection and encouragement under the Company's government, which they could find scarcely any where else on the vast surface of Hindostan—in countries exposed to the ravages of the Mahrattas, Afghans, Jats, Dacoits, Thugs, Bheels, and other monsters. Rajas, nabobs, khans, and all grandees, might complain ; but the native merchant, manufacturer, tiller

of the soil, artisan, all that we call *people*, were brought to regard Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name. "I could have gone," said he, "from Calcutta to Moorshedabad and from Moorshedabad to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to be found in the good will and affection of the natives."

Early in the year 1774, the vizir nabob, Suja Dowlah, applied for the instant marching of the English brigade stationed at Allahabad, as he was now determined to invade Rohilcund. Accordingly that brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to move and join the nabob's forces. From the middle of February to the middle of April, Colonel Champion was kept waiting; but at last the vizir nabob came up with his worthless army, and the open southern frontier of Rohilcund was crossed by the invaders. The Rohillas were found in a good position on the side of the Babul Nulla: nearly their entire force, which probably amounted to about 25,000 fighting men, was collected on that ground; and they had cavalry, artillery, and rockets. But, on the 23rd of April, when they were attacked by the British brigade, superior discipline and tactics and better arms led to the usual result. They were thoroughly defeated and routed; but their valour and stamina were proved by their fighting, at unusually close quarters, for two hours and twenty minutes, and leaving 2,000 of their number on the field. Several of their sirdars were slain, and among them Hafez Ramet, the head of the confederacy. The nabob behaved as nabobs always did in battle; he kept at a great distance from the English, behind a river, surrounded by his cavalry and artillery; he refused Champion the use of some of his guns and some of his cavalry, nor would he move from his lurking place until he was well assured of the enemy's total defeat. Then he and his unwarlike rabble moved forward with alacrity, but it was only to plunder the Rohilla camp, which Champion considered as the fair booty of his brigade. "We have the honour of the day," said the colonel, "and these banditti the profit."

Many cruelties and horrors were committed in this Rohilla war—not by the English and their disciplined sepoys, who had all the fighting, but by the nabob's rabble, who

never fought at all :—not with the connivance of Hastings, but in spite of his loud and repeated remonstrances. Nor did he fail to insist upon a mild and proper treatment for such of the Rohilla chiefs as had fallen into the hands of the vizir nabob. “Tell the vizir,” continued he, “that the English manners are abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression, and enjoin the gentlest treatment of a vanquished enemy.” Still, as Hastings knew this would be disregarded, he is to blame for having sanctioned and promoted the war.

The fugitive Rohillas, under Fyzoola Khan, took up a very strong post near the northern frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family, from the mountains in their rear. It was apprehended by Suja Dowlah, that the Mahrattas might come in also, and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khan. The English brigade was worn out by long marches and short commons, and Champion and his officers were thoroughly disgusted with their ally, and all his concerns. A treaty was therefore hurried to a conclusion, Fyzoola Khan surrendering one-half of his treasure, and one-half of all his effects, to the nabob of Oude and that nabob granting him the small district of Rampore, in jaghir. Some few chiefs remained with Fyzoola Khan, but the majority went into other countries, to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghan race might almost be said to be rooted out of Rohilcund. Their entire number had probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes,—men, women, and children. The Hindu population transferred to the nabob of Oude was estimated at 2,000,000.

Just as the first Rohilla war came to this conclusion, the new constitution, as framed by parliament, came into operation. Hitherto, Warren Hastings, as simple governor, had exercised an undivided authority; but now that he became GOVERNOR GENERAL, his unity of power was to cease.

The members of council—General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis—arrived at Calcutta (Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before) on the 16th day of October, 1774. On the following day, the existing government was dissolved by proclama-

tion, and a new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings, with the rank of governor general of India, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues only Mr. Barwell, who from long residence had a perfect knowledge of Indian affairs, was quite acceptable to Hastings. Three seemed to have come out with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three—Francis—hated him from the beginning, with an intensity of which English natures are seldom capable. But the “Regulating Act” had framed a Supreme Court of Justice as well as a council, and among the judges who arrived with the members of this new council, Sir Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old friend of the governor general.

The general letter of the Court of Directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended, above all things, unanimity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated; and it required them to do their utmost in order to preserve peace in India. But unanimity and concord were incompatible with a body so constituted. The members of the new council began their open quarrel upon the transactions in Oude and the Rohilla war. They asserted by implication, that Hastings had embarked in that war for private sordid motives.

As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were most unjust. Hastings was a poorer man now than when he quitted an inferior employment at Madras. He was above the sordid motives imputed to him: he was, as many other men have been and are, constitutionally indifferent to money for himself. He found empty coffers, and a large and costly military force to maintain. The famine and its awful consequences choked up the sources of the revenue, while the Court of Directors at home were falling into debt, and exhorting him by every ship to remit them money. Long afterwards he said “When I took charge of the Government of Bengal, in April, 1772, I found it loaded with debt; in less than two years I saw that debt completely discharged, and a sum in ready cash to the same amount in the public treasuries.” It thus becomes easy to conceive to what uses he had applied the lacs of rupees obtained from Suja Dowlah and other native princes.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WARREN HASTINGS.—*Continued.*

Political State of Bombay—Ragoba—Mahratta Coalition—Attempt of the council to ruin Hastings—Their defeat—Death of Nuncomar—Mahratta Intrigues—Hastings prepares to counteract them—Success of his arrangements—Extraordinary march across India—General Goddard's victory—Fall of Gwalior.

The supreme council of Calcutta, as provided by the "Regulating Act," asserted their authority over the other presidencies, and required from each of them a full report of its actual condition, political, financial and commercial.

The political state of Bombay, which had long been quiet, and removed from the struggles of war, was at this moment sufficiently disturbed, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and puzzling sea of Mahratta politics. The first temptation had been the rich island of Salsette, that lay in their immediate neighbourhood. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Rao, and the election of a new peshwa of the Mahrattas. A considerable force, sent against Salsette stormed the principal fort, and then took quiet possession of the island; to secure this conquest, and to obtain some territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the Bombay presidency concluded a treaty with Ragoba, one of the aspirants to the Musnud.

Ragoba made the desired grants, and received his price in English troops and sepoys, with whom he made sure of beating all his competitors. The presidency sent Colonel Keating, with 500 European infantry, 80 European artillery, 1,400 sepoys and 160 lascars with a field train, and some heavier pieces, to assist Ragoba who had himself a large army of horse. On the 11th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Mahratta confederacies; but he lost a considerable number of men and officers, and found his movements impeded by a

mutiny in Ragoba's camp. That chief, however, got together some money, paid his troops and bought over many of his enemies ; and in the month of July, the road to Poona, the Mahratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies.

At this point, the council at Calcutta struck in : and they did so, without temper, honour, or decency. They ordered the Bombay presidency instantly to recall their troops, and they sent Colonel Upton to Poona. They censured all the negotiations and operations of the presidency, determining at the same time, that Salsette, and the other territories which had been acquired by them, were to be kept for the Company.

While these events were passing in Western India, other hosts of Mahrattas descended into the valley of the Ganges, and plundered part of the dominions of the young nabob of Oude. Rumours also arose that there was a new coalition between the Mogul, the Mahrattas, the Sikhs, the Robillas, and other Afghan tribes, for the conquest of the whole of Oude, and the invasion of Bengal. It was no wisdom or policy on the part of the supreme council that broke up this project ; the coalition was dissolved by quarrels among its members and by want of money. If their united forces had advanced rapidly, the Indian empire might have tottered, for there was neither wisdom nor courage in the dominant majority in the council ; the natives were bewildered, and fast losing their reliance, and the army was discontented and dispirited.

Francis, Claverling, and Monson, could think of little else than of the means of ruining Hastings. The natives soon found this out. They considered him as a fallen man ; and they acted after their kind. Some readers may have seen in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death—no bad type of what happens in that country, as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant, all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined ; and, in twenty-four hours, it will be furnished with grave charges, sup-

ported by depositions so full and circumstantial, that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding place in his house.

Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of his opponents. Immediately charges against the Governor General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance false accusations; but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields, than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

It would have been strange indeed, if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. This man, who was a brahmin of high rank, had played an important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Suraja Dowlah had taken place in Bengal. His career had been bad throughout life, and he was now stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on Hastings, who had formerly frustrated him, and thus become the greatest native in Bengal. He therefore put into the hands of Francis a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. The majority of the council believed all this, and the situation of Hastings was a painful one.

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. But he was playing a desperate game. With all his acuteness he did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He knew not that in Bengal there was an authority perfectly independent of the council—an authority which could protect one whom the council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the Council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The opureme Court was within the sphere of its own duties,

altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, saw how this might be turned to his advantage.

On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common jail. The crime imputed to him was that, six years before, he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But no doubt Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The majority in the council were now enraged beyond measure. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and demanded that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The judges returned haughty and resolute answers. The assizes commenced: a true bill was found; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

The excitement among all classes was great. The Hindus were not the people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But bad as he was he was at the head of their race and religion—a brahmin of the highest caste. The appointed day, however, arrived, and notwithstanding the shock it gave to all classes of native society, the execution duly took place. Nuncomar was hanged.

On the 25th of September, 1776, the majority in council was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side, but the casting vote of the Governor-General gave him the superiority. Dissension and manœuvres in Calcutta, misunderstandings in the Court of Directors in England, far too numerous to relate in an epitome of Indian history, then ensued. The disputes rose so high, that the sword of civil war was half unsheathed in the streets of Calcutta. But General Clavering, a man of the sword, and of an impetuous temper, was made to quail before the firm unflinching civilian Warren Hastings. At length Colonel Monson's place was filled by Mr. Wheeler, who thought he came out expecting to be Governor General himself, consented to hold an inferior post. Wheeler commonly voted with Francis; but before that party could recover confidence

was again reduced to a minority by the death of General Clavering.

Hastings had now the preponderancy. This was fortunate, as the circumstances of the times required all his energy and skill. Most of the Mahratta chiefs who had been parties to the treaty with Colonel Upton were weary of their bargain; fresh intrigues and combinations were forming, a French ship had put into one of the Mahratta ports, and a French agent was living at Poona, and exercising great influence in that capital. The presidency of Bombay wrote alarming letters to Calcutta, and recommended a new alliance with Ragoba, in order to anticipate the designs of the French and the Mahratta chief. Hastings had long been convinced that the greatest danger in India would proceed from a union of the French with the Mahrattas, and that any attempt of that kind ought to be met on the instant.

Without hesitation, Hastings proposed in council, that every possible assistance in men and money should be given to Ragoba and his ally Baboo, and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. Francis and Wheler protested; but in vain. Ten lacs of rupees were immediately forwarded to Bombay by bills; and on the 23rd of February, orders were issued for assembling the forces at Calpee. If the army went by sea, they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the troops, or ships of war to give them convey. "Let the army march by land," said Hastings. This was a bold idea, that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian soldier or statesman. Taking all responsibility on himself, the Governor General, gave the order to advance.

The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry furnished by the nabob of Oude, and a Company of artillery; altogether, amounting to 130 European officers, 6,234 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazaar, carriers of baggage, servants of sepoys; and this host had to march upwards of 1,000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was intrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so bold and brilliant a con-

ception. Except the officers, there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army commenced its march on the 12th of June, 1778. It had not proceeded far, when intelligence was received, that war had been declared between France and England.

Francis and Wheler insisted that the army should be recalled ; but Hastings insisted that it should go on, and that the river Hoogly, Calcutta, and all Bengal, could be very well defended without it. Clive himself could not have shown more resoluteness or rapidity than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chandernagore, and all the restored French factories in Bengal ; he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Pondicherry—but, by an infraction of the treaty of peace, Pondicherry had been re-fortified, and could not be taken without a siege : he threw up strong works near Calcutta ; he collected ships and improvised a regular marine establishment ; he raised nine battalions of sepoys, and a numerous corps of native artillery ; and, being thus at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the other parts of India.

Colonel Leslie had been instructed to conciliate where he could, and to fight his way through where he could not. Hastings had previously sent letters and presents to the raja of Berah and other princes, through whose territories the troops must march. The army met with a feeble resistance in crossing the river Jumna, from a Mahratta chief called Ballajee. This chief also engaged the raja of Bundilcund to oppose it as it advanced up the country. But the raja and the Mahrattas were beaten and routed, and by the middle of July, Leslie was at Chatterpoor, having been joined by a brother of the raja, who claimed the musnud, and by several other Bundilcund chiefs.

When he had loitered away four months, busied in what Hastings called "paltering work," the Governor-General recalled him, and gave the command of the army to Colonel Goddard, who was released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, and instructed to judge and act for himself. He forthwith quitted Bundilcund, and, taking the road through Malwa, he continued his march a long while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing any of the impediments which Leslie had anticipated.

He soon crossed the Nerbudda, and reached the city of Nagpore. By the 1st of December, Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of Berar. Now he received despatches from the Bombay presidency, acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poona, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city.

This Bombay force, 4,500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, advanced boldly through the ghauts, arrived at Condala, and by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poona. Loose bodies of Mahratta horse kept skirmishing and retreating, but Colonel Egerton could no where see the friendly Mahratta army which Ragoba had assured him would repair to his standard. Ragoba, who was accompanying Egerton with a very small force, was taken to task ; but he represented that the wavering Mahratta chiefs were not likely to join until the English should have obtained some decisive advantage. Egerton, therefore, kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poona, in which neighbourhood he was sure to meet Goddard in a very few days. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Mahratta horse was seen in front.

Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners into the field with Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days !—they ordered a retreat. The Mahratta army followed them, cut to pieces nearly 400 men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and provision.

A deputation was then sent to the enemy, though all experience in India had shown the folly of such a course, to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit the quiet march of the English back to the coast. The Mahratta chiefs demanded that Ragoba should be delivered up to them. With this demand, Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing the breach of honour and hospitality, by alleging that Ragoba had opened a correspondence with the enemy. When the Marhattas had got Ragoba into their hands, they asked another price

for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty, by which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this effect. The Mahratta chiefs then demanded hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance.

The irritated army recommended that the two commissioners should be delivered over to the barbarians; but it was finally arranged, that two other civilians should be sent to the Mahratta camp. The dishonoured army was then told it might pursue its march to Bombay, without fear of molestation.

In the meanwhile, Goddard was advancing upon Poona, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his forces near that city. But when he reached Berham-poor, 980 miles from Calcutta, Goddard was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field-commissioners he was told that he must retrace his steps; by another from the same commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but neither the commissioners nor Egerton gave him an account or any intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt, Goddard remained at Berhampoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the state of affairs. Happily he was no Egerton, and had no commissioners with him. He resolved not to be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no right to include him in their disgrace. He would bravely continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poona, and making direct for Surat, where he would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay.

Surat, however, was nearly 250 miles off, the disposition of the intervening country very doubtful, and a great and increasing army of Mahratta horse was hanging on his rear. His decision and rapidity, and discipline and orderly conduct of his native Bengal infantry, could alone save him from destruction or dishonour. But he and his army were preceded by the sweet odour of a good name. In the course of their long and toilsome marches from Buu-

dilecund, no plundering, no excesses, no insults or wrongs of any kind had been permitted. Hence, the country people flocked to supply them with provisions, and to render such information and services as they could. From Berhampoor to the coast his route lay in the most fertile and best-cultivated fields of Western India, thickly dotted with open villages and defenceless towns; but the same morality was kept up, the army touched nothing without paying for it, and was consequently befriended and always well provided by the natives.

Goddard and his sepoy performed the 250 miles march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory; they had left a moral impression which could not soon be effaced, and which it was scarcely possible to overrate.

Colonel Goddard was promoted to the rank of general, and was ordered to take upon himself all future wars or negotiations with the Mahrattas. Ragoba escaped from his confinement at Poona, and took refuge with the English in Surat. Goddard proposed an amicable treaty with the Poona confederacy, upon the basis that they should annul the dishonourable treaty extorted from Egerton and the commissioners, and renounce all connection with the French. The Mahratta chiefs required as a preliminary that Ragoba should be given up, and Salsette restored. Goddard of course refused to consent to such conditions. He took the field at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dobhoy and carried by storm the important city of Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Guzerat.

He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a Mahratta army, 40,000 strong, under the two great chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 4th of March he was close up with this army, and would have attacked it that very night if the Mahrattas had not liberated the two English hostages, and sent them to his camp, with a vakeel or agent to open new negotiations. Finding that the Mahrattas were only seeking to gain time until the setting in of the rains, Goddard tore up their papers and put his troops in motion. As their army was all cavalry, Scindia and Holkar were enabled for many

days to avoid an attack ; but, on the 3rd of April, between night and morning, he, with a select part of his army, surprised them in their camp and put them to the route. Their flight left him undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea.

In the mean time Warren Hastings had formed an alliance with a Hindu prince, commonly called the Ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country between the territories of the great Mahratta chief Scindia and the kingdom of Oude ; and Captain Popham, with a small force, had been detached from Bengal to assist the Ranna in expelling a Mahratta invasion. Popham, a brave, active officer, worthy of co-operating with Goddard, had taken the field at the beginning of the year, and driven out the Mahrattas from the dominions of the Ranna, had crossed Sindh, had followed the Mahrattas into their own territory, and had taken by storm their fortress of Lahore. Popham, with extraordinary daring, took by escalade the fortress of Gwalior, one of the very strongest in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and at that time defended by a numerous garrison. The brave young Bruce, who led the escalading and storming party, was one of a family insensible to danger ; he was brother of Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller. Upon the fall of Gwalior, the Mahrattas abandoned all that part of the country.

The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Captain Popham was about the last public act in India of Mr. Philip Francis. A truce or conciliation had been effected between the Governor General and this discordant member of council. But no sooner had Mr. Barwell, the supporter of the Governor-General in the council, taken his departure for England, than Francis renewed his opposition, and again endeavoured to thwart the campaign of Popham, and every project that lay nearest the heart of the Governor General.

Irritated in the extreme, Hastings, in answering a minute of council, wrote :—" I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Although Francis well merited the reproach, he thought himself obliged to challenge the Governor-General, who shot him

through the body. The wound, thought to be dangerous, did not prove mortal. But Francis resigned his place and returned home, a few months after the duel, to the incalculable advantage of English interests and honour in India.

.....

CHAPTER XXIX.

WAR WITH MYSORE.

Condition of Mysore—Rise of Hyder Ali—He obtains the supreme power—The other powers of Southern India combine against him—Faithlessness of the Mahrattas and the Nizâm—Tippû surprises Madras—French alliance with Hyder—Treaty of Madras—The Mahrattas invade Mysore—Hyder gains possession of Gooty and Chittledroog.

MYSORE had not been entirely subjected to the Mohammedan sway, but was ruled by native princes, who paid homage, and sometimes tribute, first to the kings of the Deccan, and after their fall, to the Mogul. But this comparative independence was of little value, as the native princes had as usual sunk into voluptuous indolence, and allowed the government to pass into the hands of their ministers. When the war in the Carnatic first led the English into hostility with Mysore, Chick Kishen Raj was raja, but the real power was possessed by two brothers, Devraj and Nunjeraj who had risen to the head of affairs. At this time however there was coming into notice a young adventurer, destined to effect a complete revolution in the country.

This was Hyder Ali, who rose from a very humble origin, and never even learned to read or write. He reached the age of twenty-seven before he would submit to the restraints of military service. But having once embarked in an active career, he soon displayed daring valour, presence of mind, and all the qualities which constitute an eminent warrior. He received the charge of a small corps, with a commission to increase its numbers by all the means in his power.

He soon assembled around him a numerous body of freebooters, who asked no pay, but trusted solely to the plunder they might collect. The practices of a common thief may be considered just and honourable compared with those by which Hyder rose to the rank of an Indian mo-

narch. By every species of pillage and extortion, he had collected 5,000 infantry, 1,500 horse, with elephants, camels, and all the other appendages of a chief of high rank. He was then appointed to the important post of Fouzdar of Dindigul. Here by the most scandalous impositions he enlarged his forces, and increased his wealth greatly.

The state of the Mysore Court-at this time, favoured the designs, which Hyder began to cherish of seizing the throne. The young raja, whom Nunjeraj kept as a convenient toy, determined to make an effort to extricate himself from thralldom, but was not successful. The attempt, however, had given Hyder an opportunity of serving Nunjeraj, and increasing his own influence over the army. He now soon attained the supreme power, though not without some serious reverses that had almost been fatal to his hopes.

Hyder now pensioned the raja, and formally assumed the direction of affairs. He soon extended his sway in every direction ; and at length, by the capture of the rich territory of Bednore, enriched his treasury with several millions sterling. An invasion of the Mahrattas, under Madu Rao, checked his successful career for a time ; but after a short interval, he was in the field again, and rapidly conquered the Malabar provinces. The extension of territory alarmed the great powers of Southern India, who united in a confederacy against Hyder. The English joined the nizam and the Mahrattas for this purpose.

The three allied armies began to move early in 1767. The Mahrattas were first in the Mysore, and Hyder, finding himself unable to encounter them alone, determined at any price to detach them from the confederacy. Madu Rao consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees to quit the country, and withdraw entirely from the alliances. Hyder next succeeded in bribing off the equally faithless nizam, and even negotiated a treaty with him for the expulsion of the Company from the Carnatic, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast.

Colonel Smith who commanded the English troops, seeing himself now threatened by the united attack of these two great powers with an army of 43,000 horse and 28,000 foot, while he himself had only 6000 foot and 1000 horse, limited

his efforts to fortifying the passes of the Ghauts, by which they might be expected to descend in the Carnatic ; but, from ignorance of the local positions, he left undefended, those very openings which were the most favourable for their purpose. Through these they very easily penetrated, and, threatening the rear of his column, obliged him instantly to fall back. The confederates attacked him near Changama, but were completely repulsed ; though, in consequence of their horsemen having plundered the slender store of rice belonging to his army this victory was converted almost into a defeat, and he was obliged to retreat day and night till he reached Trinomalee. The war now assumed a most alarming aspect. The British officer indeed had his force raised to ten thousand, for the most part regular infantry, which gave him a superiority in the field : but his cavalry were few and inefficient, while the enemy covered all the country with excellent light horse, which cut off all his supplies, and left him no command over any spot beyond that on which he was actually encamped.

At the same time Tippú, son to Hyder afterwards so deadly an enemy to the English name, then only a boy of seventeen, made a rapid excursion with 5000 horse to the vicinity of Madras, and had nearly surprised several of the European residents in their country-houses. The Indian princes expected to see their adversary reduced to extremity by the want of provisions : but this was averted by the discovery of some hidden stores, which, according to national custom, had been buried in the earth. The nizám, imprudent and impatient, insisted that they should no longer wait the slow operation of famine, but bring on a general action. They made the attack at Trinomalee, confident in their superior numbers and vast masses of cavalry ; but Smith, by an able movement round a mountain, and by the skill with which his artillery was served, completely baffled the efforts of this great though irregular host.

The nizám, on witnessing these disasters and the disappointment of all his hopes of aggrandizement at the expense of the English, began to waver in the alliance. Another check sustained near Ambúr, and the invasion of his territory by a detachment from Bengal, confirmed him in the resolution to withdraw himself from Hyder,

and agree to a separate treaty, which was concluded on the 23rd February 1768. Under the pressure of such circumstances he obtained tolerable terms; but was obliged to confirm the grant of the Circars made by the Mogul. There were to be paid to him, however, five lacs annually, not in the name of tribute for this district, but as a friendly subsidy. Even from this there was to be deducted, for the expenses of the war, a large sum at the rate of three lacs every year. Nor was any opposition to be made to the appropriation by the British of a considerable extent of Hyder's dominions.

As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded by the French as their best friend. Several able Frenchmen left Pondicherry to join and advise the Mysorean chief. By these men Hyder was confirmed in the opinion he had previously formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in light cavalry, in cutting off their detachments and plundering the country from which they derived their supplies. Several English posts were surprised, and a considerable number of prisoners were sent off to Seringapatam. The open country was again devastated. The presidency of Madras now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled the two Civilians, who had been sent to control operations, and whose interference had been most injurious. They could not, however, improvise regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm, Smith's operations were for the most part impeded and frustrated.

After paying two visits to Pondicherry, and conferring with the French there, Hyder Ali made a rush upon Madras with 6,000 horse. The fortress had lost none of its strength; but the town, and the Black Town, the ware-houses, the country-houses, and the villages, were as defenceless as at the time of Tippu's foray. The presidency eagerly proposed terms of peace, or eagerly listened to terms proposed by the Mysorean, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward, before Colonel Smith should double upon him and draw near to Madras. It was very soon agreed that Hyder Ali should restore whatever territory he had taken from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him;

that he should assist the English in their future *defensive* wars, and that they should do the same by him.

The treaty of Madras, concluded on the 4th of April, 1760, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the peshwa and his Mahrattas, who swept everything before them, burning towns and villages, and cutting off noses and ears. Hyder called upon the presidency of Madras for their promised assistance; but the presidency—and apparently with perfect truth—affirmed that this was not a *defensive* war, that Hyder had brought the war upon himself, by making preparations to invade the territory of the peshwa, and by conniving with certain disaffected Mahratta chiefs. Hyder then offered money, and endeavoured to work upon the fears of the English, by representing what turbulent neighbours the Mahrattas would be to them, if allowed to conquer and occupy Mysore. Still the council of Madras declined sending a single gun or a single sepoy to his assistance.

The peshwa of the Mahrattas now courted a new alliance with the English, but met with a refusal. Thus the Mahrattas and the Mysoreans were left to fight out their own battles.

Hyder and his son Tippu were defeated in several encounters, and reduced to sad straits. By the month of November 1771, the Mahrattas were in possession of all Mysore except Seringapatam, and some of the strongest forts, and were pressing upon and plundering the borders of the Carnatic. Then the presidency sent an army towards that frontier, before which the Mahrattas retreated. In July, 1772, treaty of peace was concluded between Hyder and the peshwa; the Mahrattas obtaining a considerable portion of Mysore, together with fifteen lacs of rupees in hand and fifteen lacs more in promises.

Hyder as soon as he had extricated himself from this invasion, employed the most active exertions to regain his lost territory; turning his attention first to the Malabar coast, the communication with which could only be maintained through the intervening district of Coorg. He suddenly invaded that country, which he found almost wholly unprepared, and made a singular display of barbarian cruelty. He proclaimed a reward of five rupees for every head presented to him, and sat in state to receive and

pay for these bloody trophies ; seven hundred were brought in before he ordered the carnage to cease. Coorg was subdued ; and the once powerful state of Calicut, distracted by internal commotions, scarcely made any resistance.

His next aim was to recover the extensive territories wrested from him by the Mahrattas ; and in this he was much favoured by the distractions in which that powerful confederacy was soon involved. Madu Rao, their warlike chief, died in 1772, and after a short interval was succeeded by Ragonat Rao, better known under the name of Ragoba, whose authority, however, was by no means fully acknowledged. The Mysorean prince, therefore, fearlessly entered and overran a large portion of the ceded country. Ragoba, indeed, hastened to its defence, but being re-called by a violent insurrection, which ended in the overthrow of his power, he concluded a treaty allowing Hyder to occupy all the provinces south of the Kistna. Another army sent afterwards under Hury Punt, the leader of the party which expelled Ragoba, penetrated into Mysore ; but the raja, having gained over a detachment of the Mahratta troops, baffled all his attempts, and obliged him to desist.

Immediately after the treaty with Ragoba, Hyder began operations against a number of independent chiefs, within the limits of his territory. Among the most remarkable of these was Gooty, the castle of Morari Rao, a fierce Mahratta freebooter. This stronghold consisted of numerous works, occupying the summit of several rocky hills. After the lower stations had been reduced, the upper made so obstinate a defence that a treaty was agreed on. A young man sent as a hostage, being well entertained in Hyder's camp, was induced to betray the secret cause of submission, namely, that there was only a supply of water for three days in the fort. He took no notice at the moment ; but soon afterwards renewed the siege, and Morari Rao was compelled to surrender at discretion.

The most obstinate resistance was experienced from the Polygar of Chittledroog, who ruled over a warlike and fanatic tribe, called Bedar. They had reared in the most elevated part of their citadel a shrine to Kali or Durga. Every Monday morning solemn devotions were performed to the goddess ; then a loud blast with the bugle was blown, upon which the garrison rushed forth in a desperate sally,

with the object chiefly of procuring human heads, to be ranged in pyramidal rows before the dread temple of the destroying deity. When the place fell, two thousand heads were found piled in front of her portal. Hyder was obliged by a Mahratta invasion to abandon the siege, which however, he afterwards renewed ; but it was only through treason that the governor was obliged to own that the mighty spell of Kali was broken, and to admit an enemy within the impregnable bulwarks of Chittledroog.

CHAPTER XXX.

WAR WITH MYSORE.—*Continued.*

Hyder prepares to attack the English—War between France and England—Hyder marches on the Carnatic—Defeat of Colonel Baillie—The Governor General's admirable exertions to strengthen the English forces—Sir Eyre Coote appointed to the command—Hyder retreats—Hyder defeated at Cuddalore and at Arcot—The English take Negapatam from the Dutch—Colonel Brathwaite's loss—Madras Cavalry—Death of Hyder.

DEEP discontent against the English was now rankling in the mind of Hyder. He gave up every hope of profiting by their alliance, and even centred all his prospects of aggrandizement in their destruction. The Mahrattas again, whose councils had undergone a complete change, instead of threatening further invasion, sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and a treaty preparatory to that object was accordingly concluded. By a singular fatality, the views of the government at Madras had been altered in the opposite direction, having become sensible of the advantages which might be derived from a union with the chief of Mysore. They even made overtures for a close alliance, with promises of co-operation in case of attack from any foreign enemy. At this crisis the war, consequent upon the American contest, broke out between France and England, and was extended to India. The French, with their usual diplomatic activity, immediately opened a communication with Hyder; and he engaged accordingly in that confederacy to which his house so long adhered, and with results so fatal to their own interests.

As soon as hostilities commenced, the English government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India, without any exception. Pondicherry soon fell; to which conquest no opposition was made by Hyder, who even pretended to congratulate them on their success. When, however, they announced their intention of reducing Mahe, on the Malabar coast, he

decidedly objected ; urging, that the territory around it having been conquered by him, was now included in his dominions. The British, not considering this argument of sufficient weight to deter them from attacking a French fort, sent a body of troops who speedily reduced the place, although the ambitious warrior gave all the aid he could at the moment supply, in order to defend it. It has been supposed, that his resentment at this step was one cause of the rooted enmity which he ever after displayed against England.

The government at Madras, while they adopted a more judicious policy in regard to the chief of Mysore, unfortunately shut their eyes to the possibility of its failure, and could not be convinced that they were in any danger from his hostility. They sent to him Swartz, the Danish missionary, a highly respectable and amiable man, whom he received with kindness ; and on his return intrusted him with a letter, recounting a long list of wrongs sustained from the English, adding the ominous words—"I have not yet taken revenge : it is no matter." As it was evident that an expedition on a great scale was preparing in Mysore, Mohammed Ali represented to the government in the strongest manner the impending danger, and the necessity of taking the most vigorous steps to prevent it. But his system of policy was no longer in favour with the council ; every thing hostile to Hyder was disregarded, as coming from one who had long misled them on this subject. The government were therefore completely unprepared for the tremendous blow with which they were about to be struck.

Early in June 1780, after prayers had been offered in the mosque, and the solemn ceremony called *jebbum* performed by the Hindus, for the success of the proposed expedition, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, with a large force. It consisted of 28,000 cavalry, 15,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 troops of the class called peons, many of whom, however, were veterans,—in all 83,000, besides 2000 rocketmen, 5000 pioneers, and about 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changanama, and began a career of devastation in the Carnatic, which he covered with the most dreadful suffering. A few days after, while the ruling party in the council would

scarcely admit the existence of danger, black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen approaching within a few miles of Madras.

As soon as the first alarm of the government had subsided, they began to consider the means of resistance, which, with an empty treasury, disunited councils, and the impossibility of placing any confidence in Mohammed Ali, appeared extremely deficient. The first object was to secure different strong places now held by the troops of the nabob, who, it was not doubted, would surrender them to the enemy on the first attack. Several fell ; but two were saved by the exertions of very young British officers. Lieutenant Flint, with a corps of 100 men, having proceeded to Wandewash, was refused admittance by the killedar or governor, who had already arranged the terms on which the fortress was to be given up. Flint, however, having with four of his men procured access, seized the commandant, and, aided, by the well-disposed part of the garrison, made himself master of the stronghold.

The next object was to unite into one army the different detachments spread over the country ; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced far into the interior with a view to offensive operation. This corps amounted to 2,800, the main body not exceeding 5,200.

The presidency of Madras gave contradictory orders to the officers commanding their scattered army, and there appears to have been no concert or good understanding among the commanders themselves. Colonel Baillie allowed himself to be surrounded near Conjeveram by Hyder's main body. His weak battalions defended themselves most gallantly, for many hours ; and they would have fought on still, if Baillie had not gone forward waving his white handkerchief, to ask for quarter and then ordered his men to lay down their arms. The termination of the affair was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English who had survived the carnage of the battle, and a horrible captivity to the rest.

Just before this unequal battle began, Sir Hector Monro, with another division of the Madras army, was within a short march of Hyder's rear. Had Monro come up, the Mahrattas must have been defeated ; but it was pleaded in

excuse of his reticence, that his rice-bags were empty, and his troops half starved. Upon learning the dreadful catastrophe of Baillie, Sir Hector abandoned his tents and baggage, threw his heavier guns into a tank, and fled to Madras. A great part of the country was again laid waste and within a few weeks, Wandewash, Chingleput, Vellore and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged.

The incredible exertions of Hastings saved the Carnatic. He soon sent fifteen lacs of rupees to Madras as a present supply for the army, with a promise that more money should be forthcoming. His missives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where the governor-general had a claim, or could invent one—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the east. The inert governor of Madras was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote was invited to take the command and the entire management of the war. Peace was concluded with the Mahratta Scindia, and the brave and alert Popham was called down from the Jumna.

The veteran Coote took with him from Calcutta 500 choice British troops, 600 lascars, and between 40 and 50 gentlemen volunteers; for, seeing that further re-inforcements would be required in the Carnatic, and well knowing, since Goddard's progress to Surat, that the native troops might be trusted on the longest marches, Hastings, early in the ensuing year 1781, started Colonel Pearse from Calcutta with five small regiments of native infantry, to find or force his way through Cuttack, the Northern Circars, and half of the Carnatic, a distance of more than 1,100 miles, and through a country cut up by many rivers, which were all to be crossed where broadest and deepest, or nearest their mouths. Pearse and his gallant Bengal detachment behaved quite as well as Goddard and that little native army; they overcame all obstacles, made friends on the route, reached Madras at a most critical juncture, and were eminently useful in that quarter, particularly in the attack on the French lines at Cuddalore, in 1783. "There are no difficulties," said Hastings, "which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting."

In the mean time, Sir Eyre Coote had taken the field against the Mysoreans, with 1,700 Europeans, and about

5,000 native troops. He marched to recover Wandewash, which had been the scene of his greatest exploit. Terrified at his name, Hyder Ali abandoned Wandewash, raised several of his sieges, and seemed on the point of flying back through the ghauts. But at this moment, a French fleet came to anchor off Pondicherry, and Coote was obliged to encamp on the hills behind that city. On taking Pondicherry (after a siege) at the breaking out of this war with France, Sir Hector Monro had partly destroyed the fortifications, and had put a very small garrison in the town. Even this garrison had been withdrawn at the beginning of Hyder's present invasion. The French officers had given their parole, the inhabitants had been protected and allowed to continue their trade; but the temptation was too great, and when it was seen that the English were losing ground, and known that a great armament was coming from France, they had clapped the English resident in prison, flown to arms, enlisted sepoys, and collected provisions for an army in Karangoty, at a convenient distance from Porto Novo.

Coote now disarmed the inhabitants of Pondicherry, and marched away to destroy their depot. Hyder, emboldened by the presence of the French fleet—seven ships of the line and three frigates—had descended to the coast, and he now moved on the right flank of the English, with the evident intention of protecting the depot, and keeping open his communications with the fleet. At one time, the two armies, were close to each other, and Coote told his men that the day of victory had arrived. But Hyder would not accept the challenge to battle; and very soon he moved rapidly back into the interior, despondent and terror-stricken at the sudden departure of the fleet from Pondicherry. With the old apprehension of the approach of a superior English force, the French set sail for the Mauritius, on the 15th of February, 1781. Coote could not follow the Mysorean army, for a sickness broke out in his camp, and the country had been so wasted that he could find no forage for his cattle.

Penetrating into Tanjore, Hyder ravaged that beautiful district. His son Tippu made a rush at Wandewash, and even laid siege to that place. Sir Edward Hughes, with an English squadron, destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his

own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and about the middle of June arrived at Madras with some reinforcements.

On the 18th of June, Coote attacked the fortified pagoda of Chillambrum, near Trichinopoly, about thirty miles S. W. from Cuddalore, and was repulsed with very considerable loss. This affair gave Hyder such confidence, that he came again down to the coast, and encamped at Cuddalore. He took up good ground, and made lines and formidable redoubts, after the plans drawn for him by French officers. He had three whole days for these operations; but, during that time, Sir Edward Hughes landed men and guns, provision and ammunition, and early in the morning of the fourth day—the first of July—Coote, advancing from Porto Novo, fell upon his host of 80,000 and with 7,000 men, forced his lines, carried his batteries, and gave him a thorough defeat. Leaving more than 3,000 dead upon the field and raving and tearing his clothes, Hyder fled on a fleet horse, and was soon out of sight with all his cavalry. Coote had no cavalry to pursue him.

Hyder was next heard of at Arcot, whither he had recalled Tippu from Wandewash. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirits and resources of his enemy. "The defeat of many Baillies," said he, "will not destroy these English. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea." He sorely regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French councils: and he bitterly complained of having been deluded by expectations of a great French force. He determined, however, to risk another battle, for the defence of Arcot. The ground he chose was the very spot where Baillie's detachment had been annihilated, and which he therefore considered a lucky place. He was again defeated; but this time Coote's army sustained a severe loss. This was on the 27th of August. On the 27th September, another battle was fought in the pass of Sholinghur, near Vellore. Here Hyder was routed with terrible loss; and the fortress of Vellore, one of the keys of the Carnatic, almost reduced to extremities by famine, was relieved. The rains, the monsoon floods, and the rising of the rivers, put an end to any further extensive operations; but before Coote retired into cantonments, Chittore, Palipett, and other places, were recovered.

During the campaign, on the 22nd of June, Lord Macartney, an able and excellent man, had arrived at Madras as governor of that presidency. His lordship brought intelligence of the declaration of war between England and Holland; and his first care was to gain possession of all the Dutch factories or settlements on that coast. This was done with admirable rapidity. Sadras and Pulicat surrendered without fighting, and Negapatam yielded to a bombardment. The prize at the last-named place, in arms, warlike stores, and merchandise, was of great value, and afforded opportune aid to the fleet and army. In these operations Lord Macartney had only some gentlemen volunteers, some of the Madras militia, and sailors, and a few marines taken out of the men-of-war.

Nothing more remained in that quarter to take from the Dutch; but on the other side of Polk's Strait was the island of Ceylon, all access to which the Dutch had most jealously guarded for more than a hundred years, and there they held the town and famed port of Trincomalee. Lord Macartney resolved to add these to the list of conquests. Admiral Hughes, taking on board only 500 land-troops sailed from Negapatam on the 2nd of January 1782, and by the 11th of the same month the English were masters of the town and port—one of the most important harbours in all India, the most secure place of refuge for ships surprised by storms, and so conveniently situated with reference to the settlements on the Coromandel coast, that a ship may reach it from Madras in two days.

Colonel Brathwaite, after assisting Lord Macartney in the reduction of Negapatam, had returned into Tanjore with the view of recovering some of the fortresses of that country which had been taken by Hyder and his son Tippu, rather by bribery than by force of arms. By the same arts, Brathwaite was now deceived and misled by his Tanjorean allies; and while encamped on the left bank of the Cavery, on the 18th of February, he was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed, by Tippu and a French corps, after maintaining a most unequal struggle from sunrise to sunset. The circumstances of Brathwaite's defeat resembled those of Colonel Baillie's; he had only 100 English, 1,500 sepoys, and 300 native horse; while Tippu had 10,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, 20 pieces of artillery,

and 400 Europeans, commanded by French officers. The French decided the long and obstinate contest by charging the exhausted sepoy with the bayonet. The massacre of the prisoners was prevented by the humanity and courage of the French officers, who were seen risking their own lives, and cutting down Tippu's savages to save the wounded and defenceless English. The few survivors of this bloody field—among whom was Colonel Brathwaite himself—were soon immured in the horrible dungeons of Seringapatam. This disaster was scarcely counterbalanced by successes obtained on the very same day over Hyder Ali on the Malabar coast.

The regular cavalry of Madras was originally raised by Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic. The first corps embodied into a regiment under the command of European officers had served in the campaign against the Mysoreans in 1768. From 1771 to 1776, this cavalry force was greatly augmented ; but then—most unfortunately—it had been allowed to decline both in numbers and in efficiency. It was through English weakness in this arm that Hyder and Tippu had gained their advantages, and had so often escaped pursuit. Towards the close of this present war, these cavalry corps were strengthened and improved ; and in 1784, when the war was finished, they were formally transferred, with the English officers attached to them, from the nabob's to the Company's service. From that moment all the mutinies among them, caused by the intrigues of a venal court and irregular payments, ceased altogether, and for a period of more than sixty years their career has been one of faithful service and brilliant achievements. Among their brave subahdars, who live in the traditions of the native armies, and whose name and fame are preserved in the history of British India, Secundur Beg, Cawder Beg, and Sheik Ibrahim, were the most remarkable.

On the 7th December, 1782, Hyder died. He was one of the most remarkable of the race of Indian adventurers. Though destitute of the first elements of education he made his way to the throne of a great kingdom, which he governed with considerable talent but without principle or humanity.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WARREN HASTINGS—*Concluded.*

An empty treasury—Hastings visits Benares to compel the raja to pay—His arrest—Rising of the people in his defence—Danger of Hastings—His presence of mind—Revolt subdued—New raja appointed—Nabob of Oude and the begums—Treasure obtained—Character of Hastings' administration—Resigns the Government and returns home—Impeached, tried, and acquitted—His character.

THE governor-general had exhausted his resources by providing for the wars with Hyder. The English dominion had been extended but the treasury was now empty. Hastings had therefore to raise money by all legitimate means in his power.

Some of the neighbouring princes who owed their political existence to English arms, and who were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of great amount. As they would not pay voluntarily, and as no time was to be lost, the governor-general and his council determined to compel them to pay. The first to whom they applied the compulsion was Cheyte Sing, the raja of Benares, who owed his existence as a prince directly and entirely to Hastings. Francis, Clavering, and Monson had transferred his dominions to the nabob of Oude, but Hastings had secured him in possession, upon condition of his paying a fixed sum to the Company. At the breaking out of the war, the governor-general demanded more money as an "extraordinary contribution," for which, in due time, allowance was to be made to the raja. At the same critical moment, Cheyte Sing was detected in an insidious correspondence with the enemies of the English, and was observed to assume an air of insolence and independence. "I was resolved," says Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses."

The governor-general set out for Benares, the capital and residence of Cheyte Sing, and so little did he anticipate

danger, that he took with him little more than his usual body-guard. Cheyte Sing came eastward as far as Buxar to meet the governor-general, and lay his turban upon his lap, a token of entire submission. With the raja in his train, the governor-general entered Benares on the 14th of August, 1781. Cheyte Sing was then taken seriously to account, and, as he replied evasively and somewhat impertinently, Hastings gave Mr. Markham, his resident at Benares, orders to arrest the raja at an early hour on the morrow. Markham performed this service with only two companies of sepoy, and without any opposition or outcry. But the arrest kindled a flame, which endangered Hastings, and, in his person, the fortunes of the English in India.

Cheyte Sing had a strong party among his own subjects. Benares was the most holy city of Hindostan, being to the Hindus what Mecca is to the Mahometans, or what Jerusalem was to the Jews: it contained a population, who pretended to a superior sanctity merely from the place of their residence; it was thronged by fakirs, pilgrims, and devotees from all parts of India. It was this continual concourse of devotees that tended to fill the raja's treasury.

Scarcely had Markham seized the raja, when there arose from the narrow crowded streets of Benares the roar of tens of thousands of angry voices, and the noise produced by a rushing multitude. The devotees were all armed. The raja had not been removed from his palace, but left there with only two companies of sepoy placed over him as a guard. Thither the living streams flowed and concentrated from all parts of the city. Such was the security of the English managers, that the sepoy had been left in the palace with their muskets and bayonets, but without any cartridges.

When Hastings saw the danger, two other companies were sent to carry ammunition and support them; but this small force got lost and buried in the crowd, and, in attempting to open their way to the palace, they were massacred almost to a man. This over, the furious multitude fell upon the two sepoy companies at the palace, and massacred them likewise. The English officers died, with their swords in their hands; a heap of their assailants were slain, and only a very few of those sepoy escaped. During the confusion Cheyte Sing ran out of the palace by a wicket-gate, which opened on the steep bank of the

Ganges, and, letting himself down by a string formed of turbans tied together, he threw himself into a boat and escaped to the opposite side of the river.

If instead of running away, Raja Cheyte Sing and his people had fallen upon Hastings, the consequence could scarcely have been doubtful, for at the moment the governor-general had only fifty sepoy's at hand for the defence of his house.

But even when the first fury of the populace was spent, and the raja had proved by his flight that he was afraid of extreme measures against Hastings, the situation of that small party of English in Benares remained very critical. They were blockaded on all sides, they had scarcely any money with them, and they had not provisions even for a single day. But Hastings' courage, decision and promptitude never forsook him. The raja, though still collecting forces on the other side of the Ganges, sent to offer apologies for the slaughter which had occurred. The governor-general did not deign to answer him. In the morning he was joined by a few faithful sepoy's, and he called up another small body that were cantoned at Mirzapore, on the other side of the Ganges, sending them orders to march against the palace of Ramnaghur (just opposite to Benares), in which Cheyte Sing had taken up his temporary abode.

In order that his fleet messengers might get through the blockading rabble without losing their despatches, he wrote in the smallest hand on small slips of paper, which were rolled up and put into quills. When the Hindus travelled, they were accustomed to lay aside their enormous gold ear-rings, and put quills into the orifices of the ears to prevent their closing up; thus no notice would be taken of the pieces of quills containing the governor-general's earnest calls for immediate succour; for, so little had this storm been apprehended, that Mrs. Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice, and Lady Impey, were travelling up the country to join the governor-general at Benares. It was most fortunate for Hastings that Sir Elijah was on this day only at a short distance from the city; for his lifelong friend besides being an eminent lawyer, was a man of decision and courage, and in possession of great influence with all classes of the natives. Upon receiving *his* quill, Impey made every

possible exertion to send sepoy and friends to the rescue. Hastings always acknowledged that he owed his escape chiefly to the prompt measures taken by Sir Elijah.

In the course of the day about 400 sepoy were collected round the governor-general's quarters; but in the afternoon, the officer in command of the sepoy who had rapidly advanced from Mirzapore, upon receiving *their* quill, imprudently attempting to carry the palace of Ramnaghur, which was fortified, without having any artillery with him, got engaged in the narrow streets leading to it, was repulsed with considerable loss, and was himself killed. This incident gave fresh courage to the fanatical multitude, and induced Hastings to have recourse to a hurried retreat from Benares.

But Warren Hastings did not run far. It was under cover of night that he fled from Benares, and, with that usual good fortune which is attendant on courage and presence of mind,—before day, he reached in safety the strong fortress of Chunar, built on a rock, which rises several hundred feet above the Ganges, and is situated about seventeen miles below Benares. His flight, of course, gave still further encouragement to the insurgents; the whole of the district rose in arms, people began to flock in from the adjoining territories of Oude and Bahar, vowing that they would protect the raja and the holy city.

The numbers and the temporary spirit of the Hindus, who thus surrounded him, animated for a moment the weak and timid soul of Cheyte Sing; he put himself at the head of the insurgents, appealed by a sort of manifesto to the neighbouring princes, and, it is said, even spoke of driving the English out of all that part of India. An immense native force was by this time collected between Benares and the rock of Chunar.

Notwithstanding his ingenious precaution, several of Hastings's letters miscarried; but most of them reached their destination, and were obeyed with that rapidity which the exigencies of the case required. Money was sent to him from Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and troops, quitting their various cantonments, concentrated under the rock of Chunar. At this crisis everything depended on the fidelity of the sepoy, for there were hardly any troops in the country but these; and the sepoy were, for the most

part, men of the same race and country as those against whom they were to act ; were, many of them, natives of Benares or the surrounding district, and, as such, had been wont to consider Cheyte Sing as their legitimate prince. But the event proved that Hastings was right in relying on their unalterable fidelity to their standard or their salt, and on their attachment to the military point of honor, as greater than any they bore for their country or kindred, their native prince, or even their religion. Not a corps showed any reluctance to engage the raja and the people of Benares ; not a single case of desertion occurred.

On the 29th of August, a considerable body of Cheyte Sing's people, who had advanced to a small fort not far from Chunar, were routed and compelled to leave all their rice and baggage behind them ; and, on the 3rd of September, a still larger body were defeated with the loss of their artillery ; on the 15th other corps were put to flight ; and on the 20th the pass of Sukroot and the large and fortified town of Paeteeta were forced, cleared, and taken by the sepoys commanded by Major Popham. In a very short time nothing could be seen of the force, which had been estimated at 30,000 men ; "and in a few hours," adds the governor-general, speaking as the servant of kings, "the allegiance of the country was restored as completely, from a state of universal revolt to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it."

The raja with his family and few attendants fled precipitately to Bidjighur, the principal stronghold of the Benares princes, and about fifty miles from the capital. To that capital the governor-general returned triumphantly, issuing a proclamation and an amnesty for all except Cheyte Singh and his brother. No time was lost in sending troops to Bidjighur. The poor raja had not courage to await their arrival : he fled in the night to find refuge, and an exile from which he never returned, among the rajahs of Bundelcund. According to Hastings, the raja had carried off with him an immense sum of money, besides jewels of great price ; but current rupees to the amount of about £250,000 were found in the old castle. This money was appropriated by the troops, who for five months had received little or no pay.

In the meanwhile the governor-general, considering a puppet raja necessary at Benares, had selected a young ne-

phew of Cheyte Sing to fill that part. The tribute to the company was raised to forty lacs of rupees, the governor-general took the entire jurisdiction and management of the city and country into his own hands; even the mint, the last vestige of sovereignty, was taken from this boy raja and put under the control of the Company's resident at Benares.

By this revolution an addition of about £200,000 per annum was made to the revenues of the Company; but of ready money there was none, and money must be procured somewhere, or the French would triumph in the Carnatic, and all India would be lost.

Asoph-ul-Dowla nabob of Oude, stood indebted, on the Company's books, in nearly one million and a half sterling. Like Cheyte Sing, the raja of Benares, he was entirely dependent on the Company, and on the protection of their troops, against the plundering Mahrattas and Rohillas. Instead of paying his debts, he spent his money in luxury and extravagance, and in the erection of gorgeous edifices. The nabob had been repeatedly warned that money must be forthcoming, that without money to sustain the war there would be no safety either for him or for the English. Asoph-ul-Dowla protested that he had no treasure to bestow, but that two great ladies in his dominions had far more money than they ought in justice to be possessed of.

These two begums, were, one the mother of the late Nabob Suja Dowla, the other his wife, and the parent of the reigning nabob. It was said that great doubts might be entertained as to the validity of Suja Dowla's testamentary bequest. It was proved that the two begums had promoted insurrection in Oude, and had encouraged the partisans of Cheyte Sing, immediately after the massacre of the sepoys and officers in Benares. Weak detachments of the Company's troops had been attacked by the retainers of the begums. These last facts were sworn to, as well by the British officers and other Englishmen as by natives. The facts were indeed, at the time, notorious, although years after they were denied in the British parliament by men who were seeking to ruin Hastings, for the means he had employed to save the British Indian empire.

It was agreed between Asoph-ul-Dowla and Hastings, that the two begums should be dispossessed of a portion of their immense estates, and that the nabob should have and hold the jaghirs taken from them ; that the begums' hidden treasures should be seized, and the money paid over to the Company in partial or entire discharge of the debt the nabob owed it. The treaty of Chunar was signed on the 19th of September. The nabob charged himself with the execution of the process for getting the lands for himself, and the rupees for the Company. He returned to Lucknow, his capital, and from that city he presently went to Fyzabad, the residence of the begums. Those two ladies were very tenacious of their money ; their servants were uncommunicative—the hidden treasure was not to be found ! neither promises nor threats had any effect upon the two eunuchs who were in all the begums' secrets, and who were making money by employing their great capital.

Severe and unjustifiable measures were resorted to, not by Hastings, but by Asoph-ul-Dowla, to extract a confession ; and by slow degrees, money was extorted from the two eunuchs of the household to the amount of about £500,000. As this fell far short of the estimated amount of the treasure, other acts of severity were practised. Although the two begums and their two agents had few virtues, and very little claim on the sympathies of the people of the country, these acts are not to be justified ; but it was proved that the reports of them drawn up by the prosecutors of Hastings were greatly exaggerated. Nearly a quarter of a century after the imprisonments and alleged tortures, in the year 1803, Lord Valentia found, at Lucknow, well, fat, and enormously rich, Alimas Ali Khan, on whose sufferings Mr. Burke had been so indignant and so pathetic. After all the cruel plunderings he was said to have undergone, this eunuch was supposed to be worth half a million sterling. He was upwards of eighty years of age, six feet high, and stout in proportion. The younger of the two begums, over whom so many tears had been shed in England, was also alive and hearty and very rich.

Whatever sums were procured at Fyzabad were remitted by the nabob to Hastings, and were by him immediately applied to the support of the ruinous wars in the Carnatic ; to the operations on the side of Bombay, and to

subsidies for keeping the Mahrattas quiet. But for the money thus obtained and thus applied, India must have been lost to England.

The last two years of his administration in India, formed by far the happiest period of the public life of Warren Hastings. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity which had not been known for ages. It also enabled him to extend British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Notwithstanding some great exploits, like Rodney's victory and Elliot's defence of Gibraltar, the war with America and France had been more dishonourable to England than any in which she had been engaged in modern times; America was lost,—disasters had attended her flag almost everywhere, except in India, where her power and reputation were far greater at the end than they had been at the beginning of hostilities.

Nor was it a vain boast in Hastings to say—"This is my work! Whatever else I have done, I have done this—I have rescued the Carnatic when at the last gasp; I have preserved and extended the British empire in the East!" No one in India, either native or British, doubted the fact. In the supreme council all opposition ceased, or became of the mildest kind; and the records and protests of Clayering, Monson, and Francis, were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that, if their schemes had been followed, India would have been lost like America. Yet, at this very time, the vindictive Francis was preparing, in England, the means of impeaching and ruining the governor-general.

In the month of March, 1784, Hastings went through Benares to Lucknow, and there spent five months in great tranquillity, but engaged all the time with the ministers of the nabob, and the agents of other native princes. He recommended measures of government which would increase revenue without oppressing the people, and which would promote agriculture, trade, and general tranquillity. This, he knew, would be his last journey up the country. He did not return to Calcutta until November, having spent a considerable time at Benares, where the restoration of tranquillity and order was perfect. He now prepared to quit India.

So soon as it was publicly known that he was about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up, and presented by all classes ; by military officers, by the civil servants of the Company, by factors and traders, and by natives of all ranks, as well as by Europeans. He had been a benefactor to the people of Bengal, who always regarded him with warm good-will, and who had conceived a romantic or superstitious admiration of his prestige, or fortune, of his commanding yet conciliating manners, and of the splendour and pomp with which, for state purposes, he always surrounded himself. The natives, indeed, regarded him in no other light than that of their sovereign ; and not a few shed tears at the thought of losing him.

As to the civil servants of the Company, many of them owed to him their appointments or promotions, and all having been brought frequently into close contact with him, had been impressed by his commanding ability and marvellous rapidity in the despatch of business ; but the enthusiastic admiration and affection of the army for a mere civilian was more extraordinary. They had been won by Hastings's original and bold military conceptions at the commencement of the war, by the flattering confidence he always reposed in the troops, and by the honours and distinctions with which he treated them on all proper occasions. One of his last public acts was the issuing of a general order to the Bengal army, expressing in forcible language his sense of its past services, and affirming that there are no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting.

It was this conduct that endeared Hastings as much to the army as to the other branches of the service. The dark faces of the sepoys looked darker at his departure. When, on the 18th of February, 1785, he delivered up the keys of office, and walked down, a private man, to the place of embarkation, his friends and admirers formed a complete avenue from the palace to the water side, standing on either side of his path ; many barges escorted him far down the Hooghly, and some reluctant friends did not leave him until the pilot left the ship, far out at sea. He landed at Plymouth in the month of June, and posted up to London and to court, confident of a good reception.

He was not disappointed ; the king and queen received him and Mrs. Hastings most graciously ; the Court of Directors received him in a solemn sitting, and the chairman read a vote of thanks for his great achievements, which had been passed without one dissenting voice.

Yet in the course of the next session of parliament the Commons resolved to impeach both Mr. Warren Hastings and his friend Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice. Francis had complete possession of Burke's ear ; and Francis, ever since his return from the East, in 1781, had devoted the whole of his extraordinary abilities, to the blackening of the Indian administration.

The parliamentary votes for the impeachment of Hastings, the impeachment itself, the examination of witnesses, and the documentary evidence, and the grand trial in Westminster Hall, were dragged out to the wearisome length of nine years ; and then, on the 17th of April, 1795, the distinguished governor-general was declared NOT GUILTY upon every charge.

Hastings survived this trial for many years, and died on the 22nd of August, 1818, in the 86th year, of his age.

In the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. Among the numerous merits and the great deeds that will preserve his name in the history of British India, and in the history of his own country, must be mentioned the noble encouragement he afforded to liberal studies and scientific researches. As well by his example as by his munificence, he gave an impulse to learning in the indolent atmosphere of Bengal.

Every young officer or writer of the Company, who successfully applied himself to the study of the native languages and literature, or the geography, or to the natural history of India, found in him a friend and generous patron. He acquired a deep knowledge of Persian and Arabic literature ; and though he did not himself learn the Sanscrit, he was the first that succeeded in gaining the confidence of the pundits, or hereditary priests of India, whereby he obtained, for other English scholars and students, the key to that mysterious and jealously guarded language, and to the secrets of the ancient Brahminical theology and jurisprudence. It was under his protection

that the Asiatic Society of Bengal commenced its career ; and it was during his administration that Englishmen really began to acquire that knowledge of India, and the character, habits, and institutions of the people, without which their anomalous empire could not have been maintained for any length of time.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LORD CORNWALLIS—SIR JOHN SHORE.

New governor-general—Directed to maintain peace—Impossibility of this course—War with Tippu sultan—Tippu's bigotry and intolerance—His cruelties in Coorg and Malabar—He attacks Travancore—English declare war against him—Lord Cornwallis takes Bangalore—Advances to Seringapatam—His victory—Obliged to return for want of artillery, &c.—Nundy-droog and Saven-droog taken—March on Seringapatam the following year—Tippu capitulates—Forms of the treaty—Character of Lord Cornwallis's administration—Succeeded by Sir John Shore—Evils of his non-interference policy—He resigns the government.

ON the departure of Mr. Hastings, 1785, his place was ably supplied by Mr. Macpherson, senior member of council, until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. In the interval the Mahrattas, under their great chieftain, Madaji Scindiah, captured the city of Agra.

Lord Cornwallis, the second governor-general of India, and the first who united to his office that of commander in-chief of the forces, landed at Calcutta on the 12th of September, 1786, and after taking the usual oaths, assumed charge of the government. Notwithstanding the unfortunate way in which he had ended the American war, his lordship was still considered as an able general; and there seemed to be great advantages to be derived from intrusting the government of India to a tried soldier, and from uniting the highest civil with the highest military power. Lord Cornwallis was high-minded, disinterested in money matters, mild and equable in temper, anxious to do good and prevent evil, steady and persevering in his application to business, and particularly distinguished by his sincere desire to maintain peace and promote the welfare of his Indian subjects.

Both the parliament and the Company had recommended that no more wars should be undertaken for extension of territory, and that leagues and alliances with the restless native

powers should be avoided. His lordship himself certainly went to the Ganges with intention and the hope of avoiding wars of conquest, and of keeping the whole of British India, and the states dependent upon it, in a happy condition of undisturbed peace. It was a pleasant vision ; but it soon vanished. His lordship found himself constrained to act, in politics and war, and with reference to the native princes, in much the same manner as Mr. Hastings had acted.

Lord Cornwallis was strengthened in almost every way during three years of tranquillity, and his government in India had acquired consistency and regularity before any serious conflict commenced. The principal event which occurred during his administration, was the war with Tippu Sultan, who on the death of Hyder, had succeeded to the throne of Mysore. Tippu had at his disposal troops estimated at 88,000, and a treasure amounting to three hundred lacs of rupees. It was on the 2nd January, 1783, that he entered the camp and received its allegiance. Bussy, the brave French commander, had under him a numerous army devoted to Tippu's interests.

Bednore surrendered to General Mathews, but was afterwards retaken by Tippu, who made Mathews and his force prisoners, and treated them with his usual cruelty. The sultan after this invested Mangalore, which was gallantly defended by Colonel Campbell. During this siege tidings arrived of the peace concluded between France and England, on which the French officers withdrew their troops from the army of Tippu, and this obliged him to agree to an armistice which was to extend over the whole coast of Malabar. A more formal treaty was shortly after concluded, by which the sultan agreed to release such of his prisoners as had survived his cruel treatment of them.

Tippu was a very different character from his father. Hyder was indifferent on the subject of religion ; but Tippu was furiously zealous in the cause of Islamism, and adopted the most odious and tyrannical measures for its promotion. His first persecution was directed against the Christians on the coast of Canara, who had been converted by the Portuguese. He forcibly inflicted the rite of circumcision on about 30,000 and then distributed them amongst various garrisons.

The people of Coorg had taken advantage of Tippu's war with the English to re-assert their independence of Mysore. They were now again overcome, and 70,000 victims carried off by Tippu to undergo the abhorred penalties of circumcision and captivity.

The Mahrattas now formed an alliance with the nizam to check the increasing influence of the Mysore sovereign. Tippu however carried on a successful contest against this powerful confederacy, and acquired the greatest military name in Hindostan. And having thus increased his military power, he placed no restraint upon the violence of his zeal, destroyed the religious edifices in Malabar Proper, and either circumcised the people, or drove them from their homes.

Tippu next attacked the kingdom of Travancore, (1789) and as this was in violation of the treaty with the English, it afforded a regular ground on which Lord Cornwallis could declare war against him. Tippu seems not to have been prepared for this prompt movement of the English. In June 1790, they commenced the campaign on the boldest system of offensive warfare; their aim being nothing less than by the most direct route to ascend the Ghauts from the south, and advance upon Seringapatam. In the month of December, Lord Cornwallis and some Bengal sepoys, reached Madras from Calcutta.

Tippu would now have consented to negotiate, and affected to believe that there was no war between him and the English. In reply to his letter, General Medows said—"The English, equally incapable of offering an insult as of submitting to one, have always looked upon war as declared from the moment you attacked their ally, the king of Travancore. God does not always give the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift, but, generally, success to those whose cause is just—upon that we depend."

The sultan no sooner received this letter than he set out for Seringapatam with the utmost expedition. He directed that all his regular troops should assemble in that neighbourhood.

General Medows soon captured Caroor, Coimbatore, Dindigul, Darapuram, and other places. In some of these there was no resistance at all, and in others the resistance

was but a sham. These captured forts were nearly all put in possession of some friendly polygars of the country. Tippu, surprised and attacked an expedition under Colonel Floyd, but was repulsed at Shoroor, after an obstinate engagement, in which the sultan's brother-in-law was slain. At the first moment of the surprise, the English, outnumbered by ten to one, suffered rather severely. Avoiding a general action, Tippu now returned from the ghauts, drawing off the English forces from his own possessions. Though closely followed up by some English corps, which made extraordinary marches, the Mysorean got into the Carnatic, which he and his father had so often ravaged before, and darting through a part of that country like a meteor, he left it in flames and smoke, committing a great amount of mischief and of cruelty.

A signal victory was obtained on the Malabar coast, near Calicut, by Colonel Hartley. Cannanore and other places were captured, and the whole of that coast was cleared of the Mysoreans. And now the Polygars and Nairs, and all the Hindus of that coast, began to make bloody reprisals for the horrible wrongs they had suffered at the hands of Tippu's Mussulmans. The profanation of their temples, and the destruction of their idols, had driven these naturally quiet people into the most savage fury.

Not only the cruelly oppressed people of Travancore and the Malabar coast, but also the people dwelling on the frontiers of Tippu's Mysorean dominions, rejoiced, at the prospect of the overthrow of the tyrant, and welcomed the British troops and the docile sepoys. On the advance of a force under Colonel Maxwell into the Barahmahal valley, the fields, covered with plentiful crops, were nowhere abandoned by the peaceful cultivators: the herdsman attended his numerous flocks: the weaver continued at his web: and the avaricious bazar-man exposed his whole stores to the soldiery without apprehension of injustice or violence. The discipline maintained in these campaigns reflects the highest credit on the commanding and regimental officers, without whose strenuous and constant exertions it never could have existed in such perfection.

By the end of 1790, or early in 1791, the raja of Travancore, was re-established in all his dominions, and Tippu was dispossessed of nearly all that he and his father before him

had acquired on the Malabar coast. In the month of February, 1791, Lord Cornwallis who had taken the field himself, laid siege to Bangalore, and took that important place by storm. His lordship then resolved to penetrate into the heart of Mysore, and to dictate his own terms of peace at Seringapatam, the capital of the country and the strongest place which Tippu held. His lordship commenced his movements in the first days of May.

The native troops, as well as the English soldiers, burned with impatience to take their revenge for the atrocious and brutal degradation to which Tippu had subjected their brothers in arms during the last war, and even after the conclusion of it. The news of the fall of Bangalore filled the mind of the tyrant with alarm, and induced him to make arrangements for removing from his capital his women and his treasure, and for doing away with sundry evidences in the city of Seringapatam of the brutality which he had exercised against, and of the insupportable insults he had put upon, the English.

Tippu, however, took up a strong position, some miles in advance of his capital, behind the deep river Cavary. The march of Cornwallis and of General Abercromby, the second in command, who moved on a different line, was excessively laborious. They had to make the roads by which they were to advance; and for fifty miles and more Abercromby's route was across steep mountains, where the battering train, provisions, and stores, were moved with the greatest difficulty. They also suffered severely through a want of forage, Tippu having destroyed all. Moreover, in the latter part of their march, the periodical rains, and bad food, and long fatigue, brought on sickness and disease. The Mahratta allies, who had solemnly engaged to co-operate with a great army of horse, did not keep their appointment.

Lord Cornwallis, however, reached Arikera on the Cavary, and about nine miles from Seringapatam on the 13th of May; and, crossing the river, he attacked Tippu on the 15th, before General Abercromby could join him. In spite of their advantageous position and formidable artillery, the Mysoreans could not stand the charge of the British bayonets; they were driven from place to place, and were at last obliged to seek shelter under the guns of their capital. The road thither was open, the prize seemed within reach; but

in the very hour of victory the English found it necessary to retreat. The force with Cornwallis, though strong enough to beat Tippu's army in the field, was not strong enough to invest a well fortified place like Seringapatam; and they had with them neither provisions nor military stores enough for a long siege. Add to this, the draught-bullocks were dying fast, the camp was half-filled with sick, and the pitiless rains continued. There was nothing for it but a retreat. Abercromby, who was within three marches of Seringapatam, was ordered to retire to the coast; Cornwallis burst the greater part of his battering-guns, having no cattle to drag them off, and began his mortifying retreat on the 26th of May. Towards the end of his first day's march, some of the Mah-ratta allies came up to his lordship's aid but it was now too late.

In the mean time the troops were employed in the reduction of some of the tremendous *droogs*, or precipitous rocks, which rise like so many fortresses, in this as well as in other of the elevated plains of India. Among these, Nundidroog, almost inaccessible by nature, had been fortified with every care to render it impregnable, and was placed under the command of one of Tippu's ablest officers. The only one of its faces at all capable of approach, had been strengthened near the top by double wall; while the labour of establishing works on its steep and craggy sides, and conveying cannon to the batteries, was excessive. - In twenty-one days two breaches were effected, and one morning, by clear moonlight, the assault was made by General Medows in person. The defence was vigorous: huge masses of granite were rolled down, with tremendous crash, from steep to steep; the assailants nevertheless overcame every obstacle, and forcing the interior gate, effected an entrance. During the whole siege they had only 120 killed and wounded, of whom thirty fell in the assault, chiefly by the stones precipitated from the summit.

The *droogs* being now viewed as no longer impregnable, Colonel Stuart undertook Savendroog, which bore a still more formidable character, and had been considered by the commander as a place not to be attempted. Yet after seven days' approaches and five of open batteries, it was carried by storm without the loss of a single life. Ootradroog, struck with dismay by these successes, fell

with little effort ; and a *coup-de-main* had meantime been attempted against Kistnagherry, the capital and bulwark of the Baramahal. This attempt failed ; Colonel Maxwell being only able to burn the town, that it might not serve as a cover to predatory inroads. The sultan, in the interval, had sent an expedition to the south, which succeeded by a series of manœuvres, in carrying Coimbatoor with its English garrison ; and violating the capitulation by which they were to be allowed to join in safety their countrymen at Palghaut, he caused them to be marched prisoners to Seringapatam.

During this time proper preparations were made for renewing the war in the centre of Mysore. Had this not been done, Tippu would again have recovered the Malabar coast, and have poured his rapid cavalry into the heart of the Carnatic. A fresh battering-train, 100 elephants from Bengal, an immense number of bullocks, a copious supply of stores and provisions of every kind, were collected on the Malabar coast. The Company had sent out £500,000 in specie ; and the English government had sent out reinforcements to the king's regiments in India, together with some fresh detachments of the royal artillery. The Mahrattas, getting some of the money, were tolerably steady and active in their co-operation, and rendered important services with their light rapid cavalry.

The passes which lead from Mysore into the Carnatic were now cleared, and several strong forts which Tippu had erected in them were taken by storm. Thus the direct road from Madras was opened to an-immense convoy headed by elephants, loaded with treasure, marching two abreast with the British standard displayed. Tippu's advanced forces threw themselves into a thick forest faced and flanked by the river Toom and some deep ravines. Soon, however, they were attacked, defeated, and driven out of the forest, by Captain Little, with only 750 men and two guns.

General Abercromby, who, since the retreat from the upper country, in the month of May, had occupied cantonments at and round about Tellicherry, began to move again towards Seringapatam early in December ; but he was kept waiting by some of the Mahrattas, who had gone plundering instead of joining him. Early in January,

1792, Lord Cornwallis united his main army under Ootradroog, where he was kept waiting more than a fortnight by his tardy ally, the nizam of the Deckan, who was to join him with his army from Hyderabad. At last the nizam arrived ; and, at the end of January, all the combined forces pressed forward for Seringapatam.

On the 5th of February, Cornwallis once more got sight of Tippu's capital, and saw that the Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. In the night of the 6th of February, Cornwallis made a successful attack, and took several of his redoubts. When morning dawned, Tippu, advised and assisted by some Frenchmen, made some skilful manœuvres, but failed, and lost many of his people. He then fled across the Caverry river, and threw himself into the great fortress of Seringapatam ; on this more than 10,000 of his troops deserted him. The attempts made to recover the redoubts which had been taken were all repulsed with terrible loss to the enemy. The English loss during the whole day of this hard fighting amounted to 535, in killed, wounded and missing ; the loss of Tippu was estimated at more than 4,000.

By the morning of the 8th, Lord Cornwallis had shut up, within the walls of the fortress, the whole of Tippu's army, with the exception of the cavalry which had crossed the river. Immediate preparations were made for the siege ; and three European regiments, seven battalions of sepoys, and some artillery, at once girded the place, preventing ingress or egress. By the 21st, the close investment of the fortress was well advanced. In a few days more the walls must have been breached by the fire of fifty heavy guns, and the place would have been made untenable by the red-hot shot, pentifully poured in by the besieging army. General Medows had undertaken to head the assault, and the men were eager for that close conflict, but, on the 24th, Tippu yielded to his fate.

The treaty of peace which the "Tiger" of Mysore was thus forced to accept, contained the following articles :—
1. That he should cede one-half of his territories to the English and their allies. 2. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees to cover the expenses of the war, &c. 3. That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners who had been taken by the Mysoreans from

the time of Hyder. 4. That he should deliver up, as hostages for the due performance of the treaty, two of his eldest sons.

In conformity with these terms, Tippu began to send the treasure out of the fort to the camp of the besiegers ; and, on the 26th, the young princes, one of whom was about ten and the other eight years old, were conducted to the camp with great pomp and ceremony. Lord Cornwallis received the children with the greatest kindness, and continued to treat them with all tenderness.

Sir John Kennaway, who was appointed to conclude the definitive treaty, encountered much slowness and many difficulties on the part of Tippu's vakils. The sultan particularly objected to restoring to the raja of Coorg the dominions which he had taken from him. But as the raja had risen in arms by invitation, and had very materially assisted the English and their allies, Lord Cornwallis was determined not to abandon him. There had been but too much of this bad, base work in 1784, at the time of the peace of Mangalore : and frightful had been the sufferings of those then abandoned !

Tippu now repaired his damaged walls, and intimated that he would break the treaty. Lord Cornwallis issued orders—most welcome orders to the troops—to recommence the cannonade, and sent off the two children for Bangalore. This brought Tippu to his senses ; his vakils assured Sir John Kennaway that he would agree to all that had been demanded. Cornwallis agreed to suspend operations for *one* day, and recalled Tippu's sons, who, on the 19th of March, presented to his Lordship the definitive treaty signed by their father, and brought into camp by his vakils. By this treaty the English obtained all the dominions of Tippu on the coast of Malabar, a district surrounding Dindigul, and some territory on the western frontier of the Carnatic, including the Baramahal and the lower ghauts ; the Mahrattas, recovered possession of the country as far as the river Toombudra, which had been their frontier line ; and the nizam got all the country from the river Kistna to the Pennar, including the forts of Gungecottah and Cuddappa. Thus all three allies shared, and about equally, in the dismemberment of the sultan's dominions.

The territory thus acquired by the English did not yield much more than half a million sterling of annual revenue ; but it was highly valuable as strengthening the Carnatic against invasion, as affording excellent land communication, and as containing ports on the Malabar coast highly favourable to commerce, and to the extension of that influence at which they aimed. The Nairs, and other Hindu people that occupied the coast of Malabar, were made happy by the change of masters, and by the full freedom now allowed them in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their old customs.

To soothe the troops for the disappointment of their expectations of booty in the storming of Seringapatam, and to reward them for their excellent conduct and rare exertions during the whole of the war, the commander-in-chief, upon his own responsibility, made them a gift equal to six months' batta, out of the money paid by Tippu ; and both he himself, and general Medows, his second in command, resigned their large shares, that the soldiers might have the more. The army returned to the Company's territories, good care being taken to place respectable garrisons in the districts ceded, and particularly in the towns on the Malabar coast, hitherto occupied by the enemy.

Several years elapsed without any violation of the treaty ; and all its conditions being fulfilled, the two young hostages were sent back to their father in 1794. The course of events, and absolute necessity, had forced the pacifically-disposed Lord Cornwallis into the war with Tippu Sultan, and into a series of measures very contrary to the wishes, the policy, and the system of non-interference and non-aggrandizement of the British legislature and government. The company's political relations were much extended during Lord Cornwallis's administration. His *great* efforts had all been attended with extraordinary success. To him belongs the honour of introducing the first code of written regulations for the internal management of the country.

Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), a most respectable civil servant of the Company, who had resided long in India, and had rendered important services there, was appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis as governor-general. Sir John had abundant local knowledge and industry. He was particularly skilled in the revenue system of India,

and was of very pacific habits ; and it appears to have been expected that all those great advantages which Lord Cornwallis had obtained, would be confirmed and improved, without any risk of war, or extension of political connections, by a governor possessed of these qualities. It was laid down by him as a rule, that the dictates of justice, no less than the dictates of *economy*, prescribed to the Company a system of non-interference with the internal affairs or mutual differences of the native states ; *unless* when interference should be required by the paramount duty of preserving the tranquillity and integrity of the Company's own dominions.

Sir John Shore entered upon the duties of government on the 28th of October, 1793, on which day Major General Sir Robert Abercromby assumed the office of commander-in-chief.

The pacific policy of this administration produced an effect the very reverse of that which was expected to result from it. The nizam, and other allies of the English who had a claim on their protection and assistance, were left to their own resources ; while the Mahrattas and Tippu Sultan were permitted to acquire a strength and importance that subsequently rendered them formidable, and led to years of severe and protracted warfare. In 1798, Sir John Shore resigned the government of India and sailed for England.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

Arrival of Lord Mornington—Tippu's schemes for an alliance with France—Discovered by the governor-general—War determined on against Tippu—Seringapatam taken by General Harris—Death and burial of Tippu—His cruel character—Colonel Wellesley made civil and military administrator at Seringapatam—Restoration of the ancient Hindu dynasty to the nominal sovereignty of Mysore.

THE nobleman who next filled the high and arduous post of governor-general, was the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley. This nobleman, whose splendid career almost eclipsed that of Clive and Hastings, reached Madras on the 22nd of May, 1798. He was sent with the strictest injunctions to follow a course directly opposite to that which he actually pursued.

The non-interference policy of his predecessor, Sir John Shore, had left the nizam in his exigencies, to allure into his employ a great number of French officers, who had organised a large and superior body of troops.

The attention of Lord Mornington, as soon as he assumed his office, was attracted to the proceedings of Tippu. That sovereign, like his father Hyder, had been long connected in close alliance with France, as the power by whose aid he hoped to subvert the dominion of England.

Early in June, 1798, the governor-general received the copy of a proclamation which had been issued by the French governor of the Mauritius, or Isle of France, together with information of enlistments making in that island for the service of the Mysorean sultan. This proclamation stated that Tippu Sultan, the great monarch of Mysore, had, through two ambassadors despatched for the purpose addressed letters to the colonial assembly of the Isle of France, to all the generals employed there, and to the

French Directory at Paris; and that the said letters contained the following clauses:

I. That he, Tippu Sultan, desired to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France; and offered to maintain at his own expense, during the continuance of the war in India, whatever troops should be furnished by the French; and to supply (with the exception of certain stores) every necessary for carrying on the war. II. That he had given assurances that all his preparations were already completed; and that the generals and officers would find everything necessary for carrying on a species of warfare to which Europeans had not been accustomed in their contests with the native powers in India. III. That he only waited for the succour of France to declare war against the English; and that it was his ardent desire to expel the English from India. Upon the ground of these facts, the French proclamation recommended a levy of men for the service of Tippu Sultan.

On the 18th of June, nearly at the very moment in which Lord Mornington received the copy of the proclamation and other intelligence from the Isle of France, the secret committee of the Court of Directors, wrote from London, to inform him that a large French armament had sailed from Toulon, on the 13th of May; and that it was conceived to be not impossible that India might be the object of attack by way of the Red Sea, after the conquest of Egypt. But long before this despatch of the secret committee could reach the governor-general, he received through the overland channel, positive information of the landing of Bonaparte and the French army in Egypt. Moreover, as soon as Bonaparte arrived in the valley of the Nile, he despatched a letter to Tippu requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him and concert measures for the *liberation* of India; and this letter was intercepted by the English, and sent to Lord Mornington.

In the meanwhile—as early as the 20th of June—some people from the Isle of France had joined Tippu in his camp, where one of their first operations was to set up a tree of liberty, surmounted by the red nightcap of liberty and equality. They next organized a Jacobin club in Seringapatam. The club was distinguished by this pecu-

liarity,—the members were required to swear hatred to tyranny, love of liberty and destruction to all kings and sovereigns, *except* the good and faithful ally of the French Republic, *Citizen Sultan Tippu*.

At the end of October, Lord Mornington received intelligence of the destruction of Bonaparte's fleet by Nelson, at the mouth of the Nile. But it was not upon that fleet in the Mediterranean that the French could have depended for their passage down the Red Sea, and across the Indian Ocean; and notwithstanding the great naval event, his lordship did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under his orders. He was still uncertain as to the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by embarking in another fleet, and taking the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope.

The things which were perfectly well known at the moment were these:—the Mahrattas were faithless, and eager for conquest or plunder: M. Perron, with his numerous disciplined troops, was every day gaining strength in the Mahratta country, and was looking forward for chances and combinations which might enable him to re-establish the French supremacy in India. Every one felt that with or without the arrival of a French armament on the coast, the implacable Mysorean had ample means of making himself dangerous, and would never cease caballing and agitating the country against the English. He had on foot an army of 76,600 men, of whom nearly 40,000 were disciplined.

The English forces in the Carnatic were not all concentrated until the beginning of November; and until that army was ready for the field, it would have been an imbecile act to threaten or remonstrate with Tippu. When that army was quite ready, explanations were demanded, which Tippu would not give. In order to be near the scene of negotiation or military operations, and to give to the public service his own quick spirit, and the advantages of a prompt decision upon every question, the governor-general quitted the ease and splendour of Calcutta, and sailed to Madras.

Tippu now declared that he was anxious for peace, and had never entertained intentions hostile to the English ; but he evasively refused to receive Major Doveton as an envoy from his lordship. The governor-general hereupon wrote another letter, recapitulating all the proceedings of the embassy to the Isle of France, and the other causes of offence and jealousy, which the sultan had given to the English. His lordship again entreated the sultan to receive Major Doveton. This letter was despatched on the 9th of January, 1799, and it reached Tippu about the 24th of that month. No reply was, however, received until about a month after it had been handed to Tippu ; and then—on the 13th of February—the answer came in the shape of a short and insolent note, in which the sultan said that he was going upon a hunting excursion, and that Major Doveton might be sent after him slightly attended.

But ten days before this tardy note reached him, Lord Mornington had put his armies in motion. The delay of Tippu had been considered as part of his design to procrastinate till the favourable season for the attack of his capital should be passed ; and, in the interval, it had been ascertained, that he had despatched another embassy to the French repeating that he was quite ready for the war, and calling upon them to hasten the equipment and sailing of an armament.

On the 3rd of February 1799, the governor-general had directed the British army under General Harris, and the nizam's army under Mir Alum, to advance against Mysore. His lordship addressed a letter to the Sultan offering moderate terms of accommodation and peace ; but he instructed General Harris to raise the terms in proportion to the sultan's obstinacy and the progress of the armies. The presence at Madras of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, a younger brother of the governor-general, the late illustrious DUKE OF WELLINGTON, had contributed very materially to change the feelings and opinions of the leading men in that presidency, where the majority had, at first, deprecated the war, not because they thought it unjust or unnecessary, but because they dreaded the expense and doubted its success.

Colonel Wellesley, who had arrived in India more than a year before his brother the governor-general, had also, studied the country and the means of carrying on war in it

and had paid great attention to the native troops, and to the means of improving the discipline of the whole army. He was at the head of his own regiment, the brave 33rd. That regiment was now attached to the nizam's force, and the general command of that force was given to Colonel Wellesley.

As early as the end of February, General Harris joined his army, which was then nearly assembled in the vicinity of Vellore. A finer army, and one more perfect in all points, had never taken the field in India. It consisted of 649 men, with sixty field-pieces, and forty heavy guns for battering. The nizam's contingent, under Colonel Wellesley, who was to advance with General Harris, amounted to 20,000 men including the 33rd regiment, 6,500 thoroughly disciplined sepoys and a large body of well-mounted cavalry from the Deccan. In addition to these forces, General Stuart was advancing from the Malabar coast, with a Bombay army of 6,000 fighting men, whereof 1,000 were Europeans; and another and smaller force under Colonels Read and T. Brown, was gathering in the productive country of the Baramahal, in order to co-operate on the enemy's flank, and to secure the bringing up of supplies to General Harris's grand army through the Caverypuram pass.

General Harris began his march from Vellore on the 11th of February; and on the 18th he was joined by Colonel Wellesley with the nizam's army. The movements were impeded by want of good bullocks; but on the 5th of March, General Harris crossed Tippu's frontiers, and commenced hostilities by reducing several hill forts.

Instead of advancing towards the Coromandel coast to meet the grand army under Harris and Wellesley, Tippu marched towards the Malabar coast to encounter the small army of Bombay, before they should get clear of the jungles of Coorg; and on the 6th of March, a battle took place in that wooded country, between the van of the Bombay army and Tippu's forces. Three of the battalions of Bombay sepoys, under Colonel Montresor, though taken by surprise and at a distance from their main body, sufficed to keep the Mysoreans at bay from an early hour in the morning until half-past two in the afternoon. Then General Stuart came up with the main body of the Bombay army, and

completely defeated Tippu, who fled to Periapatam, whence he marched, not without confusion, to Seringapatam.

It was not until the 26th of March, that Tippu descended towards the Coromandel coast, and showed his whole army in General Harris's front. Tippu endeavoured to stop the high-road; and on the 27th of March, a battle was fought on ground of his own choosing between Sultanpet and Mallavelly. The British army under General Harris formed the right wing; the nizam's army, with the 33rd regiment, under Colonel Wellesley, formed the left. The affair began with a hot fire of artillery from the Mysorean's numerous and well served parks, and ended with a bayonet charge by the 33rd. The loss of Tippu, in killed and wounded, was estimated at nearly 2,000; but this battle of Mallavelly cost the English only sixty-six men, in killed, wounded, and missing. The efficient state of the Mysore gun cattle, and the miserable condition of the Carnatic bullocks, precluded all idea of a successful pursuit.

Though sadly daunted, Tippu prepared to obstruct the advance of the invading army, which was now little more than thirty miles from Seringapatam; but he committed the serious mistake of believing that General Harris would take the same road which Lord Cornwallis had taken in 1792. Harris, however, chose a very different and a much better route, and moving with great secrecy, he got across the Cavery river and on another road, while Tippu completely at fault, was looking for him on the direct road to Seringapatam. After committing some other mistakes, the Mysorean threw himself into his capital, and manned the lines in front of it. By the 5th of April, General Harris was encamped on the ground which had been occupied by Abercromby, in 1792, and the fine fortress, the white walls, the domes and minarets of Seringapatam, were once more in full view of the troops. Many alterations and additions had been made to the works since the English last lay under them; for 6,000 men had been constantly at work on the fortifications during six years.

There was some hard fighting in the lines and at the outward defences; in a night attack, Colonel Wellesley had a very narrow escape from death; but the Mysoreans were driven in, the approaches were pushed with vigour, and by the 20th of April, the last parallel was completed by Gene-

ral Harris, who, by this time, had been joined by the Bombay army, under General Stuart. A close breaching-battery was opened upon the fortress on the morning of the 30th. On the 2nd of May, a second breaching-battery began its work of demolition. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of May, Colonel Wellesley, who was commanding in the trenches, reported that the breach was practicable. The storming-party was composed of upwards of 4000 men, divided into two columns, who were instructed, after entering the breach, to file to the right and left along the top of the rampart. The command was intrusted to Sir David Baird, who had been nearly four years immured as a captive in the gloomy dungeons of that fortress which he was now about to enter as a conqueror. On the following morning the troops destined for the assault were got into the trenches; and at the hour of noon they rushed into the breach, and took Seringapatam by storm, in an incredibly short space of time. Tippu Sultan, pierced with four wounds, was found dead under a dark gateway of the fortress, where his flight had been stopped by a part of the 12th regiment.

During the whole of the siege and assault, from the 4th of April to the 4th of May inclusive, twenty-two officers were killed, and forty-five wounded; 181 British soldiers were killed, and 622 wounded; while the loss in native troops was 119 killed, and 420 wounded. On the 4th of May, when the storm was made, Tippu's forces consisted of 48,000 men, of whom about 22,000 were either in the fort or in the dependent intrenchments of Seringapatam. Counting natives and all classes of troops, General Harris had never more than 20,000 men actually occupied in the siege; and the two divisions which carried the place did not count many more than 4,000 men.

General Baird, who had led the storming party, sent Major Beatson to request that he and his people might be relieved that night, as they were much fatigued with the exertions of the day. It is usual to relieve storming parties as soon as possible after a place has been taken; and among several important reasons for this usage is the consideration that fresh troops, who have not been exposed to the horrors of assault, and whose blood has not been inflamed by seeing their comrades fall by their sides, are less likely to commit excesses in the town than the men who have been so exposed.

The body of Tippu Sultan was buried, with military honours, on the 5th of May, the day after his death, in the superb mausoleum of Lall Baug, which he had erected to his father, Hyder Ali. A violent storm of thunder and lightning, which killed several Europeans and natives, gave an awful interest to these last and solemn rites. The British grenadiers formed a street, and presented arms. The burial service having been performed, a kirant or charitable gift of 5,000 rupees, was distributed by the kazi to the fakirs and the poor who attended the funeral. This was all strictly conformable to the Mahometan religion; and, monster though he had been, Tippu had ever professed himself a devout Mussulman, and had ever been most scrupulous in outward observances. No doubt was left as to his having inhumanly murdered some English prisoners taken on the night of the unfortunate affair in which Colonel Wellesley was so near perishing. Black as was the deed, it was merciful in comparison with some which he had committed on the English fifteen years before.

Everywhere within and about the palace, evidence met the eye or ear of his depraved and sanguinary tastes. His name meant tiger; he called his soldiers his tigers of war; and the tigers of the Indian jungles were his pets, and often his executioners—for the attendant that offended him, or the prisoner that was brought into his presence, was not unfrequently turned into a barred room, or large cage, where the savage animals were let loose upon him. Near the door of his treasury an enormous tiger had been found chained. There were other tigers in the edifice, and so numerous as to give some trouble to Colonel Wellesley. The history and character of the son of Hyder were, in a manner, told by the barbarous big toy which was invented for his amusement, which was found in his palace, and which may now be seen in the library of the East India House, Leadenhall-street. This rude automaton is a tiger killing and about to devour a European who lies prostrate under the savage beast.

The treasure discovered amounted in specie and jewels, to about one million sterling, the whole of which was, by order of the governor-general and council, distributed to the army. All the members of the sultan's family were very soon in the hands of the conquerors, although several

of them were not within the walls of Seringapatam at the time of the storm. Most of the sultan's principal officers came in voluntarily in the course of a few days, and submitted to the English, without any other condition than that they should be preserved in their lives, titles, and estates. Most of Tippu's Frenchmen were made prisoners.

In the meanwhile, Colonel Wellesley had exerted himself to the utmost to put an end to those excesses which almost invariably and unavoidably attend the capture of a place by storm. Four marauders were brought to a drum-head trial, and handed over to the provost-marshal. These examples, and the personal activity and incessant care of Wellesley, who went to the house of the principal inhabitants and himself placed guards at their doors, soon inspired a general confidence. People returned to their habitations and ordinary occupations; the bazars, stored with all sorts of provisions and merchandize, were reopened; and the native traders found a ready and profitable sale, as the conquering army was in want of almost everything, and paid for all they took. Three days after the capture of the fortress,—thanks to the exertions and personal influence of the noble commandant,—the main streets of Seringapatam were so crowded, as to be almost impassable, and exhibited rather the appearance of a fair, than that of a town just taken by assault. General Wellesley was permanent commandant of a regular permanent garrison for the place.

The empire which Hyder Ali had erected was now thrown to the ground; but, restricted by parliamentary declarations and orders from home, which forbade wars of conquest, the governor-general could not, as he ought to have done, take immediate sovereignty over the whole of this empire. He therefore determined to dismember the dominions; to retain in his own hands those districts which lay along the sea shore, or which interrupted in any way the communication between different provinces already subject to the Company; to make over a second portion to the nizam of the Deckan; to offer, upon certain conditions, a third portion to the peshwa; and to raise to the government of the fourth and smallest portion, a descendant of that ancient line of Hindu rajas which Hyder Ali

had set aside by right of force or conquest. In pursuance of this plan, Maharaja Krishna Oudawer, a child of six years old, the lineal representative of the ancient Hindu dynasty or family of Mysore, was raised to the throne of a principality neither less extensive nor less powerful, in spite of recent events, than that over which his forefathers had reigned. Finally, the sons of Tippu on whom a liberal pension was settled, set out under a military escort to Vellore, where, though kept under surveillance, they lived in luxury and splendour, and were treated with great kindness.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.—*Continued.*

The robber Dhundiah Waugh—Pursued by Colonel Wellesley and defeated—Insurrection in Benares—War with the Mahrattas—French intrigues—The peshwa seeks the aid of the English against Scindiah—Battle of Assaye—Great Victory.

WHILE Colonel Wellesley, who had been left at Seringapatam as governor of Mysore, was displaying administrative talents of the most valuable kind, and getting that country into perfect order, he was called into the field by the return of the robber Dhundiah Waugh, who had collected an enormous force. This freebooter, a Mahratta or Patan by lineage, though borne within the territory of Mysore, had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippu. He had deserted the Mysoreans during their war with Lord Cornwallis, and had placed himself at the head of a fierce and numerous body of banditti in the wild country near the Toombudra river. By stratagem Tippu had caught him, and he was immured in one of the dungeons of Seringapatam, and strongly chained to the wall like a wild beast when the citadel was taken by the English. Pitying all the tyrant's prisoners, and knowing nothing of the man's history, some of the soldiers instantly set him free.

He was soon at the head of such a force, and was so rapid in his movements, that it had given Colonel Stevenson no small trouble to drive him out of the country in the preceding month of August. Early in this year Dhundiah threatened the frontier of Mysore with 5,000 horse, and took to himself the title of the "King of the Two Worlds." With a weak enemy to contend with, Dhundiah, like Hyder, might have founded a royal dynasty. His destruction was absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of the country. Dhundiah had an asylum in the Mahratta country. Colonel Wellesley recommended that the most vigorous measures should be taken, even though it should be found necessary to cross the Mahratta frontier in the pursuit

His brother, the governor-general, authorized him to enter the Mahratta territory, it being evident that the peshwa was either unable or unwilling to put down the great depredator.

Though a campaign, in regard to the forces employed and the object to be obtained, the operations of Wellesley were like a hunting-match, or a long continued chase, and as such as they are described in his own despatches, and not without humour and hilarity. He followed up the robbers in every direction. He surprised some of their encampments, and took some fortified towns in which they had deposited their plunder; but weeks and months elapsed before he could come up with the main body of these nimble thieves. At last, on the 9th of September, Dhundiah Waugh came too near to Colonel Wellesley, who had left his infantry far behind, and was pursuing only with cavalry. The next morning the rebellious army was completely routed and all their camp destroyed. Many of the marauders, and Dhundiah himself, were killed.

In the North other disturbances were quelled. Sir John Shore had deposed Vizir Ali the nabob of Oude, who gradually increased the number of his armed retainers, and engaged some of the principal people of Benares to join him in an insurrection. Under pretence of visiting the English Resident, Mr. Cherry, Vizir Ali gained entrance into his house, and treacherously murdered him, his private secretary, and Capt. Conway. The assassins, now swelled into a numerous gang, went next to the house of Mr. Davis, the district judge, who however defended himself bravely, and on a narrow winding staircase, succeeded in keeping the rebels at bay for an hour and a half, by which time General Erskine came up with a force of cavalry, and soon put the rabble to flight.

The government then took measures to break up the feudal bands of retainers, and to scatter those desperate bravos, the bankas, who had so long disturbed the peace of Benares and other districts.

In the Carnatic it was found necessary to assume the civil and military government, and pension the nabob and his principal officers, in order to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and save the cultivators of the soil from oppression and ruin.

The imminency of a Mahratta war had been apparent ever since the arrival of the Marquis Wellesley in India. With the aid of the French, they had attained to a height of military power which was altogether incompatible with the existence of security and tranquillity in the neighbouring states ; and which would have been eminently perilous to the English rule, if Bonaparte could at any time have sent a strong armament to India. The fleets of France and Spain had not yet been destroyed at Trafalgar ; and Bonaparte could as yet dispose of great naval means and resources.

It has been seen that the great Mahratta chief Scindiah rejected all overtures of friendship with the English, and kept his own sovereign, the peshwa, in a state of miserable subjection, through the great military force he possessed in M. Perron's disciplined troops. Not satisfied with the submissiveness of his sovereign, and with the vast power he himself possessed, Scindiah made war upon the peshwa, and with the help of M. Perron and his battalions and formidable artillery, he drove him out of Poonah, his capital. The dispossessed peshwa applied for assistance to the English, and, escaping to the coast, he put himself under their protection. The moment had now come for breaking up the vast power of the Mahratta confederacy.

The governor-general had three great objects in view—to restore the comparatively pacific and friendly peshwa—to destroy or dissipate the disciplined forces which Perron had raised as a match for the Company's sepoys—and to defeat Scindiah's vast plans of encroachment and aggrandizement, which were threatening to convulse the whole of India. Hordes of banditti had been for some time daily pouring in from Malwa and Hindostan, to enrol themselves at Poonah, under the banners of Scindiah, who promised them plunder as well as pay. It was impossible that these devouring armies should limit their operations to the Mahratta states, or to the contest for the sovereignty of those countries ; they must be early forced by want, if not invited by policy, to invade the richer territories defended by the British government, or the territories defended by British arms.

Moreover, the powerful raja of Berar united his forces to those of Scindiah, and other Hindu chiefs engaged to make common cause with him. The scene, too, was now

becoming open to French intrigue, and the artful influences of Bonaparte. The governor-general had received intelligence of the peace of Amiens, which would allow the French to revisit India as friends, and then to renew their correspondence and connections with all the enemies of the English. As a statesman, Lord Wellesley knew that that hollow peace could not be lasting ; but he also knew that it might give time to the French to mature plans for the renewal of the war on the soil of India.

The peshwa, in imploring English assistance, had engaged to receive a subsidiary English force, and to cede, for its subsistence and pay, territories rendering an annual revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The peshwa at the same time engaged to identify his interests with those of the Company, and to conclude a defensive alliance on the basis of the treaty of Hyderabad, which Lord Wellesley had concluded with the nizam of the Deckan.

In the treaty of Bassein, finally concluded on the 31st of December, 1802, these conditions were inserted. Moreover, the peshwa renounced all claims to Surat and to the other districts in Guzerat which had recently been assumed by the Company ; he agreed to abide by the arbitration of the Company in all its unsettled disputes with the nizam : and he also engaged to discharge from his service any Europeans that belonged to nations hostile to the English, or that were discovered meditating injury or carrying on intrigues injurious to the interests of the English. In return, the English government bound itself to furnish to the peshwa a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry, with a complement of field-pieces and European artillerymen. The treaty of Bassein was confirmed by the governor-general on the 11th of February, 1803.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of Bassein, the Madras army, under General Stuart, was ordered to advance into the Mahratta territory for the purpose of reinstating the peshwa ; and the governor-general's brother, who had been advanced to the rank of major-general, was appointed to command a select corps in advance, with which he was to make a dash upon Poonah. Having received, on the road, information that it was intended to burn Poonah on the approach of the English, General Wellesley, leaving his infantry behind, pushed on with his

cavalry, and, performing a march of sixty miles in thirty hours, reached that town on the 20th of April, and saved it from destruction. In the month of May, the peshwa re-entered his capital.

It was in this beginning of the Mahratta campaigns, and through means which will afterwards be explained, that General Wellesley, by his astonishingly rapid movements, made a new era in Indian warfare.

After some very fruitless negotiations with Scindiah, General Wellesley, marched from Poonah to the north, and took by escalade the strong town of Ahmednuggur. Nearly at the same time General Lake, in command of a part of the Bengal army, marched towards Delhi, and other forces were advancing from different points against the Mahrattas. As in the days of Warren Hastings, immense tracts of country were traversed by the different columns, and combined movements were executed with far more precision and rapidity. With great wisdom the governor-general had given to Lake in the North, and to General Wellesley in the Deckan, most ample political, as well as military power. They could fight or negotiate as they chose.

On the 21st of August, General Wellesley crossed the Godavery river, and entered Arungabad on the 29th. The enemy manifested an intention to cross the river to the eastward, and steal a march upon Hyderabad, the capital of the Company's ally, the nizam, which had been left rather bare of troops; but they were prevented, by Wellesley rapidly marching along the left bank of the river, and placing himself between them and that city.

Scindiah, who had an immense mass of irregular cavalry, and whose infantry were very lightly equipped—while both horse and foot lived only on plunder, and carried no magazines with them—was enabled, for more than a month, to avoid a general engagement. He dreaded the name of Wellesley and the discipline of his troops; and he only thought of carrying on a predatory warfare, supporting his men at the expense of the subjects of the nizam and other allies of the English, and wearing out the troops by continual marches and partial affrays.

About the middle of September, General Wellesley learned that the Mahratta leader had been reinforced by sixteen

battalions of regular infantry, commanded by French officers, and a large force of artillery, and that the whole of his force was assembled near the banks of the Kaitna river. On the 21st of September, Wellesley had a conference with Colonel Stevenson, who had come up with the nizam's auxiliary force, now (through the governor-general's arrangements) almost entirely composed of disciplined, faithful, and brave sepoys. A combined attack on the enemy was at once concerted.

On the 22nd, Colonel Stevenson took the western route, and Wellesley the eastern, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna. They expected to join forces and attack the enemy early on the morning of the 24th. But on the 23rd the general received a report that Scindiah and the rajah of Berar had moved off that morning with their myriads of horse, and that their infantry were about to follow, but were as yet in camp, at the distance of about six miles from him. General Wellesley therefore determined to march upon the infantry and engage it at once. He sent a messenger to Colonel Stevenson, who was at the moment about eight miles off on his left, to acquaint him with his intention, and to direct his advance with all possible rapidity; he then moved forward with the 19th light dragoons and three regiments of native cavalry to reconnoitre. His infantry, consisting of only two British and five sepoy battalions, followed with all their speed.

After he had ridden about four miles, Wellesley, from an elevated plain, saw not only the infantry, but the whole Mahratta force, consisting of about 50,000 men, encamped on the north side of the Kaitna, where the banks of that river were very steep and rocky. Their right consisting of cavalry, extended to Bokerdon; their left, consisting of infantry, with ninety pieces of artillery, lay near the fortified village of Assaye, which has given its name to the memorable battle. No thought of retreat was entertained. Wellesley resolved to attack the infantry on its left and rear, and for that purpose he moved his little army to a ford a little beyond the enemy's left, leaving the Mysore and other irregular cavalry to watch the Mahratta cavalry, and crossing the river only with his regular horse and infantry.

He passed the ford, ascended the steep bank, and formed his men in three lines, two of infantry and the

third of horse. This was effected under a brisk cannonade from the enemy's artillery. Scindiah, or the European officer who directed his movements, promptly made a corresponding change in his line, giving a new front to his infantry, which was now made to rest its right on the river, and its left upon the village of Assaye. Scindiah's numerous and well-served cannon did terrible execution among Wellesley's advancing lines, killing men and bullocks, and drowning the weak sound of his scanty artillery. At one moment such a gap was made by a cannon-ball in the English right, that some of the Mahratta cavalry attempted to charge through it; but the British cavalry in the third line came up and drove the Mahrattas back with great slaughter.

Finding his artillery of little or no use (the guns could not be brought up for lack of bullocks), General Wellesley gave orders to leave it in the rear, and bade the infantry charge with the bayonet. His steady, resolute advance in the teeth of their guns had already awed the Mahrattas, who would not stand to meet the collision of the bright English steel; their infantry gave way and abandoned their terrible guns. One body of them formed again, and presented a bold front; but Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell charged them with the British cavalry, broke and dispersed them, and was killed in the moment of victory. Scindiah's disciplined infantry now fled, and left ninety pieces of cannon in the hands of the conqueror. General Wellesley led the 78th British infantry in person against the village of Assaye, which was not cleared without a desperate combat. It was night when the firing ceased.

This splendid victory cost General Wellesley nearly one third of his force, in killed and wounded. He himself had two horses killed under him, one shot and the other piked; every one of his staff-officers had one or two horses killed, and his orderly's head was knocked off by a cannon-ball as he rode close by his side. The enemy left 1,200 dead, and a great number badly wounded, on the field of battle. (Sept. 23, 1803.)

Colonel Stevenson, who had encountered unexpected obstacles on his route, arrived at Assaye early on the 24th, and was despatched after the flying enemy.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY—*Concluded.*

General Lake advances on Dehli—Great battle—Dehli entered—Agra surrenders to Lake—Battle of Laswaree—Lake's brilliant victory—Wellesley re-opens his campaign—Battle of Ergaum—Siege of Gawil Ghur—Scindiah negotiates—Gangs of banditti—Suppressed by Wellesley—His government of Mysore—address from the natives—Mahrattas violate the treaty—Holkar defeated by Lord Lake—Marquis Wellesley quits India—character of his administration.

WHILE these things were doing in the south, General Lake continued both his advance upon Dehli, and a correspondence, which had been commenced with M. Perron, who was now finding that his troops were dispirited and disaffected. Yet the garrison of Alighur, the ordinary residence of Perron, and his principal military depot, made a desperate resistance, and did not yield the fort to Lake (on the 4th of September) until 2,000 of them had perished. On the fall of Alighur, M. Perron made good terms with General Lake, quitted the service of Scindiah, and retired with his family and effects to Lucknow, declaring that the treachery of the Mahrattas and the ingratitude of his European officers, had convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless. The governor-general attached great importance to the withdrawing of this very able French adventurer.

On the 11th of September General Lake, who had resumed his march upon Dehli, was informed that the army, which had belonged to Perron, and which was now commanded by another Frenchman, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi, under cover of night, with the intention of fighting a battle for the defence of the ancient capital of the great Moguls, but which was now the prison of Shah Alum, the feeble representative of those Mussulman monarchs and conquerors. Lake's troops were fatigued with a long march, and oppressed by the excessive heat of the weather, when they reached their ground of encampment,

about six miles from Delhi ; and they had scarcely pitched their tents before they were attacked by some of the Frenchman's powerful squadron.

This officer, named Louis Bourquieu, had 19,000 men under his command ; and he had posted his main body on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank, so that it was only his front which could be attacked, and that front was defended by a line of intrenchments, and almost as many guns as were turned against Wellesley at Assaye. Lake had only 4,500 men. By some ingenious movements he tempted the enemy from the heights and intrenchments down to the plain ; and, when they thought he was about to fly from the field, he turned short upon them with one volley, and then with the bayonet. They could not stand the charge : they ran towards their guns, which they had brought down to the plain, and which opened a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. But another volley and another bayonet-charge drove them from their now exposed pieces ; a charge of Lake's cavalry, and some rounds from his flying artillery, completed the overthrow ; and the enemy fled beyond the Jumna, leaving behind them 3,000 or 4,000 killed, wounded, or prisoners, sixty-eight cannon, a great quantity of ammunition, and their military chest. While it lasted, the affair was very hot : General Lake had his horse shot under him, and nearly 400 of his people were laid low by the grape and chain shot.

On the next morning Lake encamped opposite the city of Delhi, which, together with the fortress, was evacuated by those who held the Mogul in thralldom. On the 14th of September, Louis Bourquieu and four other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war in the British camp. On the 16th General Lake paid a visit to Shah Alum, who had first come upon the stage in the time of the great Lord Clive. The Mogul, who was now old, and blind, and miserably poor, received Lake as a deliverer, and gave him, which was about all he could give, a series of sounding oriental titles. The descendant of Tamerlane had some reason to rejoice at being received into British protection ; Scindiah had tyrannized over him in the most barbarous manner, and before Scindiah had possession of his person and dominions, a chief named Gholaum Khadur had struck out one of his eyes with his own dagger.

Another of the French adventurers surrendered, and now no man of any military note or ability, of that nation, remained in this part of India.

From Delhi General Lake marched on to Agra, where he arrived on the 4th of October. On the 17th the fortress of Agra was surrendered to him.

On the 27th, when he had garrisoned and secured that fortress, Lake started in pursuit of the enemy. The rains were falling heavily, the roads were in a wretched state, and at some points they were inundated by the Mahrattas, who had cut the embankments of great reservoirs; but speed was necessary, and both British and native troops exerted themselves to the utmost, and, leaving the rest of his forces behind him, Lake, on getting near the Mahrattas, pushed forward with his cavalry alone, and marched from midnight on the 31st of October, till seven o'clock the next morning. Then he found the enemy well posted, with their right upon a stream, their left on the village of Laswaree and with their front garnished with seventy-two pieces of artillery. Lake's foremost brigade came in contact with the enemy's left, and drove it in and penetrated into the village of Laswaree, which has given its name to the battle. But in the village they were exposed to a terrible fire of artillery and musketry; Colonel Vandeleur fell, and Lake thought it prudent to draw off the brigade.

The infantry and artillery, which Lake had left behind had started on his track three hours after midnight, and had continued to march with such spirit, that they made twenty-five miles in less than eight hours, and joined him and his cavalry a little before eleven o'clock in the day. At their appearance the enemy offered, upon certain conditions, to surrender their guns and retire. Lake, anxious to stop the effusion of blood, granted the conditions, but seeing that the Mahrattas hesitated, he gave them one hour to decide whether they would accept the terms or fight. The hour expired, and then the real battle began.

On the side of the British the brunt was borne by the king's 76th regiment, and a battalion and five companies of sepoys, who had to sustain a tremendous fire of canister shot, and a massive charge of cavalry. "This handful of heroes," though thinned by the enemy's artillery, stood

firm, and repulsed the Mahratta horse. Then Major Griffiths was sent at the head of the 29th dragoons to sweep away that numerous cavalry, a duty which he performed thoroughly, but not without losing his own life, being struck by a cannon-ball. Then followed the terrible bayonet-charge of the British infantry, the right wing of which was led by Major-General Ware, until his head was carried off by another cannon-shot. For a time the enemy disputed every point foot by foot, only giving way when the bayonets were at their breast, and their own captured guns were turned against them.

The Mahratta infantry fought like well disciplined soldiers. Even when borne down, they attempted to make a retreat in good order; but this attempt was frustrated by a brilliant charge made by the 27th dragoons and one of the regiments of native cavalry. This charge finished the affair. The mass of the enemy either fled from the field or cried for quarter and surrendered; and all the artillery, all the baggage, and nearly everything belonging to them, fell into the hands of the victors. With the exception of 2,000, who surrendered, their seventeen disciplined battalions were destroyed. It was calculated that the dead alone on the field did not fall short of 7,000. Except a portion of their cavalry and some broken infantry, who concealed themselves among the bazar people, none of Scindiah's Mahrattas escaped. The English loss amounted to 172 killed, 652 wounded. General Lake, who had personally led the charge of cavalry in the morning before the infantry came up, who had afterwards led on the 79th, and who had conducted nearly every operation of the day, had two horses shot under him, and saw his son badly wounded by his side.

But Lake had now defeated, routed, and annihilated that army of Perron which had caused the governor-general such great and reasonable alarm: he had placed in the hands of the English nearly all the extensive territories watered by the Jumna; and between his exertions and those of General Wellesley, the power of Scindiah was utterly shattered before the end of the year.

Shortly after his splendid victory at Assaye, Wellesley re-opened his campaign with vigour, and Scindiah's towns, castles, and fortified posts fell, one by one, into his hands,

in the course of October and November. Towards the end of November, Scindiah prayed for and obtained a truce ; but his ally, the raja of Berar, still kept the field in great force, and it was suspected, or rather it was known, that Scindiah was negotiating only to gain time for bringing up more troops. Under these circumstances, General Wellesley determined to bring on, if possible, a second decisive battle. Effecting a junction with Colonel Stevenson, who was close to the heels of the Berar army, on the 28th of November, he advanced in full force against the enemy, who retreated before him, covering their rear with their innumerable irregular cavalry.

These movements were continued on the 29th, Wellesley's Mysore cavalry driving the Mahrattas before them ; but having arrived within a short distance of Argaum (a small village in the province of Berar), the troops were ordered to halt, and they were beginning to encamp, when a report came in that the enemy's cavalry was vastly increased, and that the Mysoreans in front were giving ground. A support was at once ordered out, and, proceeding at its head, General Wellesley soon beheld, not the army of Berar alone, but the united armies of Scindiah and the Berar raja. Although the day was far spent, the general determined to attack on the instant. The British line advanced in the best order, Scindiah's cavalry charged one of the sepoy regiments, and was repulsed ; and then the whole Mahratta line retired in disorder, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition on the field. The British cavalry pursued the enemy for several miles, taking many elephants, camels, and much baggage. On this day General Wellesley was on horseback from six in the morning till nearly twelve at night.

That indefatigable commander now determined to lose no time in commencing the siege of Gawil-Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India, situated on a lofty rock, in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Tapee. The chief management of the siege was intrusted to Colonel Stevenson, the General covering the operations with his own division and all the cavalry. It took Stevenson from the 7th of December to the 12th to reach the ground ; and during those five days the troops went through a series of laborious services, such as nobody with the army had ever witnessed before.

After all these toils, there was that of breaking ground before the formidable fortress. But by the 12th December, at night, ground was broken, and two batteries were erected in front of the north face of the fort of Gawil-Ghur. The enemy's garrison was numerous : it consisted of Rajputs, and of a great body of regular infantry, who had escaped from the battle of Argaum, and who were all well armed with English muskets and bayonets; but on the 15th, some breaches being made, and the outer walls carried by storm, the light infantry of the 94th regiment, headed by Captain Campbell, fixed their ladders against the inner fort, in which no breach whatever had been made, gallantly escalated the high wall, and opened the gate for the storming party, who, in a trice, were entire masters of every part of the fortress.

On the 17th of December, or two days after the fall of Gawil-Ghur, the raja of Beror signed the conditions of peace which Wellesley dictated, ceding to the Company the important province of Cuttack, with the district of Balasore, and dismissing all the French or other European officers in his service. Before the raja ratified the treaty, General Wellesley had made three marches towards Nagpore, "in order to keep alive the impression under which it was evident that the treaty had been concluded." As soon as Scindiah found that the raja had made peace, he began to be alarmed, and implored to be allowed to negotiate ; and on the 30th of December, he signed a treaty of peace, by which he yielded to the Company all the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, beside numerous forts, territories, rights, and interests; engaging to conform to the treaties which the Company had made with the peshwa, and, in case of any difference afterwards between him and the peshwa, to admit the mediation, arbitration, and final decision of the Company.

After the war with Scindiah was over, fragments of his armies, and gangs of banditti from nearly all parts of India, gathered behind the Godavery, and began plundering and devastating the whole of the western Deccan. Early in the spring of the year 1804, General Wellesley crossed the Godavery to put them down. As they refused the lenient terms he offered, he endeavoured to cut them off by making forced marches over eighty miles of the roughest country. The marauders, for the most part mounted, were greatly

superior to their pursuers, and were well furnished with field-pieces. At one spot they made a stand, but were soon defeated by the British and Mysore cavalry. Wellesley then followed them with astonishing rapidity from hill to hill, nor did he cease his pursuit until he had entirely destroyed or dispersed them, and captured all their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and bazars. The fatigue was excessive; not a few of his men and horses died of it: he himself described the marches made as being "terrible," and after the lapse of many years, and many other arduous services, he still spoke of this as the most laborious service in which he had ever been engaged.

This flying campaign beyond the Godavery concluded General Wellesley's important military service in India. But his civil services had been equally important and equally honorable to himself. Under his master mind and vigilant superintendence, the whole of the Mysore had been well administered; numerous abuses, on the part of the civil as well as the military servants of the Company, had been checked, and agriculture and trade had flourished, while the storm of war was raging in other parts of India.

His minute attention to everything that tended to promote the well being of the population may be seen in the measures he took for introducing vaccination, then only recently discovered in England. This fact has not before been made public; but the records of the Mysore Government furnish evidence of its truth.

During the five years of General Wellesley's government, the whole country had, in fact attained to a higher degree of prosperity than could possibly have been anticipated in so short a time; and through this prosperity it had been enabled in some degree to repay to the Company, during the late Mahratta war, the benefits which it had derived from British influence, protection, government, and power. And yet, during all this time, large sums had been annually appropriated to the construction or repair of tanks, aqueducts, watercourses, roads, bridges, and other public works, which tended to the further improvement of agriculture, trade, and all the resources of Mysore. Great numbers of industrious people from other

parts of Hindustan came and settled in the country, one of the best of all proofs that the government and administration were good. An excellent police was organized, and the wildest, the most mountainous and woody districts became, for the first time, amenable to law, tranquil and orderly.

The natives, of all religions and of all castes, well knew to whom they were indebted for these great boons, and were eloquent in the expression of their gratitude. On General Wellesley's return from the Mahratta war, the following address was presented to him :—

“ We, the inhabitants of Seringapatam, have reposed for five auspicious years under the shadow of your protection.

“ We have felt, even during your absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that your care for our prosperity has been extended to us in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied your mind.

“ We are preparing to perform, in our several castes, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God, who has brought you back in safety ; and we present ourselves in person to express our joy.

“ As your labours have been crowned with victory, so may your repose be graced with honours. May you long continue personally to dispense to us that full stream of security and happiness, which we first received with wonder, and continue to enjoy with gratitude ; and, when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all castes and all nations deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayers for your health, your glory, and your happiness.”

In March, 1805, when the General was preparing to leave the East for ever, the grateful natives again expressed, in the form of an address, their exceeding thankfulness for the tranquillity, security, and happiness they had enjoyed under his auspicious protection, concluding with a prayer to God to grant him health and a safe and pleasant voyage to Europe, but with the expression of an earnest hope for his speedy return to India, once more to extend and uphold that protection over them, which his ample local knowledge of their customs and manners was so capable of affording.

Notwithstanding the decisive victories of Wellesley and Lake in 1802—3, a fresh war broke out in 1804. The Mah-

ratta chiefs violated every engagement into which they had entered. Holkar's army, like a horde of freebooters, levied tribute and wasted the country on the very borders of the Company's territories. Instead of replying to any remonstrance he allowed time to pass, during which more flying and marauding troops of horse joined his standard. General (now Lord) Lake, and General Fraser were sent against him, with a large force. Holkar kept retreating for a long time before his army, which suffered much from the great length of the marches they were obliged to make, and the excessive heat of the weather. After capturing several fortified towns, Lord Lake returned, in June, to Cawnpore, where the troops rested during the rains. There was hard fighting in other directions, and during the first campaign of 1804 the English captured 450 pieces of the finest cannon, and a vast quantity of military stores.

In October Lord Lake again took the field and reached Delhi just in time to save it from the Mahrattas who were vigorously besieging it. After a long and fatiguing pursuit after Holkar's troops, Lord Lake, by a forced night march of thirty-six miles, surprised them near Furruckbad. The whole camp was soon covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded. Holkar himself escaped, but his cavalry was dispersed or ruined. Lake continued the pursuit for upwards of ten miles; and as his march during the preceding day and night was fifty-eight miles, the distance to which the enemy was followed, and the space passed over before he took up a new encampment ground, exceeded seventy miles in twenty-four hours—an effort scarcely paralleled in military history. About the same time General Fraser took the strong fort of Deeg, but died of his wounds soon after the battle. In this desperate engagement Holkar lost most of his disciplined infantry; and the war might have been terminated but for an alliance then made with raja of Bhurtpoor.

In January 1805, Lord Lake moved to Bhurtpoor, which he besieged for above three months, and lost 3000 men in the attempts made to carry the place by storm. On the 10th of April the raja went in person to the English camp and implored peace. This was granted on certain stringent conditions.

At this junction the Marquis Cornwallis returned to

India to succeed the Marquis Wellesley as governor-general. This nobleman on his arrival in Calcutta proceeded to the upper provinces to consult with Lake, but at his advanced age could ill bear the fatigues of the journey. He died on the road and was buried near Benares.

Lord Lake followed Holkar into the Punjab, and in January 1806, a treaty of peace was made with the Mahrattas, which was followed by a transitory calm. The Marquis Wellesley quitted India on the 26th of August, 1805, shortly after the arrival of the Marquis Cornwallis at Calcutta. He was not left to accomplish his own great plans, and some portions of his great scheme were impeded or spoiled by his immediate successors, or by the policy dictated to them by the home government. During the latter years of his administration, when his difficulties were greatest, he was not cordially supported in England by any party whatever; and his schemes were severely criticised by men who did not comprehend them, and who could not see that present expenditure would be attended by immense future savings. The British legislature had but slowly followed the progress of the power of the Company in India. It had legislated for factories, when the Company was in possession of provinces; and by the time the laws were completed to govern provinces, the Company had acquired kingdoms.

During the whole of his Indian administration, the Marquis Wellesley laudably exerted himself to promote the welfare of the natives. Like Warren Hastings, he was the patron of every project which seemed likely to improve the condition and civilization of the people, or to be useful in giving the European servants of the Company the means of becoming better acquainted with their languages, their manners and modes of thinking, their ancient laws and institutions. As soon as he reached Calcutta, he contemplated the foundation of a college in that city for the proper education of civil servants. Like all his conceptions, this plan was on a large and liberal scale.

He proposed that the institution should contain professors of ethics, jurisprudence, the law of nations, English law, classical literature, the modern languages of Europe, history, geography, and the physical sciences. He made a good beginning, and appointed some able teachers.

of the Oriental languages, laws, and the like ; but his plan was considered as too expensive, and was objected to upon other grounds. The college of Fort William was reduced to little more than a seminary for the instruction of the Bengal civil servants, in the languages used in that presidency. But, at home, the East-India college of Hailybury arose soon after.

Lord Wellesley's strenuous efforts were also directed to the extension of the commerce and commercial intercourse of India, and to the commencement and formation of those important financial reforms which in the course of a few years doubled the revenues of the Company, with advantage to British commerce and without injustice or oppression to the natives. He saw that the employment of cheap India-built ships in the trade with Europe would be of equal advantage to England and to India ; and therefore he prepared so to employ them, and gave encouragement to those who extended the building of country ships.

Warren Hastings himself was not more indifferent to money for his own use and profit : though, for his rank and station, Lord Wellesley was a poor man when he embarked for the East, he returned to England, after seven years' residence in India, little, or not at all richer. On the fall of Seringapatam, the sum of £100,000 was set apart for his share of the spoil ; but he wished to encourage the army, and to reward it well for the labours of the campaign, and he gave up every farthing of that money to the troops. On reaching England the Marquis was well received by the government of the day ; and the Court of Directors have since repeatedly acknowledged the benefits conferred by his lordship's government, and the excellence of "the principles upon which the supremacy of Britain in India was successfully manifested and enlarged, under a combination of circumstances in the highest degree critical and difficult."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW—LORD MINTO.

Appointment of Sir G. Barlow—His pacific policy—Its evils—Taken advantage of by the Mahrattas—Mutiny and massacre at Vellore—Revenged by Col. Gillespie—Sir G. Barlow's economical financial arrangements—Succeeded by Lord Minto—Extension of diplomatic relations—Capture of the Isle of France—Negotiations with Nepal and Ava—Lord Minto's return to England.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW had filled various subordinate offices in an able and honourable manner, and had deservedly acquired great reputation as a civil administrator. He had been a member of the supreme council during the last four years of the Wellesley administration, and was senior member when Lord Cornwallis died. By act and charter, the powers of government fell provisionally into Sir George's hands by this death. But the Court of Directors deemed Barlow a fit person to be confirmed in the office of governor-general, and the Board of Control approved of the measure, though only as a temporary arrangement.

Sir George expressed his resolution to follow the peace policy which Lord Cornwallis, on his second appointment, had come out to promote. He urged that the British interests would be best promoted by throwing off a number of allies, and narrowing the Company's connections. Indeed, he appears to have been animated by the wish which Lord Cornwallis had at one time expressed, that the English would never think of extending their frontier line beyond Benares. It was in this spirit that the recent treaties with the Mahrattas had been concluded.

But Sir George, like others who had followed what was called the pacific system, thought it would be very advantageous to revive the contests and commotions which formerly prevailed among the states of Hindostan, and which kept all those states poor and weak, except the Mahrattas. The war policy of Lord Wellesley was not a tenth part so destructive of human happiness as this base

peace policy : then a few great battles decided the contest ; but now an interminable series of hostilities was to be kept up among the natives : then war had been deprived of half its horrors by the discipline of the British troops and the Company's sepoys ; but now all the atrocities of the Mahratta mode of warfare were to be let loose, in order to save the Company the sin and the expense of waging war, or maintaining troops in Upper Hindostan.

Upon finding themselves abandoned to the mercy of the Mahrattas, the raja of Jeipoor, the raja of Bundi, and other allies, exclaimed against the bad faith of the English, and materially injured the reputation of the company. Other small states, threatened by Scindiah or by Hoikar, called for a protection which Sir George Barlow would not afford, lest he should involve himself in hostilities with the Mahrattas. Scindiah, far from resting satisfied with the very advantageous treaty which he had obtained when his fortunes were desperate, lost no time in advancing claims to more and more territory. The province of Berar suffered severely from inroads made by the Pindarree robbers, who were encouraged by Scindiah ; and it was in vain that the people applied for the protection of the British. Yet General Wellesley had made a treaty with the raja of Berar, in which the Company was bound to afford protection. Other commotions began to rage in various and distant parts of the country ; and, if this peace policy had been pursued, much longer, every part of India not occupied by the troops, would have been in a blaze.

An event which rendered memorable the brief administration of Sir George Barlow, was the mutiny and massacre at Vellore. At the death of Tippu, his family, consisting of several sons and daughters, were removed to the fortress, where they were indulged with a liberty of intercourse and correspondence which might easily be abused. The splendour which they were enabled by the liberality of the Company, to keep up, attracted many visitors from the countries which had once belonged to their father. An extensive conspiracy was gradually formed ; and a good opportunity was afforded for giving effect to it, when the commander-in-chief of Madras issued some new regulations respecting the dress of the sepoys, which excited general dissatisfaction among the native infantry.

Early in the morning of the 10th of July 1806, the European troops in Vellore, consisting of only four companies of the 64th Regiment, were awakened by volleys of musketry being fired into their rooms. The assailants were the sepoys of the garrison, who remained outside, pouring in a murderous fire, but not daring to encounter the bayonet of the Englishmen by attempting an entrance. Fifteen officers and eighty-two men fell; ninety-one others were wounded. Some found shelter in nooks where the shot could not reach them. A few gained the ramparts and maintained themselves by desperate valour—among these Sergeant Brodie greatly distinguished himself.

A fugitive carried the news to Arcot. The 19th dragoons under Colonel Gillespie were in instant motion; the galloper guns followed. By eight o'clock the dragoons were at the gate. Colonel Gillespie was pulled up by a chain formed of the soldiers' belts, let down by Sergeant Brodie. The few survivors of the 69th then charged with the bayonet, and drove the mutineers from that part of the works. On the arrival of the guns the gate was blown open; the dragoons dashed upon the crowd within, cut them down by hundreds, and avenged the treachery with an unsparing hand.

After this the objectionable regulations were abandoned. The governor and commander-in-chief of Madras were recalled by the Court of Directors.

The administration of Sir George Barlow was distinguished by the ability and firmness with which the instructions of the Court of Directors, enforcing the most rigid economy and retrenchment, were carried into operation. In this the governor-general had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, a civil servant of the Company, whose financial abilities were of the highest order. Government became extremely unpopular among Anglo-Indians: but it is now generally admitted that the reforms then effected were absolutely necessary.

Barlow and Tucker had not a thought beyond the interests of the state. The duty which had devolved upon them was as painful as it was onerous; and they went through it with the sturdy resolution and self-negation of honest men.*

* Kaye.

The difficulties through which they had to struggle have only recently become fully known : their energetic and disinterested conduct was not appreciated at the time ; but they had the reward which proceeds from the consciousness of good work, well and faithfully done, of duty resolutely discharged, and blessings conferred through their instrumentality upon multitudes who might never know the evils from which they were saved, or the exertions that were necessary to effect their deliverance.*

In 1807, Sir George Barlow was made governor of Madras, and was succeeded at Calcutta by Lord Minto, a prudent and intelligent nobleman, who endeavoured in his general system to maintain the pacific policy recommended by the Company, without shrinking from vigorous and even hostile demonstrations, when the conduct of the native powers appeared to render these necessary. The great states during his administration retained their position nearly unaltered ; but animosities continued to ferment, which were destined to burst into a violent tempest, and to involve India afresh in a sanguinary war.

Lord Minto soon saw the necessity of departing from the non-interference system. The Patan chief Mir Khan, who had joined Holkar, was threatening, with a mixed army of Pindarrees and Mahrattas, to overrun the whole of Berar, and to press upon the Company's territories. A strong detachment under Colonel Barry Close soon compelled him to retreat from Nagpore into Malwa, and Close would have followed and destroyed the marauding force, had he been impeded by orders from the governor-general.

Active warfare was also waged in Baroda and Guzerat, in reducing some turbulent chieftains, and in preventing the crime of infanticide, which was very prevalent in that part of India.

The renewed alarm about the designs of Bonaparte forced Lord Minto into many embassies, and into a great extension of diplomatic relations, and it was now that the Indian government for the first time courted the connection of the Afghans and the Amirs of Sindh. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had given proofs of eminent abilities as Resident at the Mahratta court of Poonah, was sent as am-

* Calcutta Review.

bassador extraordinary to the Afghan court of Cabul; and Sir John Malcolm to Persia.

In 1811, expeditions were sent from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and the isles of France and Bourbon were captured by General Abercrombie and Colonel Keating. In the same year, Sir T. Achmuty established the British power in the island of Java. The possession of these islands had enabled the French government to infest the Indian seas with privateers, whose daring operations were most destructive to commerce. Their acquisition was consequently of great importance to Indian interests.

Lord Minto had also to negotiate with Nepaul and Ava, and was convinced that the pacific system must give way to an energetic war. The Ghorkhas and Burmese made predatory incursions, and replied with insolence to every remonstrance.

In Madras, now under the administration of Sir George Barlow, a very mutinous spirit was exhibited by many of the military officers of the Company, which was with difficulty suppressed. Blame was attached to all parties concerned.

Lord Minto resigned his office, and took his passage for England in October 1813. He had formerly opposed Warren Hastings, and taken an active part in the impeachment and trial of that great man. But when he returned from India he frankly confessed an entire change of his views; and recommended carrying out the system of policy that Hastings had been the first to adopt; believing that without this supremacy, by conquest or by connection, the British empire in the East could not stand.

CHAPTER XXXVII,

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

Treacherous attack of the Nepaulese—Their defeat—The Peshwa's rebellion—Pindarree campaign—Its successful issue—The cholera—The Peshwa pensioned—Outbreak at Nagpoor—Its suppression—Capture of Asseerghur—Improved state of the countries taken by the British—Educational efforts—Poonah.

The Earl of Moira, soon after Marquis of Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto as governor-general. The Company, in appointing to this high station so eminent a military character, seemed to intimate a conviction that the merely defensive policy on which they had for some time acted, could not be much longer maintained. Lord Hastings resumed the more active scheme of Government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley.

In May 1814, the Nepaulese treacherously attacked and murdered the Company's police officers stationed in Butwal. Lord Hastings determined to send armies to deal with these troublesome neighbours, and took the command in person. The first campaign was not entirely successful, owing to an imperfect acquaintance with the extensive frontier of that rugged district. But early in the following year, General Ochterlony, with nearly 20,000 men, including three European regiments, crossed every barrier, and after several severe contests in which he was always victorious, the Nepaul raja eagerly signed a treaty dictated by the governor-general. The lesson the Nepaulese then received made a lasting impression; they have never since given any trouble; and several regiments of Ghorkhas are now in the Company's service.

The court of Poonah had been guilty of various infractions of the treaty of Bassein. The Peshwa had given his friendship and entire confidence to a menial servant named Trimbukji, and had almost ceased to consult his own prime minister Munkasir. Trimbukji was a man of a violent character, and very hostile to the English, who had laboured hard to introduce order and law into the Peshwa's country.

He committed sundry outrages on the Guicowar, who despatched a vakil, named Gungadbur Shastri, to Poonah, to remonstrate with the Peshwa. The Peshwa referred the Shastri to Trimbukji; and this ruffian most barbarously and treacherously murdered him in a Hindu temple.

The Shastri was a Brahman of the very highest caste, and of great reputation for sanctity and learning. As soon as the horrible circumstance came to the knowledge of The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the resident at Poonah, he insisted that Trimbukji should be given up; and as the general voice of the Mahratta people backed the demand, the Peshwa, Baji Rao, found himself under the necessity of yielding. Trimbukji was arrested and thrown into the strong fortress of Thanna, on the island of Salsette, not far from Bombay. But his imprisonment was not of long duration. A common-looking Mahratta groom, with a good character in his hand, came to offer his services to the English commandant of the fort. He was accepted. The stable, where he had to attend his horse, was close under the window of Trimbukji's prison. He was observed to pay more than usual attention to his steed, and to have a habit, while currying and cleaning him, of singing snatches of Mahratta songs. At length, in December 1816, Trimbukji disappeared from his dungeon, and both horse and groom from the stable.

It was believed that Trimbukji fled straight to his infatuated master the Peshwa, who concealed him, and solemnly declared to the English resident that he knew nothing about him. The murderer's love for the English had not been increased by the captivity he had suffered; and wherever he might be, it appeared very certain that he urged the Peshwa to throw the whole treaty of Bassein to the winds, to form a new Mahratta league, and to make war upon the Company.

In the mean while the Indian armies were drawn into the field by a more contemptible enemy.

The Pindarees were not a distinctive race, but a numerous class of men, of different races, religions, and habits, gradually associated and assimilated by a common pursuit. They were all horsemen and all robbers. They were something like the first Mahrattas in their habits of life and warfare, but unlike them in not being united by nationality

and one religious faith. Their name first occurs in Indian history about the end of the seventeenth century. From obscure freebooters, they rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful auxiliaries by the different Mahratta powers, whose desultory mode of warfare was suited to their own habits.

They never fought when they could run away. Even when acting with the Mahrattas as auxiliaries, their object was plunder, not war. They were, from their very origin; the scavengers of the Mahrattas. Some of their chiefs, however, united to the qualities so essential to their profession—activity, cunning, ready enterprise, presence of mind, and promptitude of resources—a wonderful strength of mind (or it might be apathy) in bearing the reverses of fortune and the privations of their lot.

Foremost among these chiefs was Chitu. This man first attracted the attention of the English towards the end of 1806, when raising himself on the temporary ruin of Kurim, another Pindaree chief, he united the bands of many other leaders under his own standard, and prepared to commit depredations on an unprecedentedly grand scale.

As soon as the earl of Moira assumed the government of India, he turned his attention to this subject. His lordship thought it better, even on the score of humanity, to risk a long and sanguinary war, than to leave the people of the country exposed to these terrible irruptions, which came as regularly, year after year, as the tempests of the monsoon. He endeavoured, as Lord Minto had done, to establish a subsidiary alliance with the raja Bhunsla of Berar, whereby the most exposed frontier, on the line from Bundelcund to Cuttack, might be covered and defended. But the raja Raghoji Bhunsla persisted in rejecting the English alliance, although the Pindarrees had threatened to plunder Nagpoor, his capital, and annually devastated some portions of his dominions. Other attempts made to establish a friendly connection with the estates of Bhopaul and Sacur were not more successful; the truth being, that the felon and murderer, Trimbukji, had more influence than the governor-general in these native courts.

In October 1815, when the main army was fully occupied in forcing the stockades of the Ghorkhas, Chitu crossed the Nerbudda with nearly 8,000 of the Pindarrees. On the

southern side of the river they broke into two parties and took opposite routes. Major Fraser, with 300 sepoy and 100 irregular native horse, surprised one of the parties in a bivouac, and made them suffer some loss before they could mount, gallop off, and disperse. But this did not deter them from continuing their depredations as far as the Black River, the Krishna or Kistna. The other party, which had met with no such molestation, traversed the whole of the territory of the Nizam of the Deckan, from north to south, and also appeared on the banks of the Kistna.

Elated by his success, Chitu planned and proclaimed a second foray immediately upon the return of the first. The Pindarrees again flocked in from every side to join in it; and by the 5th of February, 1816, 10,000 horsemen had again crossed the Nerbudda from Nemawur. This time the Company's territories did not escape. On the 10th of March, leaving plundered and burning villages in their rear, the Pindarrees appeared on the western frontier of the district of Masulipatam under the Madras presidency. From this point they pressed southward. On the 11th they made a march of thirty-three miles, plundered seventy-two villages, and committed the most horrid cruelties upon the inoffensive and helpless villagers. On the next they destroyed fifty-four villages, marched thirty-eight miles, and arrived at the civil station of Guntoor. Here they plundered a considerable part of the town, and the houses of all the civil officers; but, steady to their system of never risking life or limb in battle, they shrunk from the collector's office, where the government treasure and the persons of the British residents were protected by a handful of sepoy and invalids. The robbers went off as they came, suddenly and noiselessly. That night there was not one of them to be seen in the neighbourhood, and before the next day closed they were more than fifty miles from Guntoor.

Lord Hastings, who saw the Nepaul war brought to an advantageous conclusion, at the very moment when both the Mahrattas and the Pindarrees were confidently calculating on its duration, was most eager to employ the un-reduced strength of his armies in the accomplishment of the important object of securing the peace of Central India by the extirpation of the robbers. A large part of

the Bengal army was kept in advanced cantonments, ready to take the field at any moment.

His lordship obtained certain information that the Peshwa, Scindiah, and other Mahratta potentates, were in close correspondence with the Pindarrees. But at this juncture the interests of the Company were greatly served by the death of two enemies. The nabob of Bhopaul, and Raghoji Bhunsla the raja of Nagpoor, both died in the month of March, 1816. The succession to these two musnuds was disputed, as usual, and the successful claimants, feeling their seats insecure, were glad to purchase assistance by concluding treaties favourable to English interests. Appa Saheb, who was installed at Nagpoor, accepted a subsidiary force of six battalions of sepoy and a regiment of native cavalry; for this force he was to pay seven and a half lacs of rupees per annum, engaging at the same time to keep on foot a contingent force of his own of 5,000 men, and to allow this force to co-operate with the English in putting down the Pindarrees.

The plan of this campaign was now completed, the governor-general having received the sanction of the home authorities to his scheme for breaking up the confederacy and power of the banditti. To overawe the Mahrattas, and to cover the frontiers of allies, nearly 40,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, besides artillery and the contingents of the native powers, were collected in positions near the territories of Scindiah and Holkar.

The Pindarrees, as soon as they saw themselves completely enclosed by the advancing corps of the British, made no attempt at resistance, and studied only how to escape. At length an intimation was circulated, that, in case of unconditional surrender, their lives would be spared, and the means of an honourable subsistence secured for the chiefs in some remote district. One after another submitted on these terms. Chitu opened a negotiation; but afterwards kept back. He was ultimately devoured by a tiger while lurking in the forests of Asseerghur.

It was during this campaign that the terrible epidemic *cholera* broke out. It has since been ascertained that this was not its first appearance, but it had not, during a long period, assumed any formidable aspect. The year 1817, when it was so destructive in Lord Hastings' army, was

uncommonly moist ; and the Delta of the Ganges was one sheet of water.

The employment of the British force in the Pindarree campaign, offered a tempting opportunity to the Peshwa to re-assert his independence—a course to which it is supposed he was instigated by Trimbukji. Mr. Elphinstone, the able resident at Poonah, soon discovered his intentions ; but anxious to avoid the imputation of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till compelled to do so. An attack was at length made so suddenly that the resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount their horses and escape. Mr. Elphinstone's books and papers were all destroyed.

The English troops were soon in motion, and gained a series of victories ; and the Peshwa in a short time made overtures for a treaty ; hoping to be allowed to retain his rank as a sovereign. But the governor-general, on considering his long course of hostility, and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian princes, and that there should be no longer a Peshwa. Baji Rao was ultimately pensioned with eight lacs of rupees a year, and gave himself up to voluptuous indulgences. Trimbukji was also caught some time after, and though a murderer, an extortioner, and a grossly perjured man, the British government merely imprisoned him on the rock of Chunar, near Benares, where he was seen by Bishop Heber in 1824. His allowance was liberal, and provision was made for his family.

Appa Saheb, at Nagpoor, like the Peshwa at Poonah, took advantage of the proceedings against the Pindarrees, to disown his allegiance, and reckoned with certainty on his ability to overwhelm the small English force stationed at his capitol. Throwing off all disguise, he declared for the Peshwa, not knowing that he was already beaten. Mr. Jenkins, the resident, called in a brigade from its cantonments, and posted it round the residency, which was situated a little to the west of the city of Nagpoor, and separated from it only by a small ridge. The brigade was scarcely posted ere infantry, cavalry, and artillery, natives and wild Arabs, began to gather round the residency. On the following day, the 26th of November, some of the raja's infantry and artillery commenced a fire upon the ridge, which

was now occupied by the brigade. This continued from sunset till two hours after midnight.

The day seemed lost and a horrible butchery inevitable, when Captain Fitzgerald made a brisk and most gallant charge with the cavalry of the brigade, which consisted of only three troops. Heading the little column himself, and dashing across a nullah and over the bridge, Fitzgerald charged one mass of the enemy, drove them from their guns, turned them upon themselves, and then retired towards the residency, dragging the captured guns with him, and firing as he retired. The people on the ridge set up a joyous shout, and a detachment of them advanced against the fierce Arabs, who kept their ground though those who ought to have supported them were running away. These Arabs, however, could not stand a bayonet-charge; they were driven from the post, the guns they had captured were recovered, and two other guns, which the enemy had brought up, were taken. As soon as this charge was crowned with success, Appa Saheb's troops gave way on every side, and about the hour of noon they fled from the field in panic-disorder, leaving all their artillery to the conquerors. Thus ended a conflict more desperate than any that had taken place in India since the early days of Clive.

Appa Saheb sent vakils to the resident to express his grief, and to disavow having himself authorised the attack. He also employed the women of his family as intercessors for pardon. But it was of consequence that Appa Saheb should be entirely crushed with the utmost rapidity, in order that the grand campaign should proceed against the Pindarrees and their supporters, and that other vacillating allies should be deterred from following his example by learning the terrible example of English vengeance—by hearing, in one breath, that the raja of Nagpoor had been beaten, and his power annihilated.

Accordingly the marquis of Hastings, who was himself on the Nerbudda, sent still more troops to Nagpoor, under Major Pitman, Brigadier General Doveton, and Brigadier General Hardyman. These troops being up, the resident, on the morning of the 15th of December, informed the raja that if he did not immediately submit to terms, and disband all his Arabs, no conditions would be allowed him, Appa Saheb endeavoured to temporize. But in the even-

ing General Doveton beat to arms, approached the town walls, and there bivouacked for the night. At six o'clock the next morning the raja sent to say that his Arabs would not allow him to go over to the English, that he must beg for a respite of two or three days. All the respite General Doveton would give was for two hours. The army advanced in order of battle to a position close upon the enemy's camp ; and upon this, Appa Saheb, giving way to his fears, mounted his horse, galloped away from the camp to the residency, and delivered himself up as a hostage. He there gave a written order that the artillery in the arsenal and in the camp should be surrendered. General Doveton, suspecting mischief, instead of sending a party to take possession of the guns, advanced his whole line by open column of companies.

The arsenal, containing thirty-six guns, was taken without resistance ; but as Doveton proceeded, a heavy fire of artillery, was opened upon his front and right flank. Through the General's prudence and foresight, he was not unprepared for this attack : his cavalry and horse artillery were with him ; and, while his infantry charged up in front, these made a detour, and got on the enemy's flank. In less than an hour all the batteries were carried, the Arabs were put to flight, and seventy-five more guns, mortars, and howitzers, forty-five elephants, the entire camp, and all Appa Saheb's camp equipage were taken. But the fire of those fierce Arabs had cost, in killed and wounded, thirty-nine British and 102 native soldiers. The fate of Appa Saheb remained in suspense for a few months. After many wanderings and escapes he finally reached Lahore, where Runjit Sing allowed him a place of concealment and bare subsistence.

The capture of Asseerghur was the last operation of the Pindarree and Mahratta war ; a war which had witnessed an unprecedented number and complexity of movements, and some of the most remarkable forced marches that were ever made in any country. THIRTY hill-fortresses, each of which might have defied the whole Anglo-Indian army, fell in the course of a few weeks. And all this was done with a very defective engineering department, and without a proper supply of men trained to siege duty.

The territories assumed by the Company, or taken

under its immediate protection, were now quieter and happier than they had been for many ages. Able men were left by the Marquis of Hastings to improve this tranquillity to establish permanently the reign of peace and law, and to better the condition of all the native inhabitants. For more than thirty preceeding years, the province of Malwa, and the whole of Central India, had been oppressed, pillaged, and laid waste by the Pindarrees, Mahrattas, and others. To Sir John Malcolm, who had assisted so potentially in subduing the sanguinary anarchists, and expelling the Pindarrees, was assigned the equally difficult duty of restoring order and repairing the frightful mischiefs which had been committed in so long a series of years. Under the wise rule established by Malcolm, more than two-thirds of the deserted villages were restored and re-peopled before the end of 1820; and in less than five years from the time the army first occupied the country, Sir John could boast, with an honourable pride, and with perfect correctness, that Malwa and the rest of Central India were tranquil and contented, and rapidly advancing in population and prosperity.

The Marquis of Hastings gave proof of the interest he felt in the education of the natives by taking the office of President of the Calcutta School Society, established in 1818. Its object was to assist and improve the existing Vernacular Schools, to establish others and to prepare select pupils of distinguished talents, by superior instruction, for becoming teachers and translators. This society greatly improved the educational machinery then in operation, and raised the character and qualifications of the teachers employed.

The inhabitants of the wild provinces subject to Scindiah started into prosperity as soon as his numerous, restless, and marauding army was broken up. All the districts which had been wrested from this chief by the Pindarrees were restored to him: the fortress of Asseerghur was nearly all he lost by the war. In the dominions of Holkar, where the anarchy and devastation had been greater, the change to good was the more striking.

At Poonah, changes and reforms equally salutary were introduced, principally through the management of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had the genius

of a true legislator, and all the generous sympathies of a philanthropist. On quitting Poonah, Mr. Elphinstone addressed to the supreme government at Calcutta a comprehensive report on the affairs of that country, reciting what had been done and what there remained to do; contrasting the present condition of the native inhabitants under the rule of the Company with their condition under the Peshwa, and urging the supreme government to persevere in the good work which had been begun.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LORD AMHERST—BURMESE WAR.

Earl Amherst appointed governor-general—Burmese aggression—Preparation for war—Grounds of the quarrel—War declared—Hostilities commence—Sir A. Campbell placed in command—The English victorious—The court of Ava agrees to the proposed terms—The treaty.

UPON the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings, Mr. Canning, who had presided some time over the Board of Control, was nominated by the Court of Directors to be governor-general of India. The resolution was unanimous, and was passed in the month of March, 1822. The melancholy death of the marquis of Londonderry, on the 12th of August following, led to some important changes in the ministry, and rendered it indispensable that the governor-general elect should remain in England. On the 18th of September, Mr. Canning was nominated Secretary of State for foreign affairs; and he consequently resigned into the hands of the Court of Directors the high appointment which they had conferred upon him in so flattering a manner. Two candidates now presented themselves: the one, Earl Amherst, who had been employed some few years before in an embassy from England to China: the other, Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras. Earl Amherst was preferred, and that nobleman, proceeding to Calcutta, assumed the office of governor-general on the 1st of August, 1823. The Marquis of Hastings had quitted Bengal in January, 1822, and between his departure and the arrival of Lord Amherst, Mr. Adams, senior member of the supreme council, had presided over the government of India.

The new governor-general had been but a very few months in his office ere he found himself under the necessity of entering into a new war with an entirely new enemy.

The Burmese, elated by some recent conquests which they had made, and being brought in more immediate contact

with the British frontiers, began, towards the end of the year 1823, to make sundry attacks. Without notice given, and without any attempt at negotiation, they claimed possession of Shapuri, a small muddy island in the province of Bengal, but close to the coast of Arracan, which the Burmese then possessed. Making a sudden night attack, they drove away a small guard of British troops stationed on the island, killed several of them, and took forcible possession of the island. This, coming close upon other outrages, was not to be tolerated. The government, however, resolved to consider the forcible occupation of Shapuri as the act of the local authorities of Arracan, and addressed a gentle declaration to the Burmese central government, recapitulating the past occurrences, and calling upon the court of Ava to disavow their officers in Arracan.

The court of Ava, as might have been anticipated, considered this gentle declaration as a pusillanimous attempt to deprecate the resentment of the Burmese. They triumphantly appealed to the paper as a proof that the British government of India dreaded to enter upon a contest with them ; and they intimated that unless their right to the island of Shapuri was distinctly admitted, the victorious lord of the White Elephant and the Golden Foot, would invade the Company's dominions. In the meanwhile, two companies of the 20th regiment landed on the disputed island, drove off the Burmese, and stockaded themselves. And on the other side the commanding officer and some of the crew of the Company's cruiser *Sophia*, were seized on the mainland and carried up the country.

Both sides now actively prepared for war, the Anglo-Indian troops on the frontier being, however, ordered to maintain a strict neutrality for the present.

More and more confirmed in their idea that the English were afraid of them, from 4,000 to 5,000 Burmese and Assamese advanced from Assam into the province of Cachar, and began to stockade themselves at a post within five miles of the town of Sylhet, and only 226 miles from Calcutta. Major Newton, the officer commanding on the Sylhet frontier, concentrated his detachment and marched against the invaders. It was at daybreak on the 17th of January, 1824, that he came in sight of their stockade, and a village adjoining, of which they had taken possession. The Burmese in

the village presently gave way, but those in the stockades made a resolute resistance, and were not driven out until they had lost about 100 men, and had killed six of the sepoys. They then fled to the hills.

Shortly after this action, Mr. Scott, the commissioner, arrived at Sylhet, and from that point he advanced to Bhadrapur, in order to maintain a more ready communication with the Burmese authorities. On the 31st of January, Mr. Scott received a message from the Burmese general, who justified his advance into Cachar, and declared that he had orders to follow and apprehend certain persons wherever they might take refuge. In reply, this Burmese general, who held the chief command in Assam, was told that he must not disturb the frontiers of the Company, nor interfere in the affairs of its allies, and that the Burmese invaders must evacuate Cachar, or the forces of the British government would be compelled to advance both into Cachar and Assam. To this communication no answer was received.

It was clearly the object of the Burmese to procrastinate the negotiations until they had strengthened themselves in the advanced positions they had occupied. The raja of Jyntia, who had been imperiously summoned to the Burmese camp, and commanded to prostrate himself before the shadow of the Golden Foot, threw himself upon the British government for protection; and various native chiefs, whose territories lay between the frontiers of the Burmese empire and the frontiers of the British dominions, called loudly for English aid. Thus, the south-east frontier of Bengal, had in fact been kept in constant dread and danger of invasion for more than a year, while the adjoining and friendly territories had been exposed to the destructive inroads and the over-bearing insolence of the Burmese and Assamese for many years.

But before this time the great Burmese chief, the Maha Bandula, then high in favour at the court of Ava, and the projector of a scheme for the conquest of Bengal, had collected a great army near the southern extremity of the frontier, and had marched into Arracan, provided with golden fetters, in which the governor-general of India was to be led captive to Ava. The lord of the Golden Foot laid claim to all the territories east of Moorshedabad, as having formerly

belonging to the kingdom of Arracan, which he and his ancestors had conquered. Exaggerated reports of the strength and ferocity of the Burmese troops carried alarm even to Calcutta ; the peasants on the frontier fled in dismay from their villages, and every idle rumour was so industriously magnified by timid or designing people, that the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty persuaded to refrain from removing their families and property from under the very guns of Fort William.

As the two states might now be considered as actually at war, Lord Amherst declared war in form, and promulgated the grounds of the quarrel in a declaration addressed to the court of Ava and the different powers of India. Orders had been previously given for the equipment of a force of from 5,000 to 6,000 men at the presidencies of Calcutta and Madras. It had been wisely determined to act upon the offensive, and not to commence operations either on the barren mountains of Arracan, or in the pestilential jungles of Chittagong ; but on the great river which leads through the heart of the Burmese empire (and is the highway of the trade of the country), where no attack was expected. The plan of the campaign, in short, was to ascend the Irawaddi and to begin by capturing the city of Rangoon, the principal port and trading place of the Burmese empire.

The two divisions, from Calcutta and Madras, were directed to assemble at Port Cornwallis, in the great Andaman Island—an island occupied, as in the days of Marco Polo, by downright savages, if not cannibals—from which the combined forces, under the command of Major General Sir Archibald Campbell, were to proceed to the Irawaddi. Between the 12th and the 17th of April, the Bengal division, consisting of the king's 13th and 38th regiments, and two companies of artillery, were embarked at Calcutta. By the 4th of May the greater part of the troops from Madras, consisting of his majesty's 41st regiment, a Company's European regiment, and seven battalions of native infantry, with artillery, gun-lascars, &c., reached the place of rendezvous ; and on the following morning the united forces left the Andamans, under the protection of his majesty's ships *Liffy* and *Larne*. The transports were also accompanied or followed by several of the Company's armed cruisers, and by the *Diana Steam*

boat. In nearly all parts of the operations which were now about to begin, the land troops were greatly indebted to the co-operation of the navy, and to the services of the steam-vessel, the first which had ever floated in those waters.

The Burmese fought well from behind their stockades ; but soon yielded when the English troops forced their way through and attacked with the bayonet.

The sharp lesson they thus received shook the confidence of the Burmese commanders in their troops and stockades. Hitherto, every effort to open communications with them had failed, but they now sent two deputies to the British general. The senior, a stout old man, in a long scarlet robe, and with a red handkerchief tied round his head, then opened the subject of their mission with the question. "Why are you come here with your ships and soldiers?" The provocations they had given were fully explained as being the causes of the war, and the nature and extent of the redress now demanded was plainly stated. In spite of all their address their real object was discovered, and they indeed betrayed it themselves, when they refused to remove the barrier placed in the way of communication and reconciliation, and asked for a few days' delay. Sir Archibald Campbell gave them to understand, that no delay would be granted—that their post on the river would be attacked forthwith. The two chiefs stepped into their war boats with an air of defiance, and the boatmen went off with great speed.

The very next morning, the post on the river was attacked by the troops. In a few minutes after the attack commenced, a great part of the extensive work was carried and the enemy there stationed were driven into the jungle, leaving behind them 150 dead. At the rear gate of this stockade were found the gilt umbrella, sword, and spear of a Burmese commander of high rank ; the umbrella, which chiefly denotes the rank, being shattered by a shower of the grape. The body of the chief himself was found a few yards farther in the jungle, and was recognized to be that of the stout and cunning old deputy who had visited the English the preceding day. This night—a night of storm and pitiless rain—was spent by the troops, under arms, under the dripping trees of the jungle or in the inn-

dated rice-fields; but on the following morning, when they marched to storm the rest of the works, they found that they were entirely deserted, and that the Burmese had gone off in a panic to another stockaded post, a good many miles in the rear of Kemmendine.

For a time there seemed to be a general pause and terror on the side of the Burmese, who had now evacuated every stockade in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. Their recent losses made them keep at a safer distance from the lines and the troops ceased to be annoyed by their nightly visits to their posts; but beyond these advantages no favourable change took place, either in the condition or in the prospects of the army. Not an inhabitant returned to his home: and so far from any desire of peace being manifested by the court of Ava, it was made evident that the war would be carried to the last extremity.

There was much hard fighting before the Burmese finally yielded. In one engagement the chief Bandula was killed by a shell or rocket, and after that event the Burmese seemed inclined to treat for peace.

The army however continued to advance, and was met at Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from Ava, by Mr. Price and two Burmese ministers of state, accompanied by Mr. Henry Gouger; Mr. Judson, the American missionary, and his wife; and an adventurous Scotch sea-captain of the name of Laird, who had gone up the country before the war to make some contract about timber; and all the rest of the prisoners, whether Europeans or sepoy. A sadder spectacle has seldom been presented by living human beings than that which was offered to the English camp by these liberated captives. They were covered with filthy rags; they were worn to skin and bone, and their haggard countenances, sunken, wandering eyes, told but too plainly the frightful story of their long suffering, their incessant alarms, and their apprehensions of a doom worse than death.

The sight exasperated the troops, and made them more eager than ever to advance upon the capital and take vengeance upon the tyrant and his savage court.

Mr. Price and the two wongees brought the stipulated sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees, and an authority under the royal sign manual to accept of and sign whatever terms

the English might insist upon. On the 24th of February, the treaty of peace was for a second time settled and finally signed at Yandaboo, the Burmese government at the same time engaging to furnish boats for the conveyance of a great part of the force back to Rangoon.

By this treaty it was agreed that there should be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honorable Company and his majesty the king of Ava—that the king of Ava should renounce all claims to, and abstain from all future interference with the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty states of Cachar, Jyntia and Munnipoor—that his majesty should cede to the Company in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Arracan, Ramri, Cheduba, and Sandoway—that the Arracan mountains should henceforward form the boundary between the two great nations on that side—that his majesty should also cede the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Saluen river as the line of demarcation on that frontier—that his majesty, as part indemnification for the expenses of the war, should pay the sum of one crore of rupees—that henceforth accredited British ministers, with a body-guard of fifty men, should be allowed to reside at Ava, and that an accredited Burmese minister should be sent to reside at Calcutta; and that free trade should be allowed to British subjects in all the dominions of his majesty, who should abolish all exactions upon British ships entering his ports, &c.

The money demanded as part indemnification was far too moderate a sum. The king was rich and given to hoarding, and both gold and silver bullion abounded in Ava. The court could easily have paid three or four times the amount, and in all probability it would have paid it rather than evacuate the capital and burn it or abandon it to the English. A crore of sicca rupees, at par, was barely equivalent to £1,000,000 sterling. The war had cost the English from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000. In other respects, the treaty was such as it should be.

Nor was there wanting the consolation that the condition and prospects of some million of natives were improved by the results of the Burmese war. "These countries,

distracted hitherto by incessant feuds, and overrun by hostile armies or by predatory bands, regions once animated by a happy and numerous population, had been converted into wide and unwholesome thickets, and had ceased, not only to be the haunts of man, but had become hostile to human life. Under their new masters, Assam, Cachar, Arracan, and the Tenasserim provinces, experienced a tranquillity and security they had not known for ages, and once more assumed that character for plenty and prosperity which the latter wore when the Europeans first visited their coasts, and which tradition, and the remains of roads and towns still found in them indicate, were equally the enjoyment of all."

However managed, the Burmese war was a necessity. If the government had yielded to the demands of territory arrogantly made by the court of Ava, the Burmese and their stockades would soon have been established on the very threshold of Calcutta, and universal insurrection would have been invited in the empire.

In the autumn of 1824, when the arduous Burmese war was but beginning, an alarming mutiny broke out among some of the Bengal sepoy, who were under marching orders for Barrackpore, whence they were to proceed to the Irrawaddy. Although other Hindus had gone willingly enough, and by sea, these sepoy, of the 47th native infantry pretended that they should lose caste if they went by sea. In the month of October, when ordered to appear upon parade in marching order, they appeared without their knapsacks, and openly manifested their mutinous spirit.

Sir Edward Paget, who was then commander-in-chief, acted in the case with the energy and decision that were required. Finding that the two other native regiments at Barrackpore were suspected of being infected, Sir Edward called up two British regiments of the king's service (the 1st Royals, and the 47th), a battery of light artillery, and part of the governor-general's body-guard. The mutinous native 47th fell in on the parade-ground, but refused to obey orders, and turned a deaf ear to the explanations and the promises of pardon that were offered to them. This left Sir Edward Paget nothing to do but to order a round of grape-shot to be fired at them. Almost at the first discharge the sepoy broke, and fled in all directions, throwing

away their arms and accoutrements. Only a few were killed, but a good many were taken prisoners, brought forthwith to trial by court-martial, and condemned to death. The number of executions was, however, but small, the far greater part of the mutineers having their sentence commuted to imprisonment and hard labour in irons. The regiment was disbanded, and its name erased from the list of the army. The mutiny spread no further.

It had long been felt by the government that the successful resistance offered by Bhurtpoor to the arms of Lord Lake operated injuriously. The natives regarded the place as impregnable. Lord Amherst resolved that the delusion should not continue.

Near the end of 1825, the new commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, invested the place, with an army of 20,000 men, and above one hundred pieces of artillery. Shot and shell were expended in vain against a mud wall 60 feet thick. The engineers then commenced a mine, which was sprung too early, and with little effect. Another enormous mine was dug and filled with powder. It was exploded the following day with terrific effect. The troops rushed on to the assault and within a few hours had possession of the whole place.

Lord Combermere's rapid triumph completely destroyed the prestige of the Jats, overawed all the native chiefs, checked the disposition to revolt, and completely confirmed the supremacy of Britain over the whole of India. The fall of Bhurtpoor, moreover, carried dismay and discouragement to the court of Ava, and to many countries beyond the limits of India.

In the course of the following year, Lord Amherst proceeded to the upper provinces. During his stay at Delhi, a final settlement took place of the relations in which the British government in India, and the poor descendant of the Great Moguls, stood towards each other. An end was now put to that prejudicial fiction—prejudicial to the English, and of no benefit to the king—that the governor-general was but the vassal of the Mogul Shah. British sovereignty was now openly asserted, and an end was thus put to many causes of embarrassment, and of false or anomalous positions.

Having returned to Calcutta, Lord Amherst resigned the provisional government into the hands of W. B. Bay-

for England at the close of the
 . His lordship, as well as the
 een sufficiently anxious for peace,
 his administration had been occu-
 good part of this administration
 pt up to the stupendous amount of
 000 men !

The following table shows the
 number of troops in the British
 army in India from 1757 to 1857.
 It will be seen that the number
 of troops in the British army in
 India was 10,000 in 1757, and
 increased to 1,00,000 in 1857.
 This increase was due to the
 expansion of the British Empire
 in India, and to the increase in
 the number of troops in the
 British army in India.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

Lord William Bentinck becomes governor-general—His high character and fitness for the office—His moral courage in carrying out the economical orders of the Court of Directors—New court of Appeal established—Impulse given to Educational operations—The Oriental system abolished—and the English system established—Suttee abolished—Change in the government of Mysore—and in that of Coorg—Lord W. Bentinck followed by Sir C. Metcalfe, who makes the press free.

THE next governor-general, and one of the most distinguished who has held the high office, was Lord William Bentinck, who landed at Calcutta on the 4th of July, 1828; when Mr. Bayley's provisional authority ceased.

Of all the governors general who had succeeded the Marquis of Cornwallis, Lord William Bentinck most resembled that benevolent and upright statesman.* No honester man ever occupied his high position; and no man ever possessed in a greater degree the moral courage required for the solution of the difficult problems of government, to which his attention had to be directed. His administration was distinguished by many important economical, judicial, and revenue enactments.

The Burmese and Bhurtpore wars had added more than £13,000,000 sterling to the registered debt of India. Upon his lordship was imposed, therefore, the generally unpopular duty of carrying into effect measures of retrenchment, and reduction. A system of economy was introduced into various departments of the government. Murmurs were heard from all sides—a dislike, which seemed to be almost universal, was expressed; but his lordship consoled himself with the conviction that he was doing his duty. Several governors general had been instructed by the Court

* Kaye.

of Directors to abolish sundry allowances made to the army under the name of batta, half-batta, etc; but for fourteen years and more they had all shrunk from the odium, and perhaps the danger, attendant on this abolition.

Lord William, however, resolved to obey his orders, and most of these allowances were abolished almost as soon as his lordship reached Bengal, much to the dissatisfaction of the army. The conduct of his lordship was disapproved by two of the members of the supreme council,—Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, and W. B. Bayley, Esq., both men of ability and of great experience in India.

It should however be mentioned, as a most noble trait in his lordship's conduct, in connection with the half-batta question, that he preferred to bear the odium of a most unpopular measure rather than throw it on the Court. He never contradicted the universally believed report that he had pledged himself to carry out the Court's orders; and it was not known till Auber published the fact, derived from the India-house papers after his Lordship's death, that he had twice remonstrated with his masters against the measure before he carried out the half-batta order.

All the leading men in Parliament, in the debates of 1833, on the new charter, concurred in ascribing to Lord W. Bentinck the credit of having laid the foundation of all the improvements which have subsequently been effected in the administration of India.

Lord William Bentinck, after these economical arrangements had been made, turned his attention to judicial reforms. He found an empire extending nearly to the Sutlej; and yet there was but one Court of final appeal throughout the whole presidency of Bengal. Suitors had to travel a thousand miles in search of justice, to brave a new climate, and mix with a new race of men. It was therefore a blessing to the people when Lord Bentinck established at Allahabad, a Sudder court for the North West Provinces, to which appeals lay from all the local judges. And he relieved the pressure upon those judges by an extension of native judicial agency, and the enlargement of the authority of the native officers.

In 1831 a higher grade of native judgeships was established. Previously, there were but two classes of these functionaries with very limited powers and very small salaries.

The higher class was known as Sudder Amins, the lower as Munsiffs. Lord William Bentinck now established a superior class of judicial officers, known as "Principal Sudder Amins;" with enlarged powers and higher salaries. The highest salary of these officers was 600 rupees a month; a liberal sum when estimated according to the requirements of the natives, and the general wages of the country.

The Court of Directors, in 1830, openly recognised the expediency of a vigorous movement in favour of European education. They simultaneously addressed the government of all the three presidencies, clearly enunciating their views in the following words.

"It is our anxious desire to afford to the higher classes of the natives of India the means of instruction in European science, and of access to the literature of civilized Europe. The character which may be given to the classes possessed of leisure and natural influence, ultimately determines that of the whole people. We are sensible, moreover, that it is our duty to afford the best equivalent in our power to these classes for the advantages of which the introduction of our Government has deprived them; and for this and other reasons, of which you are well aware, we are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil government of India, than any to which natives have hitherto been eligible."

Lord William Bentinck's own judgment led him to similar conclusions; and he was well prepared to carry out the intelligent views of the Court on the subject. It was not however till 1835, that he gave the death-blow to the Oriental system, and in a celebrated minute, dated March 7, thus declared his views:—

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

"It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

"His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning, which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

"It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

"His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language."

It must not be supposed that Lord William Bentinck and his supporters ever contemplated the substitution of the English language for the vernaculars. The blow which they struck was aimed not at the living, but at the dead languages of the Country—at the Sanscrit and Arabic—languages containing little or nothing to elevate the mind, to invigorate the understanding, or to facilitate the business of life. Mr. Macaulay, who was made President of the Educational Committee, has left on record an able minute on the subject, in which he thus expressed his opinion of the uselessness of the course hitherto pursued.

"I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphy-

sics, absurd theology ; for raising a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an incumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them, that, when they have received it, they must either starve, or live on the public all the rest of their lives."

The system established by Lord William Bentinck has been maintained with little variation by his successors. The results, if not perfectly satisfactory have been highly encouraging. Government has since given an additional stimulus, by recognising a certain educational test of qualification for the public service. But a defect in the national character has done much to embarrass the practical working of this admirable design. The natives of India, when once their expectations are raised, lean with child-like helplessness on the strong arm of government and instead of exerting themselves, believe that every thing will be done for them. Instead of something conditional they thought that they saw something absolute in the promises of government, and that they had only to conform to a certain test to secure official employment. The tendency of this was to give them narrow and exclusive views of the advantages of education, and greatly to limit private enterprise.

But the act for which Lord William Bentinck will always be gratefully remembered, was the abolition of Suttee, or immolation of a widow on the funeral pile of her deceased husband ; a barbarous superstition which had prevailed from remote antiquity. The proceedings of former governors general had been directed to the same end, and had prepared the way for the consummation now effected. It was reserved for Lord William Bentinck to prove the futility of the apprehension that had been entertained as to the consequences of such an interference with native prejudices ; and to establish the safety as well as to discharge the duty, of abolishing a practice, equally repugnant to the feelings of nature and the laws of civilization.

A new and important era in the communication between the East and the West, dates from the period of Lord William Bentinck's administration ; when the powers of steam were first applied to lessen the interval which divide Great Britain from British India. Those arrangements

have since been perfected; and the communication between regions separated by a fourth of the circumference of the globe, requires now a smaller number of weeks than it formerly did of months for its accomplishment.

In the years 1830—3, the state of things in Mysore called for the interference of the supreme government. As long as the Dewan Purniah administered the affairs of the Government, Mysore was one of the most flourishing of the native principalities. The Raja however having become impatient of the control exercised by him, determined to take the reins into his own hand. Purniah was therefore pensioned by a valuable Jagir, (the Talook of Yellandoor), and a Dewan Linga Raja appointed, who did not possess the abilities of Purniah, and was never vested with the independent powers, which had been conferred by the British Government on his predecessor. The Raja, thus freed from all control, and too self-willed to take advice, entered on a career of extravagance, lavishing his revenues on idle brahmins, dancing girls, and buffoons, which in a few years emptied the well-filled treasury left by Purniah, and plunged himself in debt.

To keep up this reckless expenditure, he rented out his talooks to the highest bidders, who, uncertain of retaining office long enough to reimburse them for the large bribes paid for their contracts, oppressed and ground down their ryots beyond endurance, till at last they broke out into open rebellion, which had to be suppressed, with great loss of life on the part of the unhappy people, by the Company's troops. It became apparent during the enquiries made into the causes of the out-break, that it would not be safe to leave the administration any longer in the hands of the Raja; the country was consequently assumed by the British Government in accordance with the treaty of 1799, which provided for the adoption of that measure whenever it might be considered necessary.

The Raja was accordingly divested of all political power, and the territory placed under the authority of a Commissioner; and four Superintendents and their assistants were appointed under him for the sub-divisions of Bangalore, Astagram, Nugger, and Chittledroog: a liberal pension was assigned to the Raja, three and a half lacs of rupees in addition to one fifth of the *net revenue* of the territory, which yields him now about ten lacs a year; the total amount of

the pension being thus between thirteen and fourteen lacs of rupees a year (£135,000), subject to no deduction, except on account of his private debts incurred since the assumption of the country. In other respects the government of the country was not much changed, being carried on by native officers on the principles before in practice, but under the control and direction of the Commissioner and his assistants. The present prosperous condition of the Mysore is a sufficient testimony to the general excellence of its administration.

A still more radical change was made in the constitution of the petty principality of Coorg. Tee raja of this small mountainous district, lying between mysore and Malabar became ferocious to be degree only to be accounted for by supposing him liable to first of insanity. With his own hands the often murdered, in the most savage manner, the unhappy objects of his frantic fury—his nearest relations it is said not escaping the paroxysms of his cruelty. He was also distinguished by a vehement animosity against the English and prohibited all intercourse with the British territories of Mysore. War was accordingly declared against him, and the reasons for it fully set forth. (1834.)

After the war, in which the Coorgs fought bravely, the Raja surrendered unconditionally, and was removed, with his family, to Bangalore; and finally to Benares. A political agent was appointed for the management of the country; but it is now placed under the Commissioner of Mysore. The Coorgs have since shown no disposition to assert their independence.

Lord William Bentinck, who had visited the Neilgherry Hills for his health in 1834, resigned the governor-generalship the following year, and returned to England. The chief seat in council, until the arrival of a new governor-general, was occupied by Sir Charles Metcalfe. His brief administration will ever be remembered by the passing of an Act removing the restrictions to which the public press in India was previously subjected; and giving to it, in regard to the publication of political articles, a degree of freedom equal to that enjoyed in England.

In 1833, the East India Company's Charter was greatly modified by an act of Parliament, and renewed for twenty years.

CHAPTER XL.

L O R D A U C K L A N D .

Death of the king of Oudh—outbreak and its suppression—Raja of Sattara deposed—War with China, its causes, and conclusion—Origin of the war with Afghanistan—its real author—March of British troops—Ghizni taken—Cabul entered—Dost Mohamed surrenders himself—Akber Khan's resistance—The envoy's infatuation—Rising in Cabul—Massacre of British officers—Want of energy—Negotiations—Retreat—Treacherously attacked—All perish in the Khyber Pass—Sir R. Sale's previous successful forcing of the Pass—His gallant defence of Jellalabad.

LORD AUCKLAND reached India in March, 1836. The appointment of his lordship had not been anticipated, as he had previously been comparatively unknown to the public. In the year of his arrival nothing remarkable occurred. But in July, 1837, the king of Oude died, and an outbreak occurred, attended with violence and bloodshed, before the rightful successor obtained possession of the title.

About this time it was discovered that the raja of Sattara was engaged in correspondence with the enemies of the British government; and was also attempting to seduce the native officers of that government from their allegiance; and after minute inquiry into all the circumstances of his case, conducted with the utmost lenity on the part of the Indian government, he was deposed, and his brother elevated in his stead.

It was during Lord Auckland's tenure of office that the war with China occurred. Many of the Chinese people indulge in the evil practice of opium eating. The emperor wished to put a stop to this practice, and laid a heavy duty on the drug in order to prevent its importation. English merchants disregarded the interdict, and smuggled opium into the country. Large quantities of the prohibited article were thus introduced; and when their cargoes were seized by the revenue officers, the owners resisted. The Chinese

authorities were haughty in their demeanour, and various quarrels ensued. After all attempts at negotiation had failed, war was declared against China (1840.).

A force was sent from India, consisting of sepoys and Europeans, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough. A series of operations followed in which the Chinese were always beaten, though greatly outnumbering the British troops. The Chinese army was everywhere dispersed, and the British triumphed with ease in every engagement. Several towns were stormed, and Sir Hugh was about to march on Nankin, when the emperor sent to propose an accommodation. A treaty was signed by which the Chinese agreed to pay 21,000,000 dollars; to give up the port of Hong Kong to the English; and open four other ports for trade with the world. (Aug. 29, 1842).

But the great event of Lord Auckland's administration was the war with Afghanistan. A war at once untimely, unnecessary, and calamitous. It occurred when the treasury was overflowing: when various vast and beneficial works had been projected, and were on the point of execution; and a career of successful improvement under the auspices of peace, seemed at last possible to India. It was brought about mainly by the fears of Russian influence entertained by a few mistaken Indian politicals, and the audacity of a President of the Board of Controul, Sir John Cam Hobhouse. And it won for the British arms the greatest disgrace they have ever sustained in the East.

A revolution occurred at Cabul, and its chief, Shah Suja, with whom the British government had been in communication, was driven from his throne. He took refuge in the Company's territories where he was liberally provided for. A rumour that Russia was about to take the part of the new ruler of Cabul, and through him attack, India, led the British authorities to wish to reinstate Shah Suja, and for this purpose a large force was collected.

This army, from the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay, assembled on the banks of the Sutledge; Runjit Sing, the sovereign of the Sikhs, permitted it to pass through the Punjab to Cabul. While on the march intelligence arrived of the failure of the Russian scheme; and the real object of the expedition being thus gained, it would have been wise to leave the people of Cabul to elect their own ruler.

But though Lord Auckland sent half the army back to its quarters within the provinces, the remaining half was ordered to push on. It was under the command of Sir John Keane, and accompanied by Shah Suja. Many circumstances conspired to make the advance difficult. There was a want of unanimity amongst the divisions of the army. The cholera prevailed, and the season was unusually trying. The commissariat arrangements were very defective, and the number of camp followers was enormous;—yet all had to be provided for in unfriendly countries, in a march of extraordinary length and of great physical difficulties.

The sufferings of the soldiers and followers were very great; but at length the troops encamped under the walls of Ghizni (July 21, 1839). A gate was blown in by gunpowder during the night; and an entrance being thereby cleared, the troops rushed in with the bayonet: the resistance of the Afghans was desperate, but the citadel soon fell. The loss of the British was trifling, but that of the besieged was very severe.

On the 30th of July the main body of the army marched towards Cabul; from which Dost Mahomed fled with a chosen body of horsemen. Shah Suja Dowla was proclaimed king; and Sir J. Keane, with a portion of his force, returned to reap the honour of a British peerage. About 5000 men were left to guard the new Shah in Cabul. Sir A. Burnes and Sir W. Macnaughten were the political agents to the force. General Elphinstone and General Sir R. Sale commanded a garrison almost without houses, and without a commissariat. The winter was very severe and both European and native troops suffered much.

On the 13th of November, Khelat was taken by storm with great bravery. The camp followers of the British had suffered many outrages at the Khan of Khelat, which made this retribution necessary.

In the summer of the following year (1840) Dost Mahomed surrendered himself to the British envoy, and was sent beyond the frontier. A pension of £30,000 a year was allowed him, and a residence at Mussourie for himself and family. Akbar Khan his "fighting son," was no part to this submission, and lost no opportunity of falling on any British force that came in his way. It was now

seen by many that a storm was approaching for which the authorities were not prepared. But all hints to this effect were thrown away on the British envoy.

This strange infatuation clung to him to the last : when the 2nd of November, 1841, ushered in a general rising of the people of Cabul, he expressed a belief that it would "all blow over." From that fatal morning that record of events in Afghanistan is sad and terrible. Burnes was massacred and every European found in the city ; the commissariat was seized, and numerous bodies of Afghans assembled within and about the walls.

Even now had the troops under the command of a vigorous officer all might have been saved. But the energies and faculties of both officers and men seemed to be judicially paralysed. British-born soldiers cowered before a barbarous and stupid enemy whom they had often beaten. Instead of bravely asserting his demands, the envoy preferred trusting to negotiations with men who were proverbial for their utter faithlessness.

Valuable time was thus lost, and towards the end of November, Akbar Khan arrived in Cabul, with a chosen body of horse, and from that day matters drew rapidly to a crisis. Conferences were held between the chief and the British envoy, which resulted in an arrangement that the British should immediately evacuate Afghanistan, being guaranteed a safe passage to India, and supplies of provisions. In a final conference Sir W. Macnaughten was treacherously shot by Akbar Khan's own hand.

The retreat of the British forces, amounting to 4500 men, and 12,000 camp followers, took place on the 6th of January, but no sooner had they cleared the walls of Cabul, than parties of Afghans harassed their rear, and picked off, the stragglers day and night. Thus attacked, floundering through snow and wet, the soldiers and camp followers gave themselves up to despair. Before many days had elapsed, of all that host, but one Englishman, Dr. Brydou, and a few sepoys and followers, escaped with the terrible tidings to Jellalabad, where the gallant Sale held his position with the courage and determination of a hero.

General Sale had been sent from Cabul in October of the preceding year, in command of a brigade consisting of the 13th regiment of the line, the 35th B. N. I. and some

cavalry and artillery ; he had forced his way with difficulty, through the Khyber pass ; and arriving at the ruined town of Jellalabad took possession of it. Akber Khan, with his victorious troops, laid siege to it, after trying in vain to induce them to quit the place under a promise of safe conduct. For nearly a year "the illustrious garrison" sustained a siege such as has no parallel in the annals of Indian warfare. Sale's brigade not only held its lines, but beat the enemy as often as it could reach him in the open country.

In the city of Candahar, General Nott gallantly maintained himself, boldly sallying forth, and attacking the enemy whom he completely routed and defeated. Ghizni was held for a time by Colonel Palmer ; but had ultimately to be abandoned, when the garrison was cruelly murdered.

Meantime, Cabul itself, on the departure of the English, became the theatre of most violent dissensions and revolutions ; but the train of these events, and the motives of the barbarous actors, are involved in much obscurity.

CHAPTER XLI.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

Lord Ellenborough's arrival in Calcutta—A large force under General Pollock marches to Afyhanistan—General Nott at Candahar—Arrival at Jellalabad—March on Cabul—Recovery of the prisoners—General Nott quits Candahar—All the troops meet in Cabul—Return of the army to India—War in Sindh—Battle of Meanee—Battle of Hyderabad—Great victory under Sir C. Napier—War with Gwalior—Decisive victory under Sir H. Gough—Recall of Lord Ellenborough.

WHEN the intelligence of the Cabul disasters reached England all classes united in denouncing the policy which had caused them. The government which had appointed Lord Auckland was displaced about the same time (Aug. 1841.) and was succeeded by the second administration of Sir Robert Peel. Lord Ellenborough, who had been president of the Board of Controul, was appointed Governor-general of India, and arrived at Calcutta in February, 1842.

One of his lordship's first objects was to relieve Jellalabad and humble the Afghans. A large force had indeed already been assembled for this purpose, under the command of General Pollock. The force was now augmented, and vigorously moved on towards the Khyber Pass. This tremendous defile was defended by about 10,000 brave mountaineers, thoroughly skilled in this species of warfare. They had raised a strong breastwork to defend the narrow entrance, and their bands covered all the rocky and precipitous heights on the right and left, whence they could take sure aim against the small column, which alone could march on the road beneath. To have penetrated through this passage exposed to so terrible a fire, would have been scarcely possible, and certainly not without dreadful carnage. General Pollock saw that the only means of securing success was to send troops to scale the heights, and dislodge the enemy posted upon them. This was a most formidable operation;

but British soldiers, when brought into close contact, had shown themselves able to vanquish the enemy under almost any circumstances. Two columns were therefore formed, of twelve companies each, and placed, the one under Colonel Taylor and Major Anderson, the other under Colonel Moseley and Major Huish ; while 400 of the native troops called Jezailchees, were led by Captain Ferris. Both columns, in the face of a determined opposition, which they overcame in the most gallant style, succeeded in expelling the enemy from the crest of the hill. In this achievement they were much aided by Captain Alexander of the artillery, who threw in shrapnell shells wherever opportunity offered. The assailants continued to drive the opposing force from height to height till they had cleared the whole range as far as Ali Musjid. At the view of this success, the pass was abandoned, and the army, with treasure, ammunition, and baggage, marched through without opposition. This grand operation was accomplished with the very small loss of 14 killed, 104 wounded, and 17 missing ; the first including one and the second three officers.

On the 6th, Ali Musjid was attacked, and possession taken, after a slight resistance. A full command was thus obtained of the Khyber Pass, and the route lay open to Jellalabad and into the interior of Cabul.

Meantime, active operations were proceeding in the west, where the enemy omitted no exertion to dislodge the force with which General Nott occupied Candahar. Prince Sufter Jung, a son of Shah Suja, seconded the hostile chiefs in plundering the villages, and exciting the people to rise against the British. After continuing these movements during February, they began early in March to press close upon the city ; when the general, finding it necessary to drive them to a distance, left 2600 men under Major Lane for its defence, and with the main body dashed out against the marauders. Though possessing a strength of 12,000, of whom one half were cavalry, well mounted, the enemy retreated, passed the rivers Turnuk and Urghundab, and carefully shunned all contact with the pursuing infantry. On the 9th, General Nott approached so near that his artillery could open upon them with effect, when they were completely broken and dispersed, being only saved from destruction by his defect in horse. After accomplishing this

object he returned, without sustaining the slightest loss in men, baggage, or camels.

Though the Afghans were thus severely checked at every point, they continued to lay waste the country, carrying away the forage, and turning aside the streams of water. Colonel Wymer was sent out to check these movements and to collect supplies. On the banks of Urghundab he saw large bodies of cavalry grazing their horses; and on emerging from a pass, a considerable force was observed to be forming in his rear. He marched back and obliged them to retreat; while Colonel Maclaren dislodged another band from a village in front. But at the same time, an overwhelming body, which had collected on the right flank gained a temporary advantage, several officers being wounded. The commander hastening to their aid; and the skirmish terminated in the enemy being driven in confusion across the Urghundab, while the convoy was completely secured.

General Pollock having, in the manner above related, forced all the barriers opposed by the Khyber Pass, arrived on the 16th April at Jellalabad, where the two victorious armies united, and hailed each other with loud and enthusiastic cheers. Early in May they were reinforced by a brigade under Colonel Bolton, who was met on the way by Col. Monteath. Captain Mackenzie, one of the prisoners, arrived from Akbar, with proposals from that ruler, understood to relate to the ransom of the captives and the release of Dost Mahomed; but he returned without being able to conclude any agreement. He was followed soon afterwards by the dead body of General Elphinstone, who had fallen a victim to disease and anxiety.

On the 13th July, Captain Troup, with several native chiefs, brought fresh proposals, and having returned to Cabul, came back on the 3d August; but all these negotiations proved fruitless. The English leader had proposed a general exchange of prisoners, which would have included Dost Mahomed, father to Akbar; but further demands were made by the latter. The army, meantime, were somewhat straitened for provisions; the heat became intense; and dysentery with other diseases began to be prevalent. Bands of the enemy again hovered around, and rendered it impracticable to stir beyond cover of the

fortifications, without the danger of being speared; the camels and other beasts of burden perished in great numbers, without the possibility of supplying their place, so that the means of conveyance became deficient. The army were depressed by seeing the summer months pass in a state of inaction, and without any prospect of avenging the injuries sustained by their countrymen.

Detachments were however sent out to keep open the passages, to overawe as well as punish refractory chiefs; and on these occasions, the most turbulent generally retreated without hazarding a combat. Some of the booty taken from the Cabul army being discovered in the village of Ali Baghan, the troops plundered and set the place on fire, without any authority from their officers, by whom this conduct was much disapproved. On the 20th June, twenty-five forts of the Goolai tribe, a desperate race of freebooters, were found deserted, and a considerable supply of provisions procured.

General Pollock remained at Jellalabad till nearly the end of August, apparently with the view of maturing his plans, and concerting with General Nott a joint movement on the capital. On the 20th, he left these quarters, and on the 23rd reached Gundamuk: the enemy occupying the village and fort of Mammoo Khail, only two miles distant, with a strong body. To dislodge them, he marched on the 24th, and found them stationed in a orchard with some enclosures, having their front covered by field-works of loose stones. From these positions they were driven into the village, where they made a show of resistance; but on the British coming up, they abandoned it, retired into the fort, and barricaded the gates. The assailants, by mounting on each other's shoulders, entered a shattered bastion eight feet high, when they saw the defenders going over the walls on the other side, but were unable from fatigue to pursue. The right wing, under General M'Caskill, advanced upon Kookhi Khail, another hamlet two miles distant, held also by hostile troops, who then abandoned it, but took post upon the adjacent peaks of the great range called Soofaid Koh. From several of these they were dislodged, but from others maintained a heavy fire with the long muskets called jezails.

The general spent about a fortnight in this place col-

lecting his troops, and making arrangements for their farther advance. On the 6th September, he began his final movement upon Cabul; next day reached Soorkab; and on the morning of the 8th, approached the terrible pass of Jugduluk. Here the enemy, nearly 5000 strong, under the standards of different chiefs, had crowned the amphitheatre of hills on the left road, whence they were separated by a deep ravine. They opened a formidable fire on the advancing column, when Captain Nugent, a highly promising young officer, was wounded, and died almost immediately. The British guns were well served, and shells burst among the enemy with powerful effect, yet not so much as to shake their determination or slacken their fire. It was found that the heights must be scaled; for which purpose, Captain Broadfoot was directed to move on the extreme left, while Colonel Taylor, with the light infantry, should cross the ravine and attack the opposite hills, the key of the position, and where the principal chiefs were assembled.

This force, in rushing up the steep, raised an animated and enthusiastic cheer, on hearing which, the enemy, struck with panic, fled down the opposite declivities. Captain Lockwood, with the dragoons, nearly reached their cavalry, who, however, saved themselves by flight. Captain Broadfoot also completely succeeded on the left; but the fugitives from both points rallied on the top of a very lofty mountain, where they planted their standards, and seemed to consider themselves unapproachable. To dispel this idea, Captains Wilkinson and Broadfoot mounted in columns, covered by the guns of Captain Abbott and Backhouse. As soon as the Afghans saw them approach, they hastily took to flight, abandoning this last stronghold, and carrying off their standards. They included the most powerful of the hostile tribes—those among whom the insurrection had risen—and who were led by numerous chiefs. But neither Akber Khan nor any other of the first rank was present.

Pollock now proceeded with utmost diligence, and on the 11th arrived at Teseen, where, finding the men and cattle much fatigued, he allowed them to repose on the 12th, before entering into the still more formidable passes which lay before him. The barbarians, imputing this pause to timidity, commenced an attack upon the outposts on the

left, which it was necessary to send Colonel Taylor with 240 men to repel. The enemy then retired to the crests of the neighbouring hills, whence they kept up an obstinate fire ; but the Colonel, having made a circuit unperceived, took them in flank, and drove them down with severe loss.

On the morning of the 13th, the army entered the pass of Tezeen, and found mustered there the whole Cabul force estimated at 16,000 men under the personal command of Akber, Aminula, another great chiefs attached to his cause. They had more carefully improved the naturally great strength of the position, and manifested a determination to defend it to the last extremity. When therefore the British troops ascended the heights, they found them, contrary to custom, advancing to the contest, which was maintained with desperation, and in many instances decided only by the bayonet. It was peculiarly obstinate before they were dislodged from the numerous positions on the lofty eminence of the Huft Kothul. The resistance was indeed protracted during a great part of the day ; but at length British valour overcame every obstacle, and the troops, with three cheers, established themselves on this mighty summit. The enemy then fled in every direction, losing their guns and three standards. A strong body had attacked the rear-guard, with the view of hemming in the army on both sides, or at least of capturing the baggage ; but they were gallantly repulsed by Colonel Richmond, who commanded in that quarter.

The general now marched on to Coord Cabul. The dreadful pass of that name still lay before, him, and troops were sent to crown its heights ; but the enemy, dismayed and disorganized by their recent overthrow, had made no attempt to secure them. On the 14th, the general arrived at Bootkhak, and next day encamped on the race ground at Cabul. On the morning of the 16th, with his staff and detachment, he entered the Bala Hissar, on whose summit, amid the anthem of " God save the Queen," the British colours were hoisted. The strictest orders were issued to the officers and troops not to injure in any shape the city or its inhabitants, nor even to enter it without express permission.

On the 10th August, also, General Nott quitted Candahar, leaving it to be occupied by Prince Suftur Jung and

his adherents. On the general reaching Naunee, however, about twenty miles from Ghizni, Shumshooden Khan governor of the capital, met him on the 30th with 12,000 men. He marched out with only a part of his force, when the enemy advanced boldly, opening a hot fire from small arms and two well-served guns. The British columns, however, steadily advanced, and after a brisk but short contest, completely dispersed them. Their guns, tents, and ammunition were taken, and the darkness alone saved them from being entirely cut up, their commander fleeing with a train of no more than thirty horsemen.

On the morning of the 5th Sept. the general arrived at Ghizni, which he found defended by strong bodies of troops reinforced by Sultan Jan, one of the leading actors in the scene of assassination. It was judged requisite to begin by driving the Afghans from the heights, which the troops effected in gallant style, carrying successively every point. The village of Bullal was then chosen as a convenient site for erecting a battery; and before daybreak on the 6th, one of four eighteen pounders was constructed and advanced towards the walls. It was then, however, discovered that the enemy had evacuated the place; and arrangements were immediately made for the demolition of this celebrated citadel, as far as could be effected in two days. The loss in these operations consisted of three killed and forty-three wounded.

General Nott now marched directly northward upon Cabul; but in approaching Nydan, he again encountered Shumshooden and Sultan Jan, with a force as large as before, occupying a range of strong mountain-posts. The 14th and 15th September were spent in driving them successively from these eminences, which was done with the usual success, though not without a hard resistance, costing a loss of four killed and fifty-nine wounded. The army then proceeded to join General Pollock at Cabul.

An auspicious result now followed the triumph of the British arms. Akbar on seeing his victorious enemy advancing, had despatched the prisoners under a strong guard to Khullum in Turkestan, where they were either to be thrown into dungeons or given as slaves to the principal chiefs. In this fearful predicament, they of course looked round for all means of deliverance. The escort was com-

manded by Salih Mohammed, who had deserted from the British cause, and might therefore not be incorruptible. A tender was repeatedly made to him of a lac of rupees (£10,000), on condition of enabling them to reach the English camp. He evaded these propositions, evidently doubtful which side would gain the ascendancy. On their arrival at Bamean, however, he came and announced that orders had been received for their immediate departure for Chul-lum; but that General Pollock had intimated through another channel a readiness to bestow £2000 and a monthly pension of £100, in case of his effecting their deliverance. This he engaged to do, provided they would enter into a bond guaranteeing the offer just made. Four officers signed the obligation. Salih then dismissed the escort, and changed the governor of the fort for one on whom he could rely.

Dreading lest the Afghan army, even in its retreat, should take this direction, they made indefatigable efforts to put the stronghold in a state of defence. However, on learning the victory at Tezeen, and anticipating the entry of the British forces into Cabul, they conceived it possible to effect their deliverance by their own efforts, trusting to co-operation from that quarter. In fact, General Pollock immediately on arriving there, had made arrangements for the departure of 700 Kuzzilbash horse, accompanied by Sir Richmond Shakespeare, to whom he advanced 10,000 rupees; and soon after General Sale followed, with a corps of 2000 men. The prisoners departed from Bamean on the 16th, and next day crossed the Kaloo mountainrange, 13,000 feet high, being little inferior to Mont Blanc.

After descending, they were filled with joy by meeting with Sir Richmond and the Kuzzilbashes, and on the 19th with General Sale. The meeting of that officer with his heroic lady and daughter, may be more easily conceived than described. His mission proved by no means superfluous, as Sultan Jan was in full pursuit, and would perhaps have been up in twenty-four hours. They arrived in camp on the evening of the 21st when their arrival was celebrated by a royal salute and the most heartfelt rejoicings. They included General Shelton, Colonel Palmer, Majors Pottinger and Griffiths, twelve captains, three surgeons, nine lieutenants, three ensigns, twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The females were Ladies

Macnaghten and Sale, besides the wives of five officers and of three privates. There remained only Captain Bygrave, who had been detained by Akbar; but he, too, arrived on the 27th, with a despatch from that chief.

The Afghans, after so many disasters, retreated into the mountain-territory of Kohistan, immediately north of Cabul where they hoped to find a present refuge and a point whence they might return upon the city. General Pollock, however, determined to dislodge them, and if he could not capture, at least drive them to a distance. In this he fully succeeded, with comparatively little loss.

No further operations were undertaken against the enemy. Akbar and other chiefs, on whom it might have been desirable to let fall some resentment, had fled beyond the frontier, and sought refuge in Turkestan. The speedy approach of winter gave warning to lose no time in executing the resolution of evacuating a country which had been the scene of so much glory and disaster. It was, however, considered indispensable that, before departing, a severe lesson should be given to the Afghans as to the hazards which must always attend a war with Britain. The great bazaar, erected under Aurangzib, by the celebrated architect Ali Murdan Khan, was esteemed the most spacious edifice, and the chief seat of trade in Central Asia. It was 600 feet long, and contained 2000 shops; and here had been exposed to public insult the remains of the late envoy. It was therefore determined to reduce it to ashes; and Colonel Richmond, with a party of sappers and miners, and a detachment of troops, were employed two days in completing its destruction.

The army marched on the 12th October in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Pollock, M'Caskill and Nott. General Sale, with a light corps, went in advance to clear the right flank, and crown the heights of the Koord Cabul Pass. Through these good arrangements General Pollock's division arrived at Jugduluk on the 16th, without any serious attempt to molest it. The second, under General M'Caskill, suffered some annoyance and loss. General Nott's rear was much retarded by the exhaustion of the baggage-cattle, of which advantage was taken by large hordes of Ghilzies to make several brisk attacks. They were gallantly repulsed, yet with a loss of twelve killed and

forty-nine wounded. From Jugduluk, the divisions, for the convenience of march, proceeded separately, each at a day's interval. On the 22nd, 23rd and 25th, they successively arrived at Jellalabad. Three days were employed in destroying the military works of that celebrated fortress. On the 27th, the first division left it, followed on the 29th by the others.

They proceeded with all expedition through the passes and though constantly harassed by the Khyberees, sustained no serious loss except on the 3rd November, when General M'Caskill's division was attacked with great fury, and a contest ensued, in which two officers, and a considerable number of men fell. Two guns were taken, but recovered next day. On the 6th, the last of the troops, under General Nott, emerged from the pass at Jumrood, and the whole were soon united in the vicinity of Peshawer. They then marched in four brigades; crossed the Indus at Attock and, proceeding through the Punjab, passed the Sutledge to Ferozepore, where the governor-general and commander-in-chief joyfully received them. On the 25th October, Lord Ellenborough had announced in a proclamation, that with a view to terminate as early as possible all the evils arising out of the war, the several Afghans now in the power of the British government would be set at liberty. In this number, Dost Mohammed, his wives and family, and also those of Akbar Khan, were included.

Soon after this (Dec. 1842.) Lord Ellenborough's attention was directed to various acts of the Amirs of Sindh, in contravention of their existing engagements, as well as to decided manifestations of hostile intentions. During the temporary disasters in Afghanistan which threatened to destroy the prestige acquired by British valour in India, the Amirs had displayed an evident desire to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for setting at naught all existing treaties, and thereby almost as effectually favoured the Afghans as if they had raised an army to co-operate with them against the British. Decided symptoms of hostile intentions became speedily apparent. Early in August the surrounding tribes were described as being almost in a state of insurrection. Chiefs were moving about with armed bands, endeavouring to enlist followers, and availing themselves of every opportunity to plunder.

The movements of British troops speedily afforded indication that the governor-general, was resolved to adopt summary measures for suppressing any hostile movements. The force under General England, amounting to about 3500, was ordered to move from Candahar, towards Sindh, and other bodies of troops soon followed them, increasing their number to above 5000 men. General England's forces experienced little interruption in their progress, excepting that which arose from the excessive heat. The temperature in the Bolan Pass is said to be almost unbearable. Eight men died in the course of two days from its effects.

On the 4th of October, Sir Charles Napier arrived at Sukker, and assumed the command of the forces in Sindh. On his way he had left with the Amirs Lord Ellenborough's ultimatum, and a few days after Major Outram was commissioned to demand an equally definite reply. It was then confidently anticipated that when they learned the complete success of the British arms in the North, there would be little difficulty in negotiating with them. In this, however, the governor-general was disappointed. Negotiations were indeed carried on for above four months, with considerable hopes of a satisfactory termination; and new provisions, which Lord Ellenborough deemed indispensable, received the assent of the Amirs of Sindh.

The usual difficulties, however, were experienced in dealing with native powers. It was obvious, notwithstanding their adoption of the prescribed terms, that no reliance could be placed on their good faith. Of this abundant evidence was speedily afforded. The new treaty which had been proposed and agreed to, received the signature of the Amirs on the 14th of February, 1843, and on the very day after, they made a sudden attack, at the head, of a large force, on the residence of Major Outram, the British commissioner. The small force under his command maintained their post with the utmost gallantry, and had it not been for the terror of the camp followers, who were employed to remove the property on board a steamer that lay in the river, the assailants would not have obtained possession of any portion of it.

The commissioner joined Sir Charles Napier at Hala, who immediately on learning the commencement of hostilities,

put the whole forces at his command in motion, to oppose the united armies of Upper and Lower Sindh, which were already in the field. On the 16th Sir Charles reached Mut-taree, where he learned that the Amirs had taken up a position at Miani, about twelve miles distant, at the head of a force of 22,000 men, while the number then with him did not amount to 3000. At eight o'clock on the following morning, his advanced guard came in sight of their camp at Miani, within sight of the towers of Hyderabad. The position occupied by the Sindeans had been chosen with great skill, and their immense superiority in point of numbers allowed them to turn it to the utmost advantage. So soon as the British forces came within range of the enemy's guns, a battery of fifteen pieces of artillery opened upon them with deadly effect. The whole artillery on the side of the British consisted of twelve small field-pieces, which Sir Charles posted on his right, while some skirmishers and a body of native cavalry were ordered to advance, in order to make the enemy show his force. The Beloochees, who formed an important branch of the Sindean army, are celebrated as bold and skilful swordsmen and they fought in this engagement with the most desperate fury. Rushing on to the top of the embankments, they discharged their matchlocks and pistols at their opponents, and then dashed into the midst of them sword in hand.

The nature of the ground almost completely precluded the ordinary manœuvres of a disciplined force, and from the vast superiority of the enemy in point of numbers, it appeared for a time impossible that the British could hold their ground. Fast as one wild band of desperate assailants fell before their cool and resolute defence, another band equally numerous and fearless, sprung into their place. On seeing the perilous state in which the main body in his front was placed, after maintaining their ground for above three hours against a foe which seemed to spring up before them anew as fast as they were struck down or driven back, Sir Charles sent orders to his reserved cavalry to force the right wing of the enemy. This movement was most gallantly executed. This gallant charge decided the fortunes of the day. Though the main body of the enemy did not immediately give way, their resistance slackened as soon as they saw their wing turned and the chief body of their cavalry driven

from the field. The 22d, the 23d, and the 12th regiments, then successively charged up the bank with muskets and fixed bayonets, which in the hands of British soldiers have rarely been withstood. They forced the line of the enemy at all points, the last regiment capturing several guns, while the Sindians gave way in all directions and fled from the field, leaving the whole of their artillery, ammunition standards, and camp, with considerable stores, and some treasure, in the hands of the victors.

This victory was not secured without considerable loss on the side of the British ;—256 are reported in the despatch of the general as killed and wounded, including an unusual proportion of officers. But the loss of the enemy was immense, amounting, it is believed, to more than twenty times that of their opponents.

Much satisfaction was naturally experienced at the news of a victory of so brilliant a character, gained under unexpected circumstances; and against such very considerable odds. Whatever doubts might have been entertained of the good faith or friendly intentions of the Amirs of Sindh, the British general might have been excused had he been found unprepared for so sudden and treacherous an attack as that which immediately followed the signing of the treaty.

The small number of the forces under Sir Charles's command, amounting only to about 6000 men in all, prevented his occupying any extended position beyond the walls of Hyderabad, which he had taken possession of immediately after the victory at Miani. The British commander, accordingly, learned, towards the middle of March, that the enemy were once more mustering in number not greatly inferior to the force he had already defeated after so arduous a struggle.

The Sindians had posted themselves in a strong and well-selected position, little more than four miles distant from the British camp,—a strong evidence of the very restricted operations to which the British General had been reduced, in consequence of the small number of his available forces. The position of the enemy was nearly similar to that which had formerly proved so difficult to surmount. They had again posted themselves on the banks of the Eullalie, whose dry channel in the previous

engagement afforded them such valuable protection. But they had improved not only on the experience acquired in the former defeat, but strenghtened their position with a degree of skill never before manifested by them in their wars, and which was considered as affording undoubted indications of the presence of European counsellors in their army.

Sir Charles put his forces in motion early in the morning and by the time they had advanced about two miles, they descried the enemy about a mile and half in advance. Approaching within twelve hundred yards of their position, the troops were drawn up in order of battle, and advanced in successive regiments to the attack. About nine o'clock the British guns opened their fire on the enemy's position, producing considerable confusion in their centre, where large bodies were observed to move to the left, apparently unable to sustain the cross fire of the artillery. The position of the enemy was nearly a straight line. The nullah which formed its front consisted of two deep parallel ditches, one twenty feet wide and eight feet deep, the other forty-two feet wide and seventeen feet deep, further strengthened by banks and escarpments of the most formidable character. These skilful preparations, however, proved altogether ineffectual in arresting the victorious career of the British army, manned though they were by defenders immensely out-numbering them, and inferior in courage and daring to no native force which had yet attempted to withstand the British arms. When the centre of the enemy was seen to give way under the severe fire of the British artillery, Major Stack, at the head of the 3d cavalry, supported by a body of native horse, charged them on their left flank, crossing the nullah, and bearing down upon them with such determined valour, that they gave way before them, and were pursued for several miles with great slaughter.

The enemy stood their ground well, and defended themselves with such bravery, that this victory has been pronounced by experienced officers, as perhaps the most sternly contested of any in which British troops have ever been engaged in India. The 22d regiment, which had to bear the brunt of the fight, alone lost six officers and 145 men, out of about 300 British killed and wounded.

Many acts of intrepid valour were displayed in this severe

contest. The general exposed himself during the whole fight, moving with the utmost coolness where the enemy's shots were flying thickest, and his example was not lost on his officers. Eleven pieces of ordnance and nineteen standards were taken. The Beluchi force was entirely routed and dispersed in every direction. The British commander is said to have been welcomed with joy by the inhabitants of the country, who had suffered so much from the fickle rule of the Amirs, that they testified the utmost anxiety to be assured that Sindh was to be annexed to the British possessions. A few months subsequently this annexation formally took place, and Sir C. Napier was appointed Governor of the country. His administration was conducted with great vigour and ability.

Meanwhile the affairs of the court of Gwalior, which had so long occasioned anxiety and distrust, were at length brought to a crisis. Confusion and anarchy prevailed there, one party deposing another, and successive chiefs struggling for power, while the country was left at the mercy of licentious and undisciplined troops. The British government being bound by its treaties with the late raja to protect his successor, and preserve his territories unviolated, the governor-general could no longer overlook the fact that the conduct of the authorities of Gwalior involved a virtual violation of the treaty. Lord Ellenborough accordingly immediately ordered the advance of troops, sufficient, as he said, "to obtain guarantees for the future security of its own subjects on the common frontier of the two states, to protect the person of the raja, to quell disturbances within his highness's territories, and to chastise all who shall remain in disobedience." This was rendered the more imperative by the tender age and helpless position of the raja, which exposed him to the double danger of being made a tool in the hands of his enemies, and the nominal source of wrongs to his friendly allies. Notwithstanding the preparations which had been made for such an emergency, the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, was met by a much stronger and more determined opposition than he had anticipated.

The country generally exhibits features offering great natural obstacles to the operations of disciplined forces, being intersected with numerous deep and almost impassable ravines, and gullies, affording great facilities for the

irregular tactics of an undisciplined army. It was only by the unceasing labours of the sappers, that a practicable passage was effected for the army under Sir H. Gough; and after passing the Koharee river in three columns, at points considerably distant from each other, the whole British army took up their position by eight o'clock on the morning of the 26th of December 1843, about a mile in front of Maharajpur. The Mahrattas had occupied the ground during the previous night, taking up their position with such skill as compelled the commander to alter the disposition of his forces. Seven regiments of Mahratta infantry were ranged in front, each corps having four guns attached to it, which opened on the advanced forces of the British as they took up their ground. The 39th regiment of British infantry advanced gallantly to the charge, supported by the 56th native infantry. The Mahrattas stood their ground with great bravery, and the British forces sustained a severe loss, their guns doing great execution as they advanced. But no native force has ever been able to withstand the determined charge of the bayonet. The British drove them from their guns into the village, but there the Mahrattas again rallied, and a most sanguinary conflict ensued. After discharging their matchlocks, they flung them from them, and fought hand to hand with the most determined courage.

Meanwhile General Valiant had led on his brigade, and succeeded in taking Maharajpore in reverse. Twenty-eight guns were captured by this combined movement, but the Mahrattas still stood their ground; nor was their strong position taken till nearly every one of its defenders had been left dead on the spot. The same determined resistance was experienced at every point. They had thrown up entrenchments, and planted their guns with great skill, and in nearly every case the gunners were bayonnetted at their posts, without attempting to fly. The consequence was, the loss of the British, both in officers and men, was unusually great. "I regret," says Sir H. Gough in his despatch to the governor-general. "I regret to say that our loss has been very severe, infinitely beyond what I calculated on; indeed, I did not do justice to the gallantry of my opponents. Their force, however, so greatly exceeded ours, particularly in artillery, the position of their guns

was so commanding, they were so well served, and determinedly defended, both by their gunners and their infantry and the peculiar difficulties of the country giving the defending force so great advantages, that it could not be otherwise." As usual, where the native forces have displayed peculiar steadiness and skill, it was found that they had had the benefit of more experienced assistance ; though they required no aid to give effect to their undisciplined courage and gallant daring. There was found to have been a considerable number of the Company's discharged native infantry, as well as one or two European deserters among the Mahratta troops. One of the latter, it is stated, named Berry, from the 2nd European regiment, had when he fell, his lighted port-fire in his hand, and fired off his gun, sweeping away fifteen men.

At the same time that the commander-in-chief crossed the Mahratta frontiers, Major general Grey, was directed to lead an auxiliary force toward Punniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, to co-operate with the main body and place the Mahratta army between two forces acting in concert. The immense excess of the Mahrattas in point of numbers over the British forces, however, was such as enabled them to counteract this plan of mutual co-operation. A body of 12,000 men, with a large complement of guns, &c. was detached to arrest the progress of Major-general Grey, whose whole force did not amount to a fourth of that number. The two armies met on the 29th of December, in the vicinity of the fortified village of Mangore, near Punniar, where the Mahrattas had taken up a strong position, and were able to begin the attack at considerable advantage, by assaulting the cumbrous baggage trains which necessarily accompany an Indian army. Towards four o'clock the commander observed the enemy taking up a strong position on a chain of hills to the east of his camp, and resolved on an immediate attack. By a judicious disposition of his forces, the enemy were assailed simultaneously on the centre and left, and completely broken. The whole guns, twenty-four in number, were captured, and all their ammunition, with a portion of treasure, were taken. The action did not close till night-fall, which prevented the pursuit of the enemy, and enabled them to carry off many of their killed and wounded.

The result of the two great battles of Maharajpur and Punniar destroyed the hopes not only of the mutinous Mah-rattas at Gwalior, but of numerous restless malcontents of Hindostan, and had the effect of diffusing tranquillity throughout the whole Eastern empire, where the existence of so many races still very partially amalgamated, and curbed in their predatory habits and love of plunder only by the well-directed force of disciplined authority, renders the whole empire peculiarly sensitive to such indirect but powerful influences. The raja was installed with great ceremony at Gwalior, in presence of the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and an immense assemblage of native chiefs.

Meanwhile, however, great and increasing dissatisfaction was expressed in many quarters at the government of Lord Ellenborough. His Lordship had excited the indignation of the Directorship of the East India Company, by a line of conduct which seemed to imply that he was too well assured of the favour of the Duke of Wellington and the British Cabinet, to greatly concern himself as to the approval his proceedings might meet with from the Directory. Great, therefore, was the sensation created both in India and England by the sudden recall of Lord Ellenborough, in consequence of the vote of the Court of Directors, in the exercise of their legitimate power, not only without consulting with the government, but in direct opposition to its expressed opinions.

CHAPTER XLII.

LORD HARDINGE.

Appointment of Sir H. Hardinge—Influence of British policy—Origin and singular character of the Sikhs—Disturbed state of the Punjab—Acts of aggression—War proclaimed by the British—The battle of Moodki—Its uncertain results—Battle of Ferozeshah—Critical position of the British from insufficient supplies—Assault on their convoy—Victory of Aliwal—Its important results—General estimation of Indian policy—Battle of Soobraon—Passing of the Sutledj—Terms of peace—Moderation of Lord Hardinge—His return to England—His character, and the excellence of his administration.

It was anticipated that an act so embarrassing to the government as that just narrated, would have made the harmonious appointment of a successor difficult. Such anticipations, however, were not realized. Sir Henry Hardinge was selected to succeed to the important trust. On the 6th of May 1844, he was appointed by the Court of Directors to the office of Governor-general of India, and the Crown immediately confirmed the choice. The bold and decisive measure of the Court of Directors excited much discussion and considerable diversity of feeling for a time ; but the contrast between the wonted proceedings of Lord Ellenborough, and the unobtrusive course adopted by Lord Hardinge, speedily reconciled all parties interested in the affairs of India to the change of its governor-general.

The country of the Mahrattas still continued in a disorderly and disturbed state, and required the presence of a considerable military force to hold the insurgents in check. Many of the difficulties unquestionably originated in the complicated system of Eastern policy, which has grown out of the circumstances by which a trading company gradually assumed the character of conquerors and rulers. The system of permitting independent or subsidiary princes or rajas to sway their feeble sceptres within

the British dominions, has been again and again condemned, as leading to the very worst consequences. British rulers have thereby frequently been unwillingly made accessory to acts of which they could not approve, while such petty principalities become the centres of constant intrigue, and generally prove a barrier to any effectual measures for the improvement of the people.

The Sikhs, a religious rather than a political body, had exercised in the Punjab, and over the valley of Cashmere, a divided authority for some time. Runjit Sing, a man of surprising natural talent, but of no education, brought all the chieftains under the control of his sceptre; and then, taking into his service a good many French and Indian officers, gave discipline and consistency to his army. And a very fine army it was. The robust and brave, became, when disciplined after the French fashion, excellent infantry; the guns, of large calibre and admirably horsed, could stand accomparison with those of any European power; and the cavalry, if less efficient, was still formidable on account of its numbers. Runjit was too wise not to stand in awe of his European neighbours. He often prophesied that, sooner or later, the English and his countrymen would fight for the empire of India. But never daring to hope that his countrymen would prevail in the struggle, he resolved that the contest should not occur in his day, and adhered to a peaceful policy.

Runjit Sing died in 1839. His son succeeded him, but was slain in a tumult; when the widow, an abandoned woman, seized the reins of government as guardian of her child, as yet only an infant. Scenes of rapine and confusion followed, of which it is not worth while to give a detailed account; but the end could hardly be doubted of from the outset. The army, freed from the restraining hand of Runjit Sing, insisted on being led against the English. They had many friends on the other side of the Sutledj, with whom their chiefs were in constant communication; and they clamoured for leave, either to rob the capital, in order to make up the arrears of pay due to them, or to march upon Calcutta.

1845.—Sir Hugh Gough, commander-in-chief in India, was now at Simla. He observed what was going on, and kept up a constant intercourse by letter with the governor-

general. And by-and-by, the governor-general, in order that he might be ready for the worst, quitted Calcutta and pitched his camp near that of Sir Hugh Gough. Two posts, on the near side of the Sutledj, Ferozepore and Ludiana, were strongly reinforced, and orders were issued for brigades in the rear to close up at their leisure. So matters stood, when suddenly intelligence came that the Sikhs had crossed the Sutledj, and that Ferozepore was threatened. Now then, the time for deliberation was past. Every disposable man was put in motion, and the columns moved on.

The first battle fought with the Sikhs took place on the 18th of December, between the Ambala and Ludiana divisions of the British army, which had been prudently united by order of Lord Hardinge, and a detachment of the Sikh army under Lal Sing. The two armies met at Moodki, twenty miles from Ferozepore, and the Sikhs immediately began the attack. The whole forces under Lord Gough amounted to about 11,000, while the Sikhs were estimated at 30,000 men, with forty guns. This estimate, however, appears to have greatly exaggerated their number, and Captain Cunningham even inclines to doubt if they much exceeded the British in numbers. The Sikhs were repulsed with severe loss, and seventeen of their guns were taken; but the British learned in the battle of Moodki the valour of the enemy they had to contend with. The forces of Lord Gough, already too few, were reduced by a loss of 215 killed and 657 wounded; among the former of whom were Major-generals Sir Robert Sale and Sir John McCaskill.

The experience acquired by this victory taught the British leaders the necessity for bringing every available means to bear against their brave and resolute enemy. Previously to the battle of Moodki, Sir Henry Hardinge, in anticipation of the course which the war was likely to take, had withdrawn a large part of the garrison from Ludiana, and joined it to his field force. He now sent directions to General Gilbert, who commanded in Ferozepore, to execute with the main army a combined movement, and thus brought the whole in front of an intrenched camp at Ferozeshah. Here from 40,000 to 50,000 Sikhs had established themselves. Lord Hardinge and Sir H.

Gough knew that another army of 30,000 men lay on the banks of the Sutledj. They had, moreover, reason to believe that it was about to move to the support of the intrenched camp.

They, therefore, resolved to anticipate the danger, by falling at once, upon the enemy in their front. 14,000 British and native troops, attacked that day, more than thrice their own number of Sikhs, whom strong lines covered, and who possessed an artillery in front of which the British light six pounders could not show themselves. One of the most sanguinary battles in Indian history followed. The assailants won but a portion of the intrenchments ere darkness set in. They therefore, lay all night amid the dying and the dead, exposed to a desultory fire from the Sikh batteries. But with the return of day came a renewal of the conflict. The guns were all silenced, but the infantry did its work. The lines were carried; and an attempt on the part of the Sikh army of reserve to recover them, was repulsed. Thus Ferozepore was saved; while the Sikhs, fleeing in confusion, crossed the Sutledj, and began immediately to intrench on its northern bank.

1846.—Though beaten in the field, the Sikhs were by no means broken in spirit. Large reinforcements of men and guns came to them, and Lord Hardinge and Sir H. Gough were forced to look on while they added daily to the strength of their intrenched camp; for nothing more could be attempted till fresh regiments and heavy artillery should come up from the rear. It was at this juncture that the movement of a large force of Sikhs upon Ludiana induced Sir Hugh Gough to detach Brigadier-general Smith to the support of that place. Sir H. Smith pushed on, and fell in with the enemy at a village where he did not expect to find them. It was not his business as yet to fight a battle. He therefore drew off his columns under cover of his artillery, and marching round the Sikh position, relieved the threatened fort, though at the sacrifice of a good deal of his baggage. The loss thus incurred, however, was amply compensated three days afterwards. Having united the garrison of Ludiana to his own force, Smith moved against the Sikhs, who took up a position, with the village of Aliwal on their left, and threw up banks of earth to protect their line in front, and oppose ad-

ditional impediments to their assailants. The British formed, and advancing under a heavy cannonade, carried the village. The holders of the post speedily gave way before the determined charge of the British brigades. The Sikhs stood their ground on the field, however, with the most resolute valour. Charge after charge was made with the bayonets of the English, and the Sikhs were gradually pressed to the passage of the river which was at hand. They made several ineffectual attempts to rally, but were driven across the Sutledj with immense loss, and in the utmost confusion and terror. The whole of their guns were taken, spiked, or sunk in the river. Sir H. Smith, in his despatch, expresses his firm conviction that no troops in any battle on record, ever behaved more nobly than did the British on this occasion.

The victory of Aliwal was one of the most important that has ever been gained by the British forces in India. The number engaged was indeed comparatively small. But the effect of this opportune defeat of the Sikhs, at the very time when they were rejoicing in united councils and exulting in anticipated victory, completely overthrew their whole schemes. Golah Sing instead of attempting to rally his defeated forces upbraided them with the rashness and folly of hoping to overcome the conquerors of India, and immediately opened negotiations with the English commander.

Confidence and joyful anticipations of triumph prevailed throughout the British camp. The victory of Aliwal had restored the faith of the sepoys in the fortune of British arms, while the European forces exulted in the anticipation of victory. Substantial grounds of confidence had meanwhile been supplied by the arrival of the heavy ordnance, with abundant ammunition and stores. The obstacles which had impeded their earlier operations, and made victory so difficult and so hardly won, no longer existed. The 10th of February, only twelve days after the victory of Aliwal, was fixed for storming the Sikh position, and driving them beyond the river.

Through indifference or neglect, the British had allowed a post of observation, of some importance, to fall into the hands of the Sikhs, and to surprise this was determined upon as the first proceeding. Long before dawn, the whole British camp was in motion, and an advanced party was ordered to drive in the enemy's pickets. The additional gloom of a

thick haze added to the darkness of the night, as the British forces silently advanced to assume the initiative in the contest; but the posts of observation, both at the Sobraon and in front of Kudiwalla, were found unoccupied, though held by a strong force on the previous day. The Sikhs were everywhere taken by surprise, and beat loudly to arms throughout their wide intrenchments on both sides of the river. The English heavy ordnance had been arranged in masses on some of the most commanding points opposite the enemy's intrenchments, and at sunrise the batteries opened upon them.

For three hours the deadly shower of iron hail poured down upon the Sikh forces within their intrenchments, mingled with the more deadly shells, that scattered death on every side as they fell. But the Sikh intrenchments bristled with the heavy ordnance which had told so effectively against the light fieldpieces that formed the sole British Artillery in the earlier engagements; and the sun's level rays hardly pierced through the clouds of sulphurous smoke that loomed over the scene of deadly strife. The effect of the cannonade was most severely felt by the enemy; but it soon became evident that the issue of this struggle must be decided by the bayonet. At nine o'clock, a brigade, supported on either flank by batteries, and horse artillery, moved to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other. The former marched steadily on in line, which they halted only to correct when necessary. The latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until at length they were within three hundred yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs; but, notwithstanding the regularity, and coolness, and scientific character of this assault, so hot was the fire of cannon, musketry, and field pieces, kept up by the Khalsa troops, that it seemed for some moments impossible that the intrenchments could be won under it; but soon persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the satisfaction to see the gallant soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampments.

The resistance of the Sikhs here was terrible. The deadly fire of their muskets and well served artillery, mowed down the advancing lines of the British, and compelled them to give way. The first assailants were repulsed, but they

rallied and returned to the charge, and, supported by the advance of the second division, after a severe struggle, they obtained possession of some of the enemy's most important batteries in front. Still the Sikhs stood their ground. No panic seized these hardy enthusiasts, though thus assailed within their own intrenchments. One point after another was forced. The sappers levelled spaces sufficient for the cavalry to pour into their camp, and sustain the efforts of the infantry who had borne the brunt of the deadly struggle. But still the Sikhs fought with all the wild fury of despair.

"The interior," says Captain Cunningham, "was filled with courageous men, who took advantage of every obstacle, and fought fiercely for every spot of ground. The traitor, Tej Sing, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault, and, either accidentally or by design, sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. But the ancient Sham Sing remembered his vow; he clothed himself in simple white attire, as one devoted to death, and calling on all around him to fight for the Gooroo, who had promised everlasting bliss to the brave, he repeatedly rallied his shattered ranks, and at last fell a martyr on a heap of his slain countrymen. Others might be seen standing on the ramparts amid showers of balls, waving defiance with their swords, or telling the gunners where the fair-haired English pressed thickest together. Along the stronger half of the battlements, and for the period of half an hour, the conflict raged sublime in all its terrors. The parapets were sprinkled with blood from end to end; the trenches were filled with the dead and the dying. Amid the deafening roar of cannon, and multitudinous fire of musketry, the shouts of triumph or of scorn were yet heard, and the flashing of innumerable swords was yet visible; or from time to time exploding magazines of powder, threw bursting shells, beams of wood and banks of earth, high above the agitated sea of smoke and flame which enveloped the host of combatants, and for a moment arrested the attention amid all the din and tumult of the tremendous conflict."

Never before had British arms been opposed to such determined bravery and skill, as strove with them on that bloody plain. The deadly struggles which had hung disgrace for a time on the British banners in the passes of

Afghanistan, owed their fatal terrors to the natural character of the country, far more than to the bravery of its hardy but undisciplined forces. But here they were withstood on a fair field by a foe that listened unappalled to the thunders of their cannon, and stood unmoved before the glittering points of their bayonets when charged. Even the brave Sikhs, however, supported by all the nerve that fanaticism can add to native valour, found British skill and daring more than a match for them on an equal field.

They sustained the conflict with a courage that has won for their arms an imperishable renown, but that could not avoid defeat. Over any but the bravest of all soldiers they would have obtained an easy victory ; and as it was, the conquerors purchased their triumph with an unusual loss ; 320 British soldiers lay dead on the field, including Major-general Sir Robert Dick, a veteran soldier, who had served with honour in the Peninsula and at Waterloo ; Brigadier Taylor, and other distinguished officers, who fell while leading on their men, or recalling them to a sense of their duty, as they recoiled from the deadly fire of the enemy. In addition to these, the British had 2083 wounded, some of them fatally. But the loss of the Sikhs did not amount to less than 8000, while they were irretrievably broken and scattered, without hope of again being able to take the field.

The official proclamation of the governor-general, issued only four days after the victory of Sobraon, contains both a declaration and a defence of British policy. " No extension of territory was desired by the government of India ; the measures necessary for providing indemnity for the past and security for the future will, however, involve the retention by the British government of a portion of the country hitherto under the government of the Lahore state. The extent of territory which it may be deemed advisable to hold will be determined by the conduct of the durbar, and considerations for the security of the British frontier. The government of India will, under any circumstances annex to the British provinces the districts, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Sutledj and Beas, the revenues thereof being appropriated as a part of the indemnity required from the Lahore state."

As moderate in the hour of victory as he had been reso-

lute during the war, Sir Henery Hardinge abstained from appropriating to himself, as he might have easily done, the whole of the Punjab. He was content to dismember it. All the provinces on the further side of the Sutledj, which being Sikh by lineage, had hitherto maintained their independence, though under British protection, he added to the empire. The valley of Cashmere, with certain provinces around, he elevated into a separate principality, and gave it to Golab Sing. On the Maha Raja, yet a child, he imposed a tax, sufficient, as was calculated, to defray the expenses of the war; and he ordered every gun belonging to the state to be surrendered. This done, and leaving an army of occupation to keep Lahore till tranquillity should be restored, he returned with the commander-in-chief and the bulk of the forces to British India.

For their services in this war, Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough were deservedly raised to the peerage; but the former did not remain long in the country to enjoy the pomp of his viceroyalty. Having witnessed the ratification of the Sikh treaty, and reduced the Company's army to a peace establishment, Lord Viscount Hardinge returned home, to receive from a grateful sovereign and country the applause which his services had earned.

Viscount Hardinge while encouraging by his example the observance of the Christian religion, discountenanced interference with the rites of the natives. By all legitimate means, and without interfering with the labour of the missionary, he encouraged general education and the enlightenment of the native mind:—the rest he wisely left to God and to his appointed time. In October, 1846, he issued a notification prohibiting Sunday labour among the Christians of India. This was a salutary check to many who, having little to do during the week, from mere listlessness and carelessness, were in the habit of desecrating the Sabbath, or permitting it to be desecrated by their subordinates. The Mussulman and the Hindu, who worship after their own fashion, and who scrupulously observe their own holy days, have now some evidence that the Christian respects the faith he professes.

No effort was left untried by his lordship to put down the crimes of infanticide, suttee, and man-stealing. Among the very many able, energetic, and humane officers and

administrators, who aided his lordship in carrying out these noble measures, none was more distinguished than Captain S. C. Macpherson, of the Madras army, whose labours among the cruel Khonds of Goomsur and Boad—pursued, at first, under every discouragement, at the expense of health, and well nigh to the extinction of life—ought never to be overlooked. In the regions which came under Captain Macpherson's control, the most horrible of human sacrifices prevailed, and to an extent which appears scarcely credible, though thoroughly well attested by the evidence, and the concurrent testimony of numerous witnesses. The victims were tortured, and subjected to long and excruciating agonies before they were slain. Children and young people were preferred if they could be kidnapped, purchased, or obtained in any other way; but, in many cases, full-grown men and women, and old people, were immolated—after torture. As many as twenty-five adults have been sacrificed by Khonds at a single religious festival. By the persevering efforts, the prudent, cautious, patient, and wise measures of Captain Macpherson, under Lord Hardinge and his immediate successor, these revolting rites, if not entirely abolished, were vastly diminished, both in Goomsur and in Boad.

Under Lord Hardinge's administration, innumerable checks and impediments were removed, and trade was rendered perfectly free throughout British India. The octroi, or town-duties, not only of such places at Ludiana and Umballa, but of Surat—where they yielded eleven lacs of rupees per annum—were released, to the infinite benefit of trade and of town dwelling people. During the forty-two months of the noble lord's administration, it is difficult to say, whether he shone more as a warrior and military administrator, or as a civil administrator and statesman.

Possessed of a fine natural taste and a love of the arts, and having with him in his eldest son an accomplished and enthusiastic amateur artist, his lordship encouraged the preservation and repair of the magnificent works of Oriental architecture, which too many of his predecessors had entirely neglected, and had left to the destruction of time, or of barbarous hands. Through his good taste and unsparing liberality, the exquisite Taj Mahal, and the fort and the palace at Agra, were judiciously repaired. He

gave every possible encouragement to the Archaeological Society of Delhi, instituted chiefly for the purpose of exploring the numerous ruins and antiquities of India. He sanctioned and promoted the scheme of Mr. Thomason, for forming a College of Instruction of Civil Engineers at Rurki. Much of India had been already accurately surveyed; but, as sanctioned by this high-minded and large-hearted governor-general, the grand trigonometrical survey is now extending its operations into Cashmere, and along the banks of the Indus.

- By nothing was his lordship more distinguished than by his equanimity, his amenity, his facility in soothing animosities, and his tact in the management of men's minds. He may be said to have been on excellent terms with almost every individual with whom he had to transact business. Although he expected every man under him to do his duty, and to do it thoroughly, his disapprobation of neglect or slowness was always expressed in so kindly a manner, that it could seldom give offence. His friendship and patronage were bestowed upon none but men of high merit.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

Multan—Outbreak—Murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieut. Anderson—The conspiracy universal—Courage of Lieutenant Edwards—His valuable services—Siege of Multan—Its fall—Battle of Ohillianwallah—Battle of Guzerat and great victory—General tranquillity—Railways and telegraphs—Insolent proceedings of the Burmese—Vain attempts at Negotiation—War declared—Capture of Rangoon—Of Bassein—Of Prome—Annexation of Pegu—Unavoidable extension of the British empire in India.

LORD DALHOUSIE arrived in Calcutta early in 1848. His reception in India was most flattering: for a high and untarnished reputation had preceded him. His lordship looked forward to a long career of peace and improvement; great plans were matured for the construction of railways and other important public works; but in three months the flames of war were again kindled in the Punjab.

At Multan, the capital of a district lying between the left bank of the Indus and the right bank of the Sutledj, it was found necessary or expedient to substitute Sirdar Khan Sing as governor, for Mulraj who was believed to have shown intentions hostile to the durbar of Lahore and to the British government. It was believed that Mulraj accepted the liberal conditions offered to him, and fully acquiesced in this arrangement; but when Mr. Vans Agnew, a Bengal civil servant and assistant to the resident at Lahore, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the Bombay Fusiliers, proceeded to Multan to complete the arrangement (on the 7th of April), they found discontent and turbulence; and on the following day both these gentlemen were attacked and desperately wounded. They retired with their weak escort to a small fort outside the town, being accompanied by Sirdar Khan Sing. A fire was opened upon this place of refuge from Multan, but owing to the distance, the guns did little mischief. Three days afterwards the Multan troops came

out and attacked the fort; the Sikh garrison within immediately opened the gates, and let in the assailants, and both Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were barbarously murdered.

It was believed for a time that this violent outbreak was entirely referable to some temporary and accidental misunderstanding with the Sikh soldiery, and was unconnected with any organized plan of opposition to established rule, or to any designed hostilities with the British. But the outbreak at Multan was followed by the discovery of a conspiracy of the most alarming character at Lahore, having for its object the massacre of all the British officers, the expulsion of the whole of the troops from the Punjab, and a revolution in the Sikh government. Attempts had been made, not without some slight success, to seduce the sepoys from their allegiance. On the discovery of this, the British resident, Sir Frederick Currie, directed certain native officers, whose fidelity could be relied upon, to fall in with the plans of the conspirators, by which means the whole plot was disclosed. Three native corps, it was found, had been tampered with, but only a small number of the men had yielded to the temptations by which they were assailed. Undoubted proofs, however, were discovered of persons of the highest rank being privy to the plot, by whom the fakirs had been employed to use their influence over the sepoys in seducing them from their fidelity.

The indomitable courage and skill of a British officer of youth and inexperience, sufficed at this critical juncture to do much for the safety of the British empire in India. Lieut. Edwardes was stationed on the Indus with a force consisting only of one regiment of infantry and 400 sowars, with two guns. His duty was the collection of the land-tax due to Mulraj, and the occupation of Leiah, a town situated on the left bank of the Indus. Hearing of the affair at Multan, and finding that he was exposed to risk, many of his Sikh soldiers deserted him. On learning the rumour of a general rising, he crossed the river into the Driajat, whence he wrote to the Khan of Bhawalpore, to make a demonstration which should prevent Mulraj from executing any design against him or Colonel Cortlandt, who commanded the garrison of Dhera Ismael Khan. The Khan lost no time in making preparations to act.

Lieutenant Edwardes effected a junction with Colonel Cortlandt's forces, by which a body of about 7000 men was placed under their joint command. With this force considerable success was achieved and it was confidently anticipated for a time that these young officers, at the head of such a small and irregular force, were to bring the rebellion summarily to a close, and re-annex Multan to the Punjab, ere the British resident or the commander-in-chief could adopt any definite line of policy for the suppression of this unexpected outbreak. But the fortifications of Multan were such as bade defiance to the efforts of an irregular force, with no other artillery than a few light field-pieces. Major Edwardes at once perceived his inability to make the slightest impression on the fortress with the troops under his command, and he accordingly despatched a messenger to the British resident at Lahore, for reinforcements and heavy artillery.

But though it was no longer to be hoped for, that the gallantry of a single officer would prove sufficient to counteract the deep-laid plots and machinations of the Sikhs, the check he had given at so critical a period was productive of the most important results. Much valuable time was gained. The cautious deliberations of those at the head of affairs were carried on while he held the enemy at bay ; and by the time it became obvious that the most decisive measures were indispensable, they were ready to forward to his aid a force capable of coping with such difficulties. On the 21st December 1848, General Wish at length effected a junction with Major Edwardes, in the neighbourhood of Multan, by which he found himself at the head of an efficient force, amounting to 15,000 British troops, and 17,000 allies, and with 150 pieces of ordnance, nearly half of which were of the largest calibre. The result became no longer doubtful. After one of the most obstinate and gallant defences, on the part of the enemy, ever recorded in the annals of the Indian warfare, the city of Multan was yielded to the British commander, (Jan. 21, 1849) and its citadel occupied by a British garrison, though not till the principal powder magazine of the defenders, containing nearly a million pounds of powder, had been blown into the air, and their principal granary and stores had been burned.

While the united forces under General Wish were breach-

ing the walls of Multan, the commander-in-chief had to withstand a still more formidable resistance in the open field.

Lord Gough does not appear to have thought it advisable to strike a decisive blow at the Sikh army in the field till Multan should have fallen. He was pressed, however, from without ; and following up the enemy, overtook them on the Chenab river, and partially engaged them. It was an affair of horse, which seems to have been conducted with greater courage than discretion ; for the cavalry suffered themselves to be carried beyond the proper point, and falling into an ambuscade, suffered severely. The enemy, however, retreated, and took up another position at a place called Chillianwallah. There Lord Gough attacked them, and one of the fiercest battles of which the record is preserved in Indian story took place, without any decisive result. The British army at the close of the day, stood upon the field of action, from which, for the convenience of water, they withdrew at night a few miles to the rear. The Sikhs retired within fortified lines which they had constructed on the Jhelum, and evinced no disposition to abandon them.

Meanwhile the fall of Multan had released a large body who were pressing forward to reinforce the army of Lord Gough, while the total in action of Shere Sing proved that the bloody field of Chillianwallah had paralyzed the movements of the Sikhs, even more than it had crippled the available resources and damped the exulting anticipations of the British.

Victory, indeed had not deserted the British arms in India ; and on the 21st of February, another conflict took place in which the Sikh army, estimated at 60,000 men, with fifty-nine pieces of artillery, and a powerful auxiliary force of Afgan cavalry, was completely routed at Guzerat. "Their ranks broken ; their position carried ; their guns, ammunition, camp-equipage, and baggage, captured : and their flying masses driven before the victorious pursuers from mid-day to dusk." Fifty-three pieces of artillery left in the hands of the victors, along with the camp, baggage, magazines, and a vast store of ammunition abandoned by the flying Sikhs, abundantly testified to the triumph which had at length dissipated the apprehensions of

thousands, who waited with anxious dread the announcement of the first despatch that should narrate the proceedings, subsequent to the dear-bought field of Chillianwallah.

The victory of Guzerat proved complete and decisive. Once more the van of the British army had maintained its ground on this remote border of British India, until reinforcements could be brought up, and supplies forwarded to the point of attack, and then trying the strength of the opposing power on a well-fought field, victory had unequivocally declared for the conquerors of the East. The fruits of this battle were the entire surrender of the Sikh army, including their commander, Shere Sing; his father, Chutter Sing, his brothers, and most of the principal Sikh sirdars and chiefs. Forty-one pieces of artillery the whole that remained uncaptured by the British, were at the same time unconditionally surrendered, and the remains of the conquered army, to the number 16,000 Sikh soldiers; laid down their arms in the presence of the British troops. The principal scene of this act of surrender by the vanquished was a place called Hoormuk, at one of the principal fords of the river, across which their broken ranks had fled in dismay before the final charge of the victors of Guzerat. At this spot the Sikh soldiers crossed and delivered up their arms, passing through the lines of two native infantry regiments for this duty. Each of the Sikhs received a rupee to subsist him on his return home, in addition to which they were permitted to retain their horses.

Two years and a half were then devoted to the organization of an administration for these newly acquired countries; and it was confidently asserted that the wars of the British empire in India had ceased, and that a long season of tranquillity might be anticipated.

The year 1851 will long be memorable in Indian annals, as having witnessed the commencement of railways and electric telegraphs in two of the three presidencies. At Calcutta and Bombay the first sections of the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular railways were put in train; whilst an electric telegraph was begun between the former city and Diamond Harbour, and is now in active operation,—the first of a series of wires which will eventually connect the City of Palaces with the various seats of government throughout that presidency.

Not the least notable occurrence of this year was the passing an act which effected for all India what Lord William Bentinck had done for Bengal alone, by abolishing all pains and penalties attaching, under the old Hindu and Mahomedan laws, to any seceders from those faiths to Christianity, and who had hitherto, by such secession, forfeited all rights to family or other property.

Towards the latter part of the year the political horizon was dimmed by a small cloud in the direction of Burmah, arising out of sundry acts of cruelty and oppression to British subjects. These acts it was deemed by the authorities impossible to overlook; and an expedition was accordingly despatched in November from Calcutta, under Commodore Lambert, to demand reparation for the past, and a guarantee for the future.

Early in January (1852), it appeared as though the sovereign of Ava was disposed to come to a friendly understanding with the governor-general; but before long it was too evident that this appearance of amity was but a pretext in order to gain time. A new viceroy arrived at Rangoon, and commenced active preparations, by no means of a pacific nature. It was in vain that Commodore Lambert endeavoured to obtain an interview with this functionary; at first his letters were treated coolly, but eventually with contempt; and it became evident that, in order to bring the Burmese to terms, forcible means would have to be resorted to.

Matters being in this state, the Commodore directed British residents in Rangoon to seek refuge on board the fleet. The order was obeyed, though a number were detained on shore and thrown into prison. On the morrow the fleet moved down the river, the steamers towing out some of the smaller ships. An insolent message from the viceroy was disregarded; but as one of the steamers passed the town with a Burmese man-of-war in tow as a prize, the garrison fired upon her, which was so warmly returned by the guns of her Majesty's ship *Fox*, as to cause the immediate abandonment of the Burmese forts.

Upon this open rupture, Commodore Lambert, being anxious for more positive instructions from the governor-general, left for Calcutta in a steamer, first declaring the ports of Burmah in a state of blockade. Although not

quite satisfied, it is said, with one act—the seizure of the Burmese ship-of-war—the governor-general ratified all that had been done at Rangoon, and at once resolved upon pursuing the most energetic and prompt measures for the adjustment of these differences. Orders were despatched to Bombay and Madras for the immediate preparation for use of all the steamers available, with contingencies of such troops as could be spared; whilst active measures were at once taken at Calcutta for despatching, by steamers and transports, a powerful body of European and native troops, as well as a strong accompaniment of artillery. General Godwin was placed in command.

Various engagements took place, and the result, as might have been anticipated, was the annexation of the conquered portion of the Burmese empire. By a proclamation dated December 28, 1852, the governor-general declared the province of Pegu annexed to the British territories; and called upon all the inhabitants to submit themselves to the authority and protection of the government. He moreover intimated that no further conquests were intended; but that in the event of the king of Ava refusing to hold friendly intercourse with the British government, or seeking to disturb their quiet possession of Pegu, further hostilities would necessarily ensue, which could have no other result than the total subversion of the Burman empire, and the exile of the king and his family.

The British empire in the East has thus gone on increasing, though contrary to the votes of the Parliament of England, and the wishes of the Court of Directors. Under governors-general of the most opposite character, and notwithstanding all the efforts made to prevent it—the Empire has become what it is, a vast dominion extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—from the Hindus to the Irrawaddy. It is plain that from the battle of Plassey to the Annexation of Pegu, there has been a principle of expansiveness in it which no human authority could controul.* The hand of God has been most clearly visible in it.

* Friend of India.

CHAPTER XLIV.

WHAT ENGLAND HAS DONE FOR INDIA.

Circumstances under which the Government of India has been conducted by the British—Unavoidable wars—Much yet remains to be done in India—Character of the Mogul Government—Great course left behind it—Character of British rule—Educational Institutions—Electric Telegraph—Railways—Postage—Lex Loci—Universal security—Public works—Summa Canals—Great Ganges Canal—Missionary labours—Their objects and results.

It is little more than sixty years since it can be said that England began to govern India. Lord Cornwallis is the first Indian ruler who can be properly regarded as an administrator. Up to the time of his arrival the English in India had been engaged in a great struggle for existence. Clive conquered the richest province of Hindostan. Hastings reduced it to something like order. But it was not till the time of Cornwallis that administrative efforts took shape and consistency; and the entire internal management of the country was regulated by a code of written laws; intended to confer upon the natives of India the benefits of as much European wisdom and benevolence, as was compatible with a due regard for the character of native institutions.

During the sixty years that have passed since that period, India has never enjoyed any protracted season of rest. Its rulers have continually been engaged in wars and contentions, which have resulted in the extension of the empire until it has reached the confines of the Afghan dominions: and many who would have been peaceful administrators have been conquerors in spite of themselves. In considering the results of British rule we should not reason as if the present territory had been sixty years in British possession, and those years of settled tranquillity. During the whole period the government has been engaged with measures of defence or necessary aggression, which have left little leisure to consider, or money to provide the means of internal improvement.

The preceding chapters of this History have narrated the wars in Madras and Bengal—the Rohila wars—the Mysore wars—the Mahratta wars—the Java war—the Pindaree war—the Burmese war—the Afghan war—the Sindh war—the Sikh war—and the various minor wars that occurred in the course of Indian conquest. And yet most of the governors-general have been men to whom the blessings of peace, and the claims of an industrial people, possessed far more attractions than the war policy pursued. Cornwallis—Minto—Amherst—Auckland—Hardinge—Dalhousie, were all by nature peace-governors. Still they were all arrested in their career of internal improvement, by the necessity of concentrating their efforts on great schemes of military organisation, for the subjection of enemies who threatened the security of the frontier, and compelled government to acquire new territory if they did not wish to relinquish possession of the old.

If some of these wars might have been delayed, few could have been altogether avoided. The English in India are not fairly chargeable with that last of conquest which is sometimes said to have marked their career in the East. They have been engaged in a continued struggle which has paralysed the efforts of humane men, whose earnest desire was the domestic improvement of the country. Providence, however, has determined that the British empire in the Indian should expand to its present dominions. The whole History of India has been one of expansion—of acquisition : and it is only by so considering the fact that we can rightly estimate the much or the little which the British conquerors of India would have done to promote the happiness of the people who inhabit it.

Many great political problems are yet unsolved—many great social evils are yet unremied. Much, doubtless, has yet to be done, before the voice of complaint can be authoritatively called upon in the name of reason, to be still. Unqualified commendation in such a case would be as unreasonable as unqualified censure—not because it is unqualified commendation of the Indian government, but because it is unqualified commendation of a terrestrial government, and therefore of one prone to all sorts of short comings, and liable to all kinds of error. If there were nothing more to be complained of there would be

nothing more to be done. Now, in India, it must be acknowledged that there is very much to be done. But in England also there is much to be done. The government of England is and has been a government of progress. Englishmen are astonished at the evils which their fathers permitted, and their sons will be astonished at those which they are now permitting. And yet generations of Englishmen have boasted, and the voice of the world has justified the boast, of the blessings of the British Constitution. We have not to consider whether this or that government has attained perfection, but whether it is making reasonable efforts to approach it. We have not merely to consider whether the mass of the people are positively happy under any particular government; but whether they are happier than they were fifty or twenty years ago under the government. Progressive improvement is all that we have a right to expect, and that will be found in the History of British rule in India.*

The Mogul emperors erected some magnificent regal structures; but the people were subject to an unmixed despotism. This might not be an intolerable evil under a wise and liberal monarch like Akber; but in all that line of kings from Baber to Aurungzib there was but one Akber. His successor, whom the English found on the Mogul throne, was a feeble sensualist; throughout the country property was insecure, and life not held sacred. There was no supreme law: no tribunal to which all could appeal with a certainty of obtaining justice. On the contrary regal pleasure could at any time set aside legal authority: and all these in any offices of power became irresponsible tyrants.

The luxurious selfishness of the emperors depressed and enfeebled the people. The country, indeed, is still prostrated by that great curse of Mogul tyranny. It has never recovered from the corrupting influences of the slavish fear which that great domination engendered. India owes much of the confirmed debasement of her morals to the Mogul. It may be that a conquered people are always more or less a false people—that it is not in the nature of men to be truthful with the yoke on their necks. But the form of government observed, and the

* Kaye.

character of the religion professed by the conquerors, must always regulate the degree to which political prostration is accompanied by moral debasement. Falsehood is the child of fear. And who can estimate the tremendous amount of falsehood against which the English legislator has now to contend? Falsehood which baffles the wisdom of the enlightened, and sets at nought the best efforts of the humane. The state of things, which existed under the rule of the Mogul despots was too surely calculated to corrupt both Mahommedans and Hindus—to perpetuated among both classes the selfishness and faithlessness which years of milder rule and more ennobling example have yet scarcely even begun to eradicate.

An illustration of the character of that rule may be found in the following extract from a minute in which Sir C. Metcalfe, when acting governor-general in 1835, thus expressed his convictions of the duty of the governing power: "I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened, and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge—of which the liberty of the press is one of the most efficient instruments—is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be, that we are permitted by divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country; pay the establishment necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are doubtless here for higher purposes; one of which is, to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences of Europe, over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people."

Such sentiments would do honour to any Government; and it is most satisfactory to know that each governor-general who has since held that distinguished office, has

cherished similar views ; and only been prevented from more fully giving effect to them, by the unavoidable wars in which each has been engaged, and the demands these have made on the resources of the empire.

Notwithstanding these obstacles however, some progress has been made. While the attention of the Government has necessarily been chiefly given to the organization of an efficient administration for the vast territories it has recently annexed, the general interests of the empire have not been overlooked.

In each of the presidencies educational institutions have been established, in which the highest branches of knowledge are taught by competent men, who have obtained honours in the Universities of England. Medical Colleges have also been commenced, where Hindu pupils have graduated after undergoing a searching and comprehensive examination. The late chief justice of Bombay declared his conviction that " the Hindu slumber of two thousand years is terminating, and something like the same mental activity and thirst for truth is displaying itself as was seen at the revival of letters in Europoe, when thirty thousand students might be observed at a single university, and submitting to great personal privation that they might cultivate their faculties." The Government of India has certainly shown every disposition to foster and encourage this intellectual cultivation.

The Electric Telegraph has been widely introduced, and arrangements are in progress for its extension till the remotest provinces shall share its advantages.

Private enterprise has been liberally encouraged in the formation of Railway Companies, through whose agency the immense benefits of steam will soon be enjoyed throughout India.

An act has just come into operation by which the rates of postage have been reduced so as nearly to correspond with those current in England and America. A letter may be sent any distance for half an anna, and a book weighing sixteen ounces transmitted to any part of India for two annas.

The *Lcx Loci* by which natives are exempted from the penal consequences inflicted by the Hindu Law for a conscientious change of their religion, must be regarded as a most important step towards the moral elevation of the people.

Other legislative acts might be cited as showing a similar enlightened regard for the improvement of the civil and social condition of the great mass of the population. Especially should it be remembered that a government has been established under which the poorest cultivator feels that he may live in security, without fear of being deprived of life or property by the lawlessness of tyrants great or small.

There is hardly a native of India in the present day who does not rejoice in the thought that there is no longer any power in the state that can order, under the influence of a gust of passion, even the meanest labourer to be trampled to death by elephants, as was once the case. The poorest coolie is now entitled to all the solemn formalities of a judicial trial; and the punishment of death, by whomsoever administered, and on whomsoever inflicted, without the express decree of the law, is a crime for which the highest functionary in the Company's territories is as much accountable as a sweeper would be for the assassination of the Governor-general.*

There could be nothing more worthy of a humane government than the prevention, as far as humane wisdom can prevent, the recurrence of those periodical famines with which India has been visited. The effects of a drought are more terrible than language can describe. Upper India has occasionally suffered to such an extent, that all the wisdom and all the resources of the strongest government have not been able to mitigate it.

An extensive system of canal irrigation seemed the only possible way of meeting the exigency: and long attracted the attention of the ablest British officers. The Western Jumna Canal was the first great work of the kind executed. It extends from the foot of the Hills to Delhi and to Hissar. Its total length is 425 miles, and there are nearly 700 irrigation outlets from the main channel. This canal has called into being, in places formerly without an inhabitant, an active, contented, and prosperous peasantry.

The Eastern Jumna Canal, though a work of inferior proportions, has proved one of great importance and value. Its entire length is 155 miles, and is said to constitute, in many

* Kaye.

parts of its course, the most interesting and beautiful views to be found in India.

The next undertaking of this nature was the great Ganges Canal—the most magnificent work ever accomplished in India—if indeed it does not surpass in grandeur and importance every other monument of man's industry to be found in any part of the world. It traverses with its several branches more than 800 miles. This stupendous work has only just been completed, having been opened in (April) this year. Its able projecter, Colonel Cautley, had the high gratification of witnessing the successful opening of the Canal, and of receiving from Lord Dalhousie the most flattering acknowledgements of the sense government entertained of his important services.

In addition to the various measures adopted by the ruling authorities in India for the general benefit, we may refer to the spontaneous efforts of English Christians, unconnected in any way with the Government, to impart the highest blessings to the inhabitants of India. They believe that India “has been committed to England's charge in order that the blessings which have made England great, may elevate degraded India too; that her high civilization may be shared by her dependent; that the knowledge which has enlightened her intellect, may enlarge the minds of the Hindus; that the mental vigour of the conqueror may be imparted to the conquered; that the justice, the moral tone, and truth of England, may be infused into a people, who have not known them for ages. Above all, that the BIBLE, which has made England and America the missionaries of the world, may destroy India's idolatries and caste; raise her people from their degradation; purify them from the immoralities which their religion now teaches; make them just, truthful and happy; raise the female population; give them joys in this life and animate them with the hope of eternal bliss.

The means adopted for the accomplishment of these great objects have been the formation of Missionary Societies whose agents are endeavouring to convince the Hindus of the evils of idolatry and of the truth of Christianity, by preaching to the old; by teaching the young; by giving to all the Bible and Christian books in their own tongues; by endeavouring, in a word, to enlighten their understandings.

to instruct their ignorance, to convince their judgments and draw their hearts ; so that they may become willing converts and abide in the faith which they are persuaded to embrace.

At the commencement of the year 1852, fifty years after the modern English and American Societies had begun their labours in Hindustan, and thirty years since they have been carried on in full efficiency, the STATIONS at which the gospel is preached in India and Ceylon, are three hundred and thirteen in number, and engage the services of *four hundred and forty-three Missionaries*, belonging to *twenty-two Missionary Societies*. Of these missionaries, *forty-eight* are *ordained natives*. Assisted by *six hundred and ninety-eight Native Preachers*, they proclaim the word of God in the bazaars and markets, not only at their several stations, but in the districts around them. They have thus spread far and wide the doctrines of Christianity, and have made a considerable impression, even upon the unconverted population. They have founded *three hundred and thirty-three native churches*, containing *eighteen thousand, four hundred and ten Members*, or Communicants, of whom above five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted. These church members form the nucleus of a *native Christian community*, comprising *one hundred and twelve thousand* individuals, who regularly enjoy the blessings of Bible instruction, both for young and old.

The efforts of missionaries in the cause of education are now directed to *one thousand three hundred and forty-seven day schools*, in which *forty-seven thousand, five hundred and four boys* are instructed through the medium of their own Vernacular language: to *ninety-three boarding schools*, containing *two thousand, four hundred and fourteen boys*, chiefly Christian, who reside upon the missionaries' premises, and are trained up under their eye ; and to *one hundred and twenty-six superior day-schools*, in which *fourteen thousand, five hundred and sixty two boys and students*, are receiving a sound Scriptural education, through the medium of the English language. Their efforts in *Female Education* embrace *three hundred and fifty-four day schools*, with *eleven thousand, five hundred girls* ; and *ninety-three boarding schools*, with *two thousand four hundred and fifty girls*, taught almost exclusively in the Vernacular languages.

The BIBLE has been wholly translated into *ten languages*, and the new Testament into *five* others, not reckoning the Serampore versions. In these ten languages a considerable Christian literature has been produced, including from forty to fifty *tracts*, suitable for distribution among the Hindu and Mussulman population. Missionaries have also established and now maintain twentyfive PRINTING *establishments*.

By far the greater part of this agency has been brought into operation during the last twenty years. It is impossible to contemplate the high position which it occupies, and the results which it has already produced, without indulging the strongest expectations of its future perfect success."*

*Rev. J. Mullens.

THE END.



