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The three presidencies of India

John Capper

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J. B. Brown.





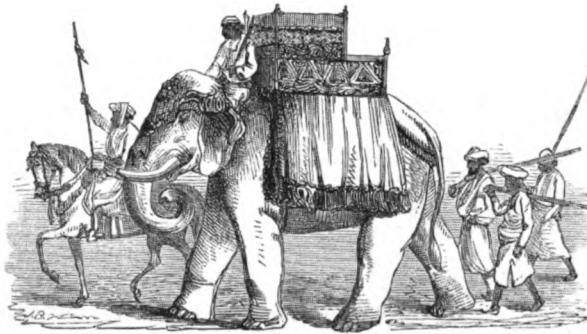
THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, K.T.
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

THE
THREE PRESIDENCIES
OF
INDIA:

A HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH
INDIAN POSSESSIONS,

From the Earliest Records to the Present Time.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, EDUCATION,
ETC. ETC.



By JOHN CAPPER, F.R.A.S.

LATE EDITOR OF THE CEYLON EXAMINER.

Illustrated by numerous Engravings, and a Map by Wylde.



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PREFACE.

THE deep interest imparted to Indian affairs during the recent deliberations of the Senate, in the columns of the political journals, in reviews and pamphlets, and, indeed, wherever a vent for public feeling could be found, induces the Author to believe that no apology is needed for the publication of this volume.

Much has been already written on the subject of Indian affairs. No ordinary amount of ability has been brought to bear on most of the topics embraced in what is popularly termed "the Indian question." It was nevertheless felt that a work was still wanted which should place the public in possession not merely of such facts as bear upon the political phase of the subject, but also of a faithful picture, social and industrial, of the many races composing the people of British India.

A residence of many years in the East, a long connection with the Indian Press, and an acquaintance with civilians, merchants, and planters of the three Presidencies, have emboldened the Author to call Indian things by their right names. The vastness of the interests involved forbade their being handled less firmly.

The recent legislation upon the government of India is but the prelude to great and momentous changes, which cannot long be stayed; which must come—peaceably and lawfully, if we will—but they *must come*, as surely as the broad daylight of intelligence is penetrating the hearts and souls of a hundred millions of our fellow-creatures.

It is not by such means as the solemn farce enacting in the Committee-rooms of the House of Commons that this work will be aided. The dullest mind of the poorest Indian ryot must see through the transparency of that judicial mockery which pretends to give fair play to the plaintiff, by examining no other witnesses than the clients of the defendant. It is in India, and

India only, that the work must be done. It is there alone that a Committee of Inquiry can hope to hear the truth and the whole truth, regarding those matters which so deeply concern the future of British India,—matters which can be little more than glanced at in this volume. Petitions, newspapers, and pamphlets have gone far to prepare the ground, and much good seed has been sown ; but the harvest-time has not yet arrived.

Happily for the cause, the day has gone past when an Indian speech was the dinner-bell of the House of Commons,—an Indian article the nightcap of newspaper readers. Englishmen have shaken off the antiquated belief that they are not interested in the welfare of the three Presidencies. The philosopher, the political-economist, the manufacturer, the merchant, the ship-owner, and, above all, the Christian, finds an ample field for sympathy and energy in that wonderful land, highly gifted by nature, yet prostrate in superstition and misery.

A country, the greater portion of which has been in our possession for three-quarters of a century ; whose commerce has remained stationary during the last eight or nine years ; whose inhabitants pay in taxes half as much as is collected in Great Britain and Ireland, and yet annually consume no more than one shilling's worth of British goods per head, or one-fourteenth part of the value taken by the inhabitants of Chili and La Plata ; whose entire roads receive no greater outlay than is spent upon the streets and highways of one of our large towns ; upon whose education the annual sum of three farthings per family is disbursed ; where railroads, under the fostering care of the Court of Directors, have progressed at the rate of fifteen miles in fifteen years ; within whose colleges, maintained by a Christian Government, the Holy Scriptures are a contraband thing,—the name of the Saviour a forbidden sound, heard but in stealthy whispers ;—such a country as this cannot be an indifferent object to Englishmen in the nineteenth century. Nor is it. India has but to raise her voice, and she will be heard by a people to whom a cry for justice was never yet raised in vain.

*Earls Court, Brompton,
August 1853.*

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THE
THREE PRESIDENCIES OF INDIA.



INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF
BRITISH INDIA.

THE various countries which now form the three Presidencies of India, together with those native states which are independent of, though in close alliance with, the East India Company, have been at various times known under several denominations. They have been comprehensively and indiscriminately spoken of as Hindostan, the East Indies, and the Indian Peninsula; they are now more correctly termed British India, which term, of course, excludes such independent states as have been alluded to.

Extending from Cape Comorin on the south to the Himalayan range on the north, and from the delta of the Berrampootra on the east to the Indus on the west, British India, exclusive of the recently annexed province of Pegu, may be said to include within its limits 1,200,000 square miles of territory. Of these, the Presidency of Bengal contains 306,012 square miles; Madras, 141,920; Bombay, 64,908; and Scinde and the Punjab about 160,000 square miles; the remainder being the extent of the allied states.

The coast-line of British India amounts to about 3200 miles. Of these 1800 miles are washed by the Indian Ocean, and 1400 miles by the Bay of Bengal.

The extreme length of India from north to south may be taken as 1800 miles; its greatest width, along the parallel of 25° N. latitude, is about 1500 miles.

Intersected by vast ranges of lofty mountains, the Indian peninsula presents a remarkably varied surface of table-land, delta, and

valley ; and extending as it does from $8^{\circ} 4'$ N. lat. to 34° N. lat., with tracts of country sometimes 2500 feet above the sea-level, it naturally comprises many varieties of climate and a great range of temperature.

Crossing the peninsula from east to west, between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of north latitude, we find the Vindya Mountains, a dividing range of a marked character, and the base of those various districts into which Hindostan has been divided.

These divisions are four in number : the Deccan, south of the Vindya Mountains ; and to the north of the range, the Delta of the Ganges, Central India, and the Delta of the Indus. Some writers add a fifth division, by styling that part of the Deccan which is south of the river Kishna, Southern India.

The distinguishing feature of the Deccan consists of the lofty ranges of mountains which skirt it on every side ; they are named the northern, southern, eastern, and western Ghauts.¹ The latter skirt the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal at distances varying from one hundred to ten miles ; those on the eastern coast being the most remote. Their altitude varies from 8000 feet downwards. On the southern extremity of the western ghauts are the Neilgherry Mountains stretching eastward, and famed throughout Southern India for their fine climate and fertile tracts of table-land. On this range have been established the sanitary stations of Ootacamund and Dimhatty, where Europeans enjoy the bracing temperature of alpine lands within a few days' journey of Madras.

At the northern extremity of the western range immediately opposite Bombay are the Mahabalipoora Mountains, rising to a height of 5036 feet, on which the sanitorium of Mahabeleshwur has been established for the benefit of that Presidency. The Aligherry Mountains are an offshoot of the southern ghauts.

In that portion of the Deccan known as Southern India are several independent states. The King of Travancore and the Rajah of Cochin are both allies of the Honourable East India Company, and offer every facility for the prosecution of commercial enterprise in their territories.

Deccan proper comprises all that portion of the peninsula which lies between the valley of the Nerbudda on the north, and the deep pass known as the Gap of Coimbatore, running from east to west at about 11° N. lat. The greater part by far of this tract consists of

¹ Ghaut, or ghât, is applied by the natives to the many openings or passes through these ranges ; being derived from the Sanscrit *gati*, a way or path, but is used by Europeans to designate the mountains themselves.

elevated table-land of considerable fertility, skirted by long ranges of mountains or ghauts, which stretch coastward until they terminate in plains. This table-land is called by the natives Bala-ghaut, or the country above the ghauts, and varies in breadth from 150 to 400 miles. Its altitude ranges from 900 to 3000 feet.

A considerable portion of the Deccan proper is still ruled by native princes in alliance with the Company. The kingdom of Mysore on the south comprises an extent of 30,000 square miles. It is ruled by a Hindoo prince, and its capital is Seringapatam.

The territory of the Rajah of Hyderabad comprehends about 110,000 square miles, with a population of 10,000,000. It is situated in the north of the Bala-ghauts, and is chiefly noted for its diamond-mines at Golconda.

The Rajah of Berar rules over 3,000,000 subjects, with an extent of territory of about 65,000 square miles, situated to the eastward of Golconda.

The state of Satara comprises about 9000 square miles, with a population of 500,000. It is ruled by a Hindoo prince, and is situated on the western ghauts. To the south of this principality are the territories of the Rajah of Colapore; a small state, 3000 square miles in extent, under the sway of a Hindoo prince.

The British territories in the Deccan do not exceed 40,000 square miles, part of which are attached to the Presidency of Bombay, and a portion to that of Madras.

A considerable part of this table-land is highly fertile, and rich in natural productions; the ghauts, however, are for the most part barren, and it is only where their spurs form broken valleys that we find extensive forests of lofty timber stretching down to the plains below.

The belt of low country which extends round the Indian peninsula, between the ghauts and the sea-coast, is almost entirely in the possession of the British. It varies not less in its width than in its fertility and its population.

On the western side we find to the north the "Cōncan" extending from the Nerbudda to 15° N. lat. Thence southwards to 12° 3' is the state of Canara, and from that point to Cape Comorin is the Malabar territory, although the whole extent of this western sea-board is often erroneously termed the Malabar coast. This long range of country is irregular in its surface; the first few miles from the sea being very flat and sandy, with no vegetation but topes of palms. Further inland the ground is broken into hillocks more or less covered with vegetation; and gradually elevating themselves, they become at last merged

in the spurs of the ghauts, and crowned with dense jungle and heavy forests of teak and satin-wood.

Along this line of coast, in addition to Bombay, are the towns of Mangalore, Cananore, Tellichery, Calicut, Cochin, Aleppce, and Trevandrum, all of them trading ports, and during the north-east monsoon, from November to April, enjoying a considerable traffic with Bombay, Ceylon, the Persian Gulf, and lately with Europe. Goa is a Portuguese settlement in $15^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., but without any trade worthy of mention.

At the southern extremity of the peninsula is Cape Comorin; and to the eastward of this, in the Gulf of Manaarlies, the small island of Remisseram, famed for its stupendous Hindoo temple, to which pilgrims annually flock in great numbers.

On the eastern coast-line we find Madras, the capital of the Presidency of that name, Negapatam, Vizagapatam, and Pondicherry and Tranquebar, the former a French, the latter a Danish settlement. This coast is much exposed to the fury of the south-west monsoon, during which period none of the native craft are able to venture out. The only harbour along the coast is that of Coringa, in which vessels of some size may find a safe refuge.

The Deccan is separated from Central India by the valleys of the Nerbudda and Tapti, according to some writers: others, with more propriety, make the Vindya Mountains the natural boundaries of these two territories. This range extends from 74° to 84° E. long., in a direction nearly due east, following the valley of the Nerbudda at a distance of a few miles. At no part do these mountains reach a greater elevation than 2200 feet above the sea-level, and frequently not more than 700 feet. They are crossed in several places by roads of indifferent character.

Central India assumes pretty nearly the shape of a triangle, having its base formed by the Vindya Mountains, and its apex to the southwards of Delhi. It consists for the most part of elevated table-land, freely interspersed with mountain-ridges and extensive plains, some of which latter are extremely fertile. Along the range which on the eastward divides this tract from the delta of the Ganges, are the coal-deposits which at the present time furnish large supplies to Calcutta.

Nearly the whole of Central India is governed by native princes, amongst whom are the Guicowar and Rajpoot chiefs. A considerable portion of the state of Malwa is under the rule of Maharajah Scindia; while other tracts are governed by numerous petty rajahs, amongst whom may be named the Mahratta princes of Holkar and Nagpore.

On the western side of this portion of India the British possess a considerable tract of the plain of Gujerat, which is annexed to the Bombay Presidency. On the eastern side we find adjoining the territories of the Rajpoot princes; and lying between the rivers Sone and Ganges, a region which has been annexed to the residency of Allahabad.

The next natural division is that of the Delta of the Ganges, which ranges from the mouths of that river to the base of the Himalayas, a distance in a straight line of about 300 miles, and varying in breadth from 150 to 180 miles. On the eastern side it is flanked by the Chittagong district and the valleys of Assam and Silhet, with the Tipperah hills; on its western side it stretches from Balasore in the Bay of Bengal, through Midnapore and Nagore, to Rajmahal, and thence by the river Coosie to the Himalayas.

A very considerable portion of this division is incapable of cultivation; on the southern side, between the mouths of the Ganges and the Berrampootra, is a low tract called the Sunderabunds, extending about seventy miles inland and fifty miles in width, covered with swamps and thick jungle, the resort of every variety of reptile and wild beast. The effect of the rising of the tides from the sea is such as to preclude any but the most scanty use of the soil, though recent attempts have been made with partial success to recover some portion of this sterile country. To the north of this tract, as far as 25° N. lat., and chiefly between the branches of the Ganges and the Berrampootra, the land is subject to an annual inundation during the early part of the south-west monsoon, when the country is covered by water to a great depth, some of the rivers rising as much as thirty feet above their ordinary level. This, although causing much inconvenience and loss to the inhabitants, proves a great fertiliser of the soil; and except in the immediate vicinity of the flooded rivers, the entire surface of these river valleys yield most abundant crops of grain on the retirement of the waters, which takes place during October.

Beyond the influence of these periodical floods, we find still a large range of rich fertile land, partly watered by many streams, and partly irrigated by artificial means: to the north of this, again, as far as the swamps at the base of the Himalayan range, are found numerous tracts of waste land covered with low jungle, reeds, and rank grass.

Stretching along the lower chain of the Himalayas is the Tarai, or the swamp, a rather extensive portion of peaty soil, through which innumerable springs burst, fed by the mountain-land above. The vast masses of vegetable matter swept down from the higher lands, and

decaying on these swamps throughout the year, render them unfit for human habitation, and the scattered population suffer severely from fever in their attempts to earn a scanty living by felling timber for the supply of the low country.

The Plain of the Ganges comprehends within it the districts of Bengal, Behar, Tirhoot, Oude, Rohilcund, and Allahabad. It is the most populous and fertile portion of British India, containing about sixty millions of inhabitants, and, with the exception of the kingdom of Oude, is entirely under the dominion of the East India Company.

Calcutta is by far the largest and most wealthy city of this or any other part of India, containing at the present date about 600,000 inhabitants. The other principal commercial and political cities are Dacca, Benares, Allahabad, Mirzapore, Goruckpore, Cawnpore, Furruckabad, Agra, Delhi, Meerut, and many others, possessing populations varying from thirty to a hundred and twenty thousand souls.

Between the northern extremities of the Gangetic Plain and the Plain of the Indus is a flat sterile country termed the Doab, ruled over by a few Seikh chieftains in alliance with the British.

The Plain of the Indus is situated on the eastern flank of that river, and commences from the neighbourhood of Attock, extending southwards and westwards as far as the debouchure of the Indus into the sea. It comprehends the Punjab, Scinde, and other smaller states : a large portion of it south of the Punjab consists of desert, arid plains ; and even in the more favourable positions, where the land is watered by the overflowing of the Indus and its branches, the soil can scarcely be termed fertile, yielding but indifferent crops of grass and grain.

The Punjab, or the country of the five rivers, forming the northern portion of the Plain of the Indus, extends from the base of the Himalayan range to the confluence of the Chenab with the Indus. It is the most populous part of this division of India, and contains several very extensive and densely peopled cities : its entire population is believed to be three millions. Its ancient capital, Umritsur, contains 100,000 inhabitants, and has long possessed a valuable trade with many parts of India. It is situated between the rivers Beas and Ravee. Lahore, the modern capital, possesses a population of 80,000. Mooltan, on the Chenab, contains 60,000 inhabitants, and possesses some valuable manufactures in silk and cotton.

This country contains some very fertile tracts, especially in its more northern part, where the supply of water is most abundant. Towards the south the land is generally less favoured, although there are still some rich valleys between the Ravee and the Beas, as also in the imme-

diate vicinity of all the five rivers. These streams are, according to modern nomenclature, the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravee, the Chenab, and the Jhelum, taking them from east to west: the names by which they were known to the early writers of the west were the Zaradus, the Hyphasis, the Hydrastes, the Acesines, and the Hydaspes. These rivers flow from the Himalayas in a south-westerly direction for about six hundred miles, when, after merging into the Chenab, their waters finally unite with those of the Indus at the northern point of the Desert of Scinde.

The Seikhs form the principal inhabitants of this country, and their chieftains proved themselves formidable enemies to the British during one of the most severely contested struggles that have occurred with any eastern power. The Punjab is now a province of the British empire in India, under a resident, whose seat is at Lahore.

To the southwards of the Punjab is Scinde, until recently a powerful state governed by Ameers, whose descent was from chiefs of Beloochistan, but now annexed to the Bombay Presidency. It is bounded on the north by Affghanistan and Mooltan, on the east by the state of Rajpootna, on the west by Beloochistan, and on the south by Cutch and the sea. By far the greater portion of Scinde consists of sandy desert known as the Thurr, and which extends over nearly the whole of the country east of the Indus. The desert is covered with long ridges of low undulating sand-hills, occasionally topped with a little jungle or rank grass. There are, however, scattered throughout this Thurr, many oases of considerable fertility, producing crops of grain and vegetables. Within twenty and thirty miles of the Indus the fertilising effects of its periodical floodings are felt, and there, as well as far on the western extremity of this province, the soil proves of a more generous nature. The total population of the country does not exceed a million souls. Its chief towns are Shikarpore, Sikkur, Hyderabad, Tatta, and Kurrachee. None of these cities possess more than 20,000 inhabitants: the last mentioned is situated on the west mouth of the Indus, has a good harbour, and carries on a considerable trade, which has much increased since being in British possession.

The Thurr or Desert is still ruled by petty chiefs, Rajpoot princes in alliance with the East India Company: these are the Rajahs of Jessulmere, Marwar, Bikanir, &c. In this part of Scinde there are several cities, having populations varying from 20,000 to 60,000 souls, and some of them carrying on a considerable traffic with the adjoining states.

We have still to notice a portion of the continental territories of

the East India Company comprised within the limits of the Bengal Presidency. Of these the first is the district of Arracan, stretching from the north-eastern extremity of the bay of Bengal to the limits of the late Burmese province of Pegu. The features of the country, the habits of the people, and the natural productions, so nearly assimilate to those of the other fractions of the Burmese territories, that one general description may well serve for the entire tract.

The provinces of Tenasserim and Pegu, formerly sections of the Burmese empire, were annexed to the British-Indian empire, the former in 1826, the latter in 1853, and are now governed by a commissioner and the usual staff of European and native officials.

The Tenasserim provinces, as ceded to the East India Company, comprise an extent of country five hundred miles in length, and from forty to eighty in breadth, and reaching from the junction of the Salween and Thoongeen rivers on the north to the Pak Chan river on the south; on the west the sea forms the boundary; and on the east a chain of lofty mountains divides this tract of country from the kingdom of Siam. The seat of government here is Moulmein, situated at the confluence of these rivers, and no less admirably adapted for purposes of trade than as a healthy position for troops.

The country is divided into three provinces, those of Mergni, Tavoy, and Amherst, in which latter the capital is situated. The population, although still small compared with the extent of country, has greatly increased by emigration from the Burman and Peguan territories since our possession of these provinces, and amounts at the present moment to about 160,000 souls. These numbers are composed indifferently of Burmese, Arracanese, Peguers, Talamis, Karens, and Tounghthoos, with an admixture of Siamese blood amongst them; whilst in the towns of Moulmein and Tavoy are to be found a sprinkling of Chinese, Jews, Moguls, Moors, Bengalese, &c. more or less occupied in trade.

Varied as are undoubtedly the geological features of India, the records we possess of them are not so full or satisfactory as might be wished; and many years may yet elapse before our geological knowledge of this vast and wonderful country shall be placed on a basis at once reliable and in strict accordance with the rules of a science which is as yet but in its infancy.

The superior strata of Southern India are chiefly formed by hypogene schists, penetrated and broken up by immense outbursts of plutonic and trappean rocks, constituting the great bulk of the Western Ghauts from about the 16th degree of latitude to Cape Comorin, and forming

the base of the Eastern Ghauts from the parallel of the Vindyan heights to their deflection at Naggeri in latitude $13^{\circ} 20'$. They are frequently capped in the Western Ghauts by laterite, and in the Eastern Ghauts by sandstone, limestone, and laterite. From Naggeri to Cape Comorin they form, with few exceptions, the basis of the plains of the Carnatic, Arcot, Seringapatam, Salem, Travancore, Madras, and all the intermediate districts. Intimately associated with granite, they break with ranges of hills on the low lands of Salem, the valley of the Cavery, and north of it from the table-lands of Mysore, the Baramhall, Bellary district, part of Hyderabad, and southern Maharashtra country. Towards the north-west from Nagpore by Bijapore to the western coast, the hypogene and plutonic rocks disappear, emerging only occasionally under one of the largest continuous sheets of trap in the world, which extends far into the table-land of Central India.

Gneiss is usually found lowest in the series, next to it mica and hornblende schist, actinolite, chlorite, talcose and argillaceous schist, and crystalline limestone. This rule of succession, however, is by no means unbroken, for each of the above rocks, crystalline limestone alone excepted, has been found resting immediately upon the granite. The strata are often violently contorted, though the disturbance is less than might have been expected from the amount of plutonic action that has been exercised. The slip, though very irregular, is usually towards the east in the Western, and towards the west in the Eastern Ghauts, the amount of the inclination varying from ten to ninety degrees. The most prevalent rocks are gneiss and hornblende schist; but to the gneiss the other rocks may be said to be subordinate. The composition of the gneiss, and of the other schistose rocks, varies considerably in different localities, but they are all highly feriferous in their substance. Statuary marble is very rare, indeed so much so as almost to have escaped observation; clay slate is seldom met with, and blue roofing slate not often observed; but every other species of hypogene rock is constantly found.

Throughout the whole of the earlier-formed rocks fossiliferous silurian remains have been very rarely discovered; but there are many others in the several strata, to which at present the geologists have been unable to give a name, or to assign any certain position in the scale of sedimentary strata.

The sandstone and limestone beds have not been seen south of the Salem break, but north of that boundary they cover a considerable area, being chiefly confined, however, to the more elevated table-

lands. This most extensive development is in the "Cuddapah Beds," where they cover an area of about 9000 square miles. They appear also between the Kistna and the Godavery, in the south Mahratta country, the Nizam's dominions, and elsewhere, preserving every where the same relative position, the same embedded pebbles and general lithologic appearance: the dip is mostly conformable to that of the subjacent rocks.

Geologists have found veins of coal associated with shale at Kotah, on one of the tributaries of the Godavery; and in the veins of the limestone at Nannoor, others have discovered myriads of what appear to be microscopic foraminifera.

The sandstones also afford traces of coal both bituminous and anthracitic, and are supposed to be identical with those that support the coal measures at Chirra Pungi, which abound in certain organic remains, with a few of the stems and leaves of plants among them. They have a certain degree of resemblance to the sandstones of the Devonian group, but they appear to be better classed with the ancient secondary or with the metamorphic rocks; but no positive conclusion can be come to with respect to them till the discovery of fossils. As compared with the other Indian rocks, they form, probably, the oldest of the fossiliferous beds. A peculiar interest attaches to the sandstone, in consequence of its being the matrix of the diamond; and one general fact is especially worthy of notice, that granitic or basaltic dykes are invariably found intruding into diamond areas.

Beds of shelly limestone have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, which have only recently attracted the notice of scientific men, although the very doorsteps of that place have long been formed of this interesting rock. These beds of limestone, in which the shells are singularly perfect, rise in gentle undulations at about nine miles from the sea, inland of Pondicherry, and run in a south-east-by-east direction to an extent which has not yet been definitely ascertained. The limestone of South Arcot belongs to nearly the same epoch, as do also the beds which occur in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, apparently resting immediately upon the plutonic and hypogene rocks. These beds have been considered with an unusual share of attention since Messrs. Kaye and Cunliffe forwarded to England their beautiful collection from all these localities; the Pondicherry beds yielding by far the greater proportion. The fossil fishes from these were found by Sir Grey Egerton and Professor Forbes to belong to the Squaloid family of Placoids, one Cycloid and one Ganoid alone excepted. These fossils are, in general, badly preserved, except

the invertebrata, among which the Cephalopods, including twenty-eight Ammonites, are in a most beautiful condition. Professor Forbes assigns the Pondicherry fossils to the lower green sand or Neocomian beds, and those of Verdachellum and Trichinopoly, among which there are several species not found at Pondicherry, to the upper green sand; but Sir Grey Egerton, from an examination of the ichthiolites, places the Pondicherry beds somewhat higher, since they contain the genera *Corax* and *Enchodus*, which have not hitherto been found any where so low as the Neocomian range.

The tertiary beds were first discovered in the route from Hydrabad to Nagore, on the north bank of the Godavery, among the Nirmul Hills; and afterwards across the Warda to Hingan-Ghaut, where Mr. Malcolmson perceived beds of chert and limestone containing shells, which Mr. Lonsdale considered to be of fresh-water formation. The fossils were first found at Munoor, and between that village and Hurnoor, which is near the top of the Muckelgundi Ghaut, and in different parts of the pass leading into the valley of Berar. Mr. Malcolmson describes the bed in which they were first observed to be a band of singular quartz rock, projecting about two feet from the surface, half-way up the escarpment of the principal mountain, ascending the steep pass leading up the south side of the Nirmul Hills, and which is composed of concentric nodular basalt imbedded in a soft greenish wacke. The fossils all belong to fresh-water genera, and to species which have not yet been discovered to be of recent origin. They are chiefly species of *Physa*, *Cypris*, *Unio*, *Limnea*, *Melania*, *Paladina*, and *Chara*, which have since been determined by Sowerby; the charæ occur in such abundance as to form entire rocky masses.

Other deposits of fresh-water shells occur between Beder and Hydrabad, and about five miles south of Puddpungalli, near Rajahmundry on the Godavery, the latter occurring in a limestone both resting upon and capped by trap. Here, however, Dr. Benza found *oysters* among the *Limas* and *Melanæ*, so that the deposit must have been originally formed in a lake or estuary communicating with the sea.

One of the most extraordinary formations in India is that of the *laterite* rock, which, according to Francis Buchanan, is a peculiarity to be found only in the East Indies. It varies much in structure and composition, but generally speaking it presents a reddish-brown tubular and cellular clay more or less indurated, passing on the one hand into a hard, compact, jaspideous rock, and on the other into loosely aggregated sandstones or grits, as is the case near Calicut and Pondicherry; in other places, again, into red sectile clay and other soft

substances. Sometimes it presents the appearance of a conglomerate containing fragments of quartz, the plutonic, hypogene, and sandstone rocks, and nodules of iron ore, derived from them all, imbedded in ferruginous clay. The geographical extent of this rock invests it with great importance ; for it covers the western coast almost continuously, and nearly up to the very base of the ghauts, and from the south of Bombay to Cape Comorin. It is found also in detached beds along the Coromandel coast near Madras, Nellore, Rajahmundry, and Samulcotta, extending into Cuttack. It crowns the loftiest summits of the eastern and western ghauts, and some of the isolated peaks on the table-lands in the interior. It is found, indeed, in almost every part of the Deccan, always in an overlying position, and generally in large continuous beds ; and there is reason to believe, from the marks of denudation, that it formerly covered much larger areas than it now occupies.

Of the sandstones which belong to the very *late tertiary*, or even very recent periods, there are beds on the eastern coast of the southern extremity of the peninsula which contain pelagic shells, which, as far as they have been examined, are of the species of fish inhabiting the adjacent sea ; and it is this rock which stretches across the straits to Ceylon, constituting the remarkable barrier known by the name of Adam's Bridge, and which, in Captain Newbold's opinion, was elevated simultaneously with the laterite. Similar strata are met with in Tinnevely, Ramnad, near Cape Comorin, and on the opposite coast of Ceylon.

True diluvium, it is said, is not to be found in Indian latitudes ; but the remark is rather to be applied to the *erratic block* formation as it occurs in Northern Europe, Siberia, and North and South America. It is not found, Mr. Darwin says, in the equatorial regions of South America, though it is scattered over the southern portion of that continent. From these and other circumstances there is nothing like the true drift to be met with in Southern India. Northern India, however, shews transported blocks in sufficient abundance ; but it is easy to trace them to a comparatively local source from their neighbourhood to the Himalayan Mountains, and there is none of that extensive diffusion of travelled masses which is accounted for in Europe by the constant phenomena of icebergs. There are, however, some beds of gravel and sand which occur in situations where their presence is not to be accounted for by the agency of transporting powers now existing ; and at Condapetta, for instance, in the Cuddepah district, there is a bed of gravel which covers an area of several miles, principally composed of

rounded fragments of trap, granite, and schistose rocks, which must have been transported from the distance of twenty or forty miles, intermingled with pebbles of quartz, jasper, and chert, and others from the adjacent sandstone and limestone. Other similar beds, enclosing fossils, and in one instance the bones of the mastodon, are met with at Partaal, Wakorry, and other places. Beds of dark-blue marine clay underlying the alluvium are found in many places along the Coromandel coast, sometimes extending two or three miles inland.

The only remaining sedimentary rock at present known is the curious soil called *regur* or *black cotton clay*, which covers at least one-third of the surface of Southern India. It is of a deep-bluish, or greenish, or dark-greyish black colour, and is remarkable for its absorbent powers and its extreme fertility, having yielded crop after crop, year by year, for more than 2000 years, without receiving any manure or other assistance from the hand of man. It principally occupies the elevated table-lands of the ceded districts of Hyderabad, Nagpore, and the Southern Mahratta country, thus including the whole plateau of the Deccan. It is not so common in Mysore, but is met with in continuous sheets of from six to twenty feet thick below the Salem break, covering the lower plain of Coimbatore, Madura, Salem, and Trichinopoly, to the vicinity of Cape Comorin.

There is yet another rock called *kunker*, which affords a remarkable instance of the compensating process of nature, by which the adaptation of the globe to the wants of man is every where kept up. India is but sparingly supplied with the sedimentary limestone of the sort which is fit for the kiln, and this deficiency is made up for by the substance which has just been specified, and which is found to contain upwards of seventy-two parts of carbonate of lime in its composition. The older kunker is usually of a light-brown, dirty, cream, reddish, or cineritious grey tint; and when compact, its substance resembles the older travertines of Rome and Auvergne. Kunker aggregates in horizontal overlying masses, usually intermingled with the soil without much appearance of stratification. It is broken up and used as a rough building-stone in the walls of tanks, huts, enclosures, &c. by the natives, and is universally employed to burn into lime. It is irregularly distributed in overlying patches over perhaps one-eighth of the area of the country, and no tract is entirely free from it except the summits of the Neilgherry hills. It is most abundant in districts penetrated and shattered by basaltic dykes, and where the metallic developments are the greatest; and is perhaps least met with in the localities where laterite caps hypogene or plutonic rocks: it is evidently of tufaceous origin.

There are some other aqueous deposits, chiefly local, which are mostly of very recent origin.

Granite and its congeneric rocks are abundantly developed throughout the hypogene area. The former shews itself under every variety of aspect. It starts up from the surface of the table-land in bold and sharply hewn peaks, or rises in dome-shaped bosses, or appears in profuse but distinct clusters and ranges, which affect no general line of elevation, but often radiate irregularly as from a centre. Some of the insulated peaks are exceedingly striking in outline and structure. The rock of Nundidrug for instance, which rises 1700 feet above the surface of the plain, looks almost as if it were formed of one entire mass of rock ; and the rock of Sivagunga is still higher. The most remarkable of the insulated clusters and masses of granite on the table-land of the peninsula are those of Sivagunga, Severndroog, and Octradroog, some in Mysore, Gooty, Reidrooj, Adoni, and others in the central districts ; but there are numerous masses almost equally remarkable scattered over all the southern part of the peninsula table-land, as well as in the maritime district of Coromandel.

The great part of the central table-land is also formed by it, and it there, over a very extended area, continually crops out in the more elevated and diversified districts.

Serpentine, greenstone, and green sandstone, with hornblende and schist, in smaller masses, are met with in every part of India.

The only formation that remains to be noticed is the immense diluvial deposit which has been carried down by the large and numerous rivers irrigating the whole of the country. In no part of the world is there a more fertile soil than that which encompasses these streams in Upper India ; whilst along the lower portions of their course, and especially throughout thousands of square miles that lie stretching above, about, and beyond far into the interior from the embouchures of the Ganges, the Berrampootra, and the Indus, the most rich and exuberant scenery of Asia is to be met with.

The population of British India may be divided into aborigines and foreigners. Some writers have supposed, but evidently without sufficient foundation, that the Hindoos are not strictly the aborigines of this part of Asia. They are by far the most numerous of all the nations of Hindostan, and, with the various other aboriginal tribes, amount to about one hundred millions of the total population. The Hindoos are almost entirely in possession of the agricultural districts ; whilst on the other hand we find the mountain-ranges and the elevated table-lands of the Deccan occupied by the Gonds, the Bhils, the Ramnois, and the Coulies, besides other insignificant tribes. All of these follow the chase

and the rearing of cattle for a livelihood, and scarcely cultivate sufficient ground to produce the most ordinary necessities. Of these tribes, the Gonds are the least civilised, and the Ramnois the most advanced, as compared with the Hindoos.

Amongst the many grades of foreigners, both from Europe and other parts of Asia, who have at various periods helped to people Hindostan, we find the British race pre-eminent in intelligence and power, though not so in numbers. The total of the residents in India from the British Isles, including the military, is computed at 75,000 souls.

The Portuguese descendants are far more numerous, amounting to about 1,000,000. They are chiefly to be found along the western coasts and in the chief cities of India.

On the Malabar and Canara coasts we find Arabs in considerable numbers, together with Syrian Christians, or Parawas, and Jews, although not to any great extent.

Parsees, or Ghebirs, are to be met with chiefly at Bombay and other trading ports on that coast.

Throughout various parts of India the descendants of Affghan races are clearly to be traced to the extent of several millions; whilst in Scinde we find a strong blending of the blood of the Beloochees, the conquerors of that country, with the native races, as well as undoubtedly pure descendants of the Ameer tribes.

Extending through 23 degrees of latitude, we may expect to find in British India a great variety of climate, influenced, moreover, by the great irregularities of the surface of the country. We may thus meet a temperature of 28° on the Himalayan range or the Neilgherries; or if we turn to the Cutch country, find the thermometer during the dry months ranging as high as 106° .

The Indian seasons are, strictly speaking, two in number, and are called the monsoons, viz. the south-west and the north-east; and these are felt more or less throughout the entire length and breadth of Hindostan. But inasmuch as the north-east monsoon is again divided into the temperate and hot months, we may in truth say that there are three distinct seasons.

The south-west monsoon usually commences about the middle of May along the west coast, but later to the north and east. It is ushered in by violent gales of wind, thunder and lightning, and heavy falls of rain, which continue for six or eight weeks, at the end of which time the weather moderates and becomes close and oppressive, with heavy clouds and a dull calm atmosphere. The thermometer will now range at about 88° or 90° , until further heavy falls of rain take place, usher-

ing in the north-east monsoon some time in October. The weather is now more pleasant, the long-continued rains having thoroughly cooled the land, and the thermometer will stand at about 80° . The cool portion of this monsoon extends from November to January; though to the north of Calcutta it lasts into February, and even March. The mornings and evenings are now remarkably pleasant and cool, not exceeding a temperature of 75° , and woollen clothing may at this season be worn with much comfort by Europeans.

During March, April, and the early part of May, the hot season prevails throughout India, though of course considerably modified by position and local circumstances. At this period the wind, especially upon the Coromandel or east coast, blows along-shore, and being extremely dry and hot, gives rise to much sickness, more particularly amongst European residents.

The winds, however, not less than the temperature, are greatly modified by localities, and thus we find that the south-west monsoon in some places really comes from the south-east; in like manner we meet with north-westerly breezes during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon. To the south of Bengal the winds are more strictly north and south; whilst in Assam and Behar they will be found nearly east and west.

The long and lofty ranges of mountains, the elevated table-lands, the gigantic rivers, the deep valleys of Hindostan, all exert a most sensible influence upon the direction and force of the prevailing winds.

Thus the south-west monsoon, which along the coasts of Malabar and Canara commences early in May, does not reach Delhi before the end of June, and the Punjab until early in July, where, as well as in the elevated lands of Cashmere, it makes its appearance with light fleecy clouds and gentle showers.

The seasons of Bengal are alternately hot, cold, and rainy. The pleasantest and coolest months are the latter part of February, March, and April; though April may sometimes be included with May and June as intensely hot, rendered still more oppressive by a scorching westerly wind, accompanied by small and almost invisible grains of sand. People are glad to remain under the shelter of their houses; the vegetable world seems at a stand-still, and nothing remains but barren tracts of soil, though the air of the distant mountains is fresh and delightful.

The rainy season commences in the upper provinces in April and May; in the plains not until June: it continues incessantly till the end of July. The rain tends greatly to cool the sultry atmosphere, although

during the months of August and September the heat is still intense. The monsoon changes at this period. In October the cold begins to be felt, and increases throughout the three following months; it is frequently extreme in Bengal and Behar, where the atmosphere is moist and unhealthy, whilst on the mountains ice and snow are often to be met with.

Perhaps there is no part of Hindostan in which the oppressiveness of the climate, at certain periods, is so sensibly felt as at Calcutta and in its vicinity. Here, during the rainy season, when the monsoon comes across the Sunderabunds, and wafts with it a dense heated atmosphere deeply impregnated with vegeto-animal effluvia, the human frame suffers far more than with a much higher temperature and a pure dry air. The body feels hot and damp, as though immersed in a vapour-bath; a languor and listlessness creep over the frame; and so far from night bringing with it any relief, it appears but to aggravate the feeling of oppressiveness, and the restless sleeper rises in the morning wearied and unrefreshed, happy to resort to a chattle-bath of tepid water to relieve his over-loaded skin of some portion of the heavy coating of perspiration which clogs its pores.

The mean temperature of Calcutta is, in January 66°, April 86°, July 81°, October 79°, and November 74°. The annual average fall of rain is here about 60 inches; the greatest fall being in the months of May and June, when about 30 inches will be the quantity. No less than 16 inches have been known to fall in the space of twenty-four hours.

At Madras, from its contiguity to the ocean, the monsoon is not felt nearly so oppressively; neither are the cool months so pleasant as in Bengal. The minimum temperature is here 75°, and the maximum 91°, the mean being 84°.

Bombay approaches more nearly to the climate of the elder Presidency, both the heat and the rain being in excess at the change of the monsoon. In Cutch the temperature is as high as 110°, whilst in the elevated mountain tracts within two days' journey of Bombay the thermometer will stand at the freezing-point.

At the sanitarium on the Neilgherries, or the Blue Ghauts, may be found a climate very nearly approaching that of our own country, especially during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon. Without being so cold as Great Britain, it is far more equable; the maximum temperature being only 77°, whilst that of this country is 90°; the minimum point is 38° against 11° in England. The number of days on which heavy rain falls on these hills is 19 against 18 in this country;

whilst the fair days are 237 against 160. The fall of rain on the Neilgherries is 44 inches ; in England it is 23.

At Saharamapore, in lat. 30° N., at an elevation of about 1000 feet, where government have a botanic garden, the mean temperature during the cold months of December and January is 55° and 52° . In May and June, when the hot dry winds prevail, the mean will be 85° and 90° ; whilst in September and October the mean will not be more than 79° and 72° .

At this station, although the cool season is more agreeable and lasting, and the hot weather more endurable than in the southern districts of India, the climate and vegetation are nevertheless essentially tropical.

Fifty miles farther northwards, but at an elevation of 6000 feet upon the Mussoorri range of the Himalayas, is another botanic garden, where a climate more closely allied to that of central Europe is found. The thermometer there stands at 32° for several months in the night-time ; and the means for December and January are 42° and 45° . The greatest heat is 80° , during the month of June ; and the means of May and June are 66° and 67° .

Not the least favourite of the hill sanatoria is that of Dharjeeling, situated on the Sikkim Hills, near the Himalayas, on the north-east frontier of the Bengal Presidency : it is at an altitude of about 7000 feet above the sea-level, and distant from Calcutta about 350 miles. There are some excellent roads in its immediate vicinity, but travellers are compelled to travel to it from the capital by water and palanquin. The temperature at this station is pretty equal throughout the day, with clear dry cold in the winter season, and seldom, even in the hottest weather, approaching 70° of Fahrenheit. The average annual fall of rain is 130 inches, the wet season lasting from four to five months. The scenery around this settlement is of the most beautiful description, heightened as it is by the proximity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas. This sanitarium has been found highly beneficial to invalids when resorted to in due season, though in all chronic cases it does not, of course, afford that relief which is to be found in a voyage to sea.

The forms of disease peculiar to the European residents in most parts of India, are congestive fever, intermittents, hepatic and other forms of disease, and rheumatism. Apoplexy is not unfrequent during the prevalence of the cold drying wind of the north-east monsoon ; and occasionally, especially in Calcutta and Bombay, we meet with fatal cases of cholera.

A sojourn for a month or two on any of the elevated mountain-ranges will usually restore the invalid to health, provided he be not an old resident, or the disease has not assumed the chronic form, in which case there is little hope for him but in a return to the bracing climate and cheerful scenes of his native country.

Amongst the natives we find the prevailing diseases to be cholera, dysentery, fever, skin affections, leprosy, rheumatism, small-pox, elephantiasis, and beri-beri. The latter is a peculiar type of dropsy; and elephantiasis consists in a swelling of the legs and feet until they assume the shape and almost the size of those of the elephant. Neither of these complaints have ever been known amongst Europeans.

Cholera first made its appearance, in the form of endemic disease, in 1817, in the district of Nuddeah, and has since that time seldom been absent from all parts of India. Its advent took place immediately after a season of unusual storminess: falls of rain, heavy even for India, accompanied by terrific electrical discharges, ushered in this destroying agency. In regard to the influence of electrical matter upon the health of mankind, and their liability to attacks from this Asiatic scourge, an Indian medical authority² has remarked, that there is no reason to doubt but that either the absence of electricity from the human body, or some important change in its electrical state, arising perhaps from exposure to a negative electrical atmosphere, may be the cause of the dreadful and destructive epidemic which has recently ravaged the East, and that the vicissitudes of the seasons preceding this visitation may support this opinion. Should this be correct, we may readily account for the sudden attacks of the disease, the change in the temperature and sensibility of the body and in the fluids, and for the manner in which it has been limited to some districts, extending in turn to others, and sparing none.

Many of the above diseases, however, both of the European and native community, are the result rather of improper diet and living than the effect of climate, though this latter, of course, aggravates every disorder. With the European, the evil arises from a highly exciting dietary; with the Hindoo, a scanty supply of poor food, and wretched apparel at all seasons, are the sources of disease.

Foremost among the products of the soil in India may be mentioned saltpetre, or nitrate of potash, of which vast quantities are annually exported from Calcutta and Bombay. This useful saline product is found existing in caves, and also in the waters of stagnant marshes, frequently combined with the muriate and sulphate of soda.

² Mr. Ainslie in his work on the Diseases of India.

The existence of these salts is always indicated by the sterility of the adjoining land, which is incapable of cultivation.

Coal-deposits of considerable extent exist in the Bengal Presidency. The largest of these is in the Damoodah valley, stretching towards the Hooghly, not many miles from Calcutta, and according to recent investigations containing seams forty and fifty feet in thickness. These beds extend over a space of thirty miles, between the towns of Nagore and Bancoorah. The seams rest on metamorphic and crystalline rock of gneiss and mica schist, and at one point are covered by a ferruginous sand, an extension of the alluvium of the plains of the Ganges. A second set of beds is found in the valley of the river Sone, to the south of Mirzapore, in the Benares district, but not of similar extent or quality to the preceding.

This coal is of very fair quality, and the company working the mines are doing so at a fair profit. In heating power it has not the properties of English coal, but it is sufficiently good to be in constant use by the river steamers and such steam-engines as are employed in factories.

In gems India is exceedingly rich. The diamond-mines of Golconda have long been world-famed for the extreme beauty and great value of their yield. There are also valuable mines at Panna in Bundelcund, where the diamonds are found in a matrix of red iron-stone, gravel, and clay. The celebrated Koh-i-noor shewn in the Great Exhibition, no less than others of immense value in the possession of native princes, testify to the richness of India in precious stones. The ruby, the emerald, the sapphire, the turquoise, the opal, the amethyst, and indeed almost every known gem, are to be found in various parts of the many mountain-ranges and elevated table-lands of Hindostan, and often of great purity and beauty.

Although we are told in ancient records that the Ophir of the east yielded the gold of those remote days, there does not appear to be any trace of the precious metal in India proper. It is found in the Himalayas in small quantities. Iron is, however, found of good quality, especially in the Madras Presidency, where there is a company formed for the smelting and working the ore. The celebrated blades of Damascus bear testimony to the quality of Indian steel, and there is still some of equally fine quality produced.

In the province of Ajmeer there exist some lead-mines which yield at the present day a good quantity of ore; whilst in the hills near Nellore in the peninsula some very rich specimens of copper ore have been found, containing as much as 60 per cent of the pure metal.

The hilly country of Mewar appears always to have been known to contain an abundance of mineral riches, and it is not too much to believe that it was this very source of wealth which in former times enabled the Ranas of Odeypoor to oppose the Emperor of Delhi with such great and continued success. The most noted of the mines in this district were those of Jawar, which are believed to have yielded an annual revenue to the state of 22,000*l*.

The district of Jawar lies about twenty-five miles south of Oodeypoor, and is situated in an extensive valley, surrounded by hills overlooking a fertile but desolate plain, covered by the ruins of former prosperity. Many of these ruins consist of antique temples, erected on hills 160 feet high composed entirely of ashes, the very existence of which, under such circumstances, bears testimony to the remoteness of the period when the mines were worked.

At the present time no effort is made by the Rana to open up this source of wealth ; a feeling of jealousy and distrust appearing to exist in his mind as to the consequences of his doing so, though it seems that some very excellent specimens of zinc have been covertly obtained from that neighbourhood.

In the Tenasserim and Peguan provinces tin abounds ; indeed the whole range of the hilly country forming the great dividing range between these and the Burmese and Siamese territories may be said to abound in mineral wealth. Nitre, alum, salt, mercury, lead impregnated with silver, copper in most of its varieties, the sulphurets, oxides, and sulphates of iron, besides rubies, sapphires, tourmalines, and jasper, are all found in greater or less abundance throughout that range of country. In the Tenasserim province coal is likewise found, though it does not appear that any steps have been taken to turn this natural product to account.

The forests of British India, if not so vast as those of America, are still of great value for domestic, commercial, and agricultural purposes : many of the woods grown in the Himalayan and Deccan forests, as well as those in central and north-western India, possess wonderful strength and durability, not unfrequently combined with much beauty. By far the greater portion of these are quite unknown in Europe, and not many of them are in general use even amongst the Europeans of the East. In some instances the remoteness of the places of growth from populous districts proves a great bar to their use, unless where water-conveyance, the cheapest of all modes of transport in oriental countries, is to be had.

To attempt an enumeration of even the principal woods of India would carry this portion of my work far beyond its limits. The extent

of our present knowledge of Indian timber furnishes us with several thousands of specimens, of many of which we know little beyond the names. A large portion of them are fitted but for the most inferior description of work, many serving only for fuel or for garden-fences. On the other hand, there are a number of these woods which might well be imported into this country for furniture-work.

The ebony, sattin-wood, and calamander, are more or less known here for their hardness, beauty of grain, and susceptibility of high polish. There are also "blackwood," tamarind wood, cedar, sissoo, teak, and saul-wood. The two latter are in most general use throughout the coasts and southern and central parts of Hindostan, the first for ship-building, for which it is most admirably adapted; the last for house-building and general engineering purposes. Both of them grow to a vast size, often measuring nine or ten feet round the trunk. The teak is chiefly found on the Malabar coast, and in the northern division of the Madras Presidency, whilst the saul-timber is found growing in almost every latitude northward of Calcutta.

There are many other woods used for every variety of purpose, answering to our oak, elm, and ash, quite unknown except to native carpenters. Until very recently some of the finest forests in the Bombay Presidency were in great danger of utter destruction from the reckless manner in which the natives of those districts were accustomed to fell the finest trees for their most ordinary requirements, until at length the attention of the authorities was directed to the subject, and measures were adopted, not only to prevent this destructive wastefulness in future, but to ensure an extension of plantations of teak and other useful timber.

In the forests of Martaban, or British Burmah, on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, are extensive forests of teak and bamboos, attaining a great size; but the former wood is scarcely equal to that grown on the Malabar coast or in Ceylon. The license-fees for cutting this useful timber yield the Tenasserim government about 12,000*l.* per annum.

Perhaps in none of its vegetable products does India differ more sensibly from western countries than in its grasses. With its many varieties of soil and climate, its fertile valleys and richly clad tablelands, it nowhere possesses the constant and heavily-yielding pasturages of Europe. That there are many varieties of grasses, the large number of cattle, sheep, goats, &c. reared in many parts of India, not less than the numerous wild animals which inhabit its less frequented districts, bear ample testimony.

During the cool months and the rainy season there is little difficulty

in finding pasture for cattle. The principal of the Indian grasses, and perhaps the most generally diffused, is the Doob-grass (*Synodon dactylon*), a creeping plant possessing much nourishing property in its long stems, no less than in its leaves. This endures the greatest elevation of temperature, as its roots penetrate far below the surface, and although during the dry monsoon giving no sign of life, it puts forth its tender leaves on the first approach of the rains.

A very nourishing grass, possessing a powerful aromatic odour, is met with on the elevated lands above the Ghauts of the south, as well as in the north-west provinces. So strong are its aroma and flavour, that the flesh, milk, and butter of the animals feeding upon it become in time sensibly affected both in taste and smell.

Upon the many slopes of the Himalayas there are found abundance of good nourishing pastures, admirably adapted to the requirements of cattle and sheep, and upon which many herds and flocks are reared when the dry season forces them from the plains below.

Throughout the flat countries, and spread over vast tracts of indifferent soil, we meet with grasses, or rather herbage, in sufficient abundance, but generally either coarse and poor, or rank and distasteful to animals. In swampy or sterile plains these reedy grasses often fail to tempt even the coarse-feeding buffalo and rhinoceros; and it is a common practice amongst all the Indian villagers, at the end of the dry season, to set fire to these tracts, on which the long withered herbage readily ignites, and after the first monsoon showers furnishes a rapid and abundant supply of young sweet blades.

In some parts of India, especially at the Presidencies, it is customary to cut grass for hay, as fodder for horses during the excessively dry months, but latterly artificial grasses have been introduced for this purpose. The Guinea-grass and Mauritius-grass are both admirably adapted for feeding cattle.

In plants yielding fibrous materials for cordage or cloth, India is peculiarly rich; and although many of these remain as yet but little known beyond the places of production, there can be no doubt but that the time will arrive when the attention of practical men will be given to them. Some few of these have already been successfully introduced into Europe, and become leading articles of commerce, as well as of considerable value to the manufacturers of this country.

Foremost among these latter may be instanced Jute, a species of *Corchorus*, growing very freely in the lowlands of Bengal. Twenty-five years ago this was scarcely known in England; yet so rapidly has it sprung into use for cordage, canvass, and purposes similar to those

of flax, that for some time past the consumption of it has amounted to a thousand tons a month.

The China-grass is found abundantly throughout India; and now that an improved and economical process has been discovered for preparing the fibre for market, this too bids fair to become of great commercial value.

The fibre of the cocoa-nut, known as coir, is chiefly produced along the Malabar coast: it is of superior quality to that from Ceylon. Sunn, Indian hemp, Indian flax, and aloe-fibre, are also known as articles of export to Europe.

Besides these there are, however, a variety of others found in great abundance in most parts of Hindostan, and in much request among the natives, although very coarsely prepared. Of these may be instanced Toonda-coir (*Calotropis gigantea*), Umbarce (*Hybiscus cannabinus*), Marool (*Sanseveira zeylanica*), pine-apple fibre, plantain-fibre, &c. &c.

The following table illustrating the breaking-point of some of the Indian fibres, as compared with English hemp, may not be without interest:

English hemp	<i>Cannabis sativa</i> . . .	105 lbs.
Aloe	<i>Argave Americana</i> . . .	110 "
Ejoo	<i>Saguerus Rumphii</i> . . .	96 "
Coir	<i>Cocos nucifera</i> . . .	87 "
Indian hemp	<i>Cannabis sativa</i> . . .	74 "
Sunn	<i>Crotolaria juncea</i> . . .	68 "
Broughi paat	<i>Corchorus olitorius</i> . . .	68 "
Indian flax	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> . . .	39 "

Flax has been long cultivated in India, particularly in the northern provinces, but solely on account of the seed, the linseed of commerce, which is shipped in large quantities to various parts of the world: the manufacture of linseed-oil is carried on to a small extent in Bengal; but in no case do we learn that any account is taken of the fibre of the plant, which, strange as it may appear, is lost in immense quantities, a portion only of it being employed for such purposes as thatching houses, feeding or littering cattle, &c.

Of far greater value, however, than any of the preceding is cotton. The species peculiar to the Indian continent in common with other parts of Asia, as distinguishable from the American and West Indian descriptions, is, according to Dr. Royle, the *Gossypium Indicum* or *herbaceum*; the *Gossypium arboreum*, peculiar to India alone, is unfitted for manufacturing purposes, and employed solely as a padding for cushions, pillows, &c., for which, from its silky softness, it is especially adapted. The former kind appears to have been produced in

and exported from India since the most remote periods, and during the present century to have assumed a very important position amongst the articles shipped from each of the three Presidencies.

Great Britain at the present time takes on an average 90,000,000 lbs. annually. China consumes nearly as much ; whilst the native manufacture for local use cannot be less than 600,000,000 lbs. yearly. This vast quantity will cease to cause astonishment, when we remember that the hundred million of inhabitants of India are accustomed to use cotton for all those purposes for which hemp, flax, wool, and hair are employed in European countries. Their finest, lightest dress for the hot months, as well as their warmer, well-padded garments for the rainy and cool weather, are alike wrought from cotton. The costly gossamer-web which adorns the rarest beauties of the harems, and the coarsest rags which envelope the emaciated form of the meanest outcast, are produced from the same fibres. The richest trappings and hangings which grace the state canopy of the nabob, and the rope which terminates the existence of the vilest criminal, owe their common origin to the cotton plant of India.

Extensively as it is employed in manufactures in the East and West, it is nevertheless deficient in those qualities which have secured to the cottons of North and South America the favour of the merchants and manufacturers of Europe, viz. length of fibre or staple, and cleanliness. The former is dependent on cultivation, the latter on the after preparation.

In commerce Indian cotton is known under the name of *Surats*, *Tinnevely*, *Bengal*, *Broach*, &c., according to the locality of its growth or place of shipment. Dr. Royle³ gives three distinct varieties of cotton, all indigenous to Hindostan. The common description is found scattered more or less throughout India, reared either as a triennial or annual. It reaches the height of five or six feet in warm, moist climates ; the seeds are five in number, clothed with a short greyish down. In the peninsula there are two distinct species of this sort, known amongst the natives as *Oopum* and *Nadum*. The first thrives only on the richest black soil, and is an annual, producing a fine staple ; the latter is a triennial plant, and grows on the poorer red soil, yielding small crops of inferior quality.

Next to these we have the *Dacca* cotton, as a distinct variety of the *Gossypium Indicum*. It differs from the previous in the plant being more erect, with fewer branches, and tinged with a reddish hue, whilst the cotton is finer, softer, and longer. This variety is reared

³ The Culture of Cotton in India, p.139.

more or less extensively throughout Bengal, especially in the Dacca district, where it is employed in the manufacture of the exquisitely fine muslin cloths known over a great part of the world as Dacca muslins, and whose delicacy of texture so long defied the imitation of the art-manufacturers of the West.

A third variety is the Berar cotton, grown in the Berar country, in the northern provinces of the Madras Presidency, and in Surat and Broach. This plant attains a greater size than the preceding, bears for a longer period, and produces a fibre of a finer quality than the former. It appears to thrive best on a light black soil of vegetable composition.

Amongst commercial men the term *Surat* includes the produce of Surat, Berar, and Broach, with occasionally some from Dacca; it comes mostly from Bombay. The Madras cottons are those shipped from Tinnevely, Coimbatore, and other parts of that Presidency, whilst the Bengals take in the Bundelcund, Nagpore, and the far northern provinces.

Examined under a microscope the staple of these sorts appears to range from seventeen-twentieths to one and one-tenth of an inch in length; the staple of the celebrated Sea-Island cotton being usually an inch and a half in length.

The soil in which all these Indian varieties thrive may be classed under two distinct heads, the black and the red cotton soil. The former, as its name indicates, is of a black or deep brown colour, of a clayey nature, blended with the red *kunker* of the country (a calcareous iron-stone), forming in the rains a heavy tenacious mass, and drying into solid lumps in the hot months. An analysis of this gives 74 per cent of silex, 12 of carbonate of lime, $7\frac{1}{2}$ protoxide of iron, 3 of alumina, 2 of vegetable matter, and $\frac{1}{2}$ salts, with a trace of magnesia.

The red soil of India has been found in some localities better suited to the growth of cotton than the black earth. It is a rather coarse yellowish-red soil, commingled with particles of kunker, silex, felspar, and aluminous earth. It mainly differs in composition from the preceding in the iron existing in the state of peroxide or red oxide, whilst the carbonate of lime is found present in greater abundance.*

Analyses of the best cotton-soils of America prove that they differ from those of India chiefly in the large portions of peaty matter contained in them; and there appears to be little doubt but that this fact,

* Royle's Culture of Cotton, p. 162.

and the peculiarity of the climate of the American sea-board, sufficiently account for the great superiority of the cottons of that country over those of any other part of the world.

The medicinal plants, and the various substances yielded by them, are far from unimportant in an enumeration of the natural products of British India. There is little doubt, however, that at present the medical world are very imperfectly acquainted with the greater portion of the remedies employed, often with very marked success, by the native practitioners. Many of these remedies are probably of small value; but there are, on the other hand, a number of them which already have proved valuable auxiliaries to the pharmacopœia. Senna, rhubarb, and castor oil, are the leading medicinal exports. In the gum and resin series, also an important branch of trade to Europe and America, we find the gums arabic, olibanum, ammoniacum, assafoetida, benjamin, gamboge, mastic, and shellac.

In dyes our eastern possessions are equally rich. Prominent amongst these is indigo, one of the most valuable dyeing substances known to us. Lac-dye, used for dyeing a fine scarlet, safflower, turmeric, madder, chaya-root, and annatto, are all freely exported to Europe and elsewhere, as well as some barks for tanning purposes. There are, however, many other dyes in use among the natives, which, although unknown to Europeans, might be found of some value.

Caoutchouc, or india-rubber, has long been an article of export to this country. Kattemandoo is a vegetable substance partaking somewhat of the joint natures of india-rubber and gutta-percha; it has only recently been brought to England, and will at no distant date form a valuable item of export.

Of starches India boasts of several kinds. Some of its arrowroot is pronounced by competent judges to be equal to the best Bermuda. The Cassava starch, sago, and sago-meal, are also amongst the useful products of the south of India.

If the seeds and seed-oils to be found in India are not as important as many other of its products, they are nevertheless most useful as articles of commerce. Linseed and rapeseed are shipped in considerable quantities, as well as their oils, and the oil from the ground-nut and cocoa-nut. The two latter are chiefly produced on the east and west coasts of the peninsula. Sesamum-seed is likewise brought to Europe for crushing; and the seed of the cotton plant is not only extensively employed in feeding cattle, but a very useful burning oil is extracted from it. Besides the above, the natives produce a great variety of other oils for burning, cooking, or anointing, unknown out of

India. Of these may be enumerated cadju-apple oil, poonga oil, oil of kossumba, poppy oil, poonseed oil, simboolie oil, karrunj oil, and many others.

There are also several varieties of vegetable butters and tallows expressed from seeds and plants, and employed in cooking or in lamps.

The spices for which Hindostan is known are cinnamon of second-rate quality, from the northern parts of Bengal; cassia, from the Malabar coast, where also are grown ginger, pepper, and cloves; cardamums are found generally in the peninsula, as are red and green capsicums.

Tobacco, although grown to considerable extent in various parts of India, is nevertheless of very inferior quality; that from Trichinopoly and Madras being coarse and acrid. The best is probably to be found growing on the banks of the Mahamuddy and the Godavery.

The great staple of India, rice, is produced in every variety of soil, at every altitude and in every latitude. To name a tithe of these would prove a tedious and useless task, for they vary with every district in which they grow. The finest of these, which is the Bengal table rice, is inferior to the Carolina kind, whilst the great bulk of them would be unmarketable in Europe, from their poverty of body and the slovenly manner in which they are prepared. The Arracan rice is a greyish opaque grain, used in England only for manufacturing starch. Copious irrigation is required for all these varieties; the Himalayan and other hill rices alone requiring no such aid, their elevation, at times as much as 6000 feet, securing them from the great heat to which the other varieties are exposed.

Maize is freely cultivated, but very far from equal to the American variety. A number of millets and other fine grains are also reared in districts where irrigation for rice-culture is not obtainable, or where the ryots are too poor to obtain rice-seed, which, indeed, is the case in many of the more remote districts. The grains most commonly employed for food in place of rice are called Jowár, Bájra, and Rági.

In some of the northern provinces wheat is cultivated for local consumption; whilst, on the other hand, in the south, whole districts subsist upon roots and inferior vegetables, with small portions of rice or some kind of pulse.

In few natural products is India more prolific than in its fruits. The pine-apple, mango, mangosteen, jambo, tamarind, &c., are amongst the best known, besides an infinite variety of smaller fruits partaken by the natives, either dried or in their curries. To the north, and in the hill-districts, peaches, grapes, figs, &c., are both abundant and

of good quality. In the south and central parts of Hindostan the fruits and vegetables in general use amongst the people are melons, gourds, cucumbers, water-melons, plantains, guavas, jugubes, custard-apples, and figs. In some of the hill-districts the wild raspberry and a species of gooseberry are found in great abundance and of good quality.

Those who would study the Flora of Hindostan and the Himalayas will do well to consult the able and interesting works of Roxburgh, Wight, Wallich, &c., on this subject. It will suffice to mention in this place, that India, both in its plains and its lofty table-lands, possesses some of the choicest flowers in the world, many of them very little known to Europeans, and possessing perfumes far more powerful than any in more temperate climates. The oleander, the Persian rose, the *gloriosa superba*, the passion-flower, and many other exquisite plants of great beauty and fragrance, are found wild in the jungles. The lotus, the water-lily, and other similar plants, add beauty to every sheet of water; whilst far up on the Neilgherries and the Himalayas we find the rhododendron attaining a size and beauty unknown in the West. The Indian ferns are also remarkable for their great size and exquisite structure.

In few countries are wild animals met with in greater abundance or of more varied types than in British India.

The elephant has from the earliest period been highly esteemed for his great utility to man, when caught and broken into harness or to carry loads upon his back. These animals exist wild in great numbers through many parts of India, and whilst in that state commit great injury to crops on the ground. When tamed, they are the most useful of animals except the horse, and prove invaluable to an army for the transport of its heavy baggage.

The camel is scarcely less valuable; for, though inferior in strength to the elephant, it is far swifter. For mountain work it is even more useful; and the camel-batteries and camel-expresses, so frequently employed in our last wars in the north-west, prove the great value of this animal.

In the forests are to be found rhinoceroses, buffaloes, bears, lions, wolves, foxes, antelopes, deer, wild boars, &c. The smaller jungles and low underwood are the haunts of tigers, jackals, leopards, and panthers; whilst monkeys and apes abound on every side. The jackal, although occasionally a troublesome frequenter of poultry-houses, is nevertheless of great service in removing carrion from the crowded

streets of all large towns and cities, which he does during the night-time.

The wild goat of Nepal, although frequenting the highest peaks of the mountain-ranges, is nevertheless capable of being domesticated in



CASHMERE GOAT.

shawls. They thrive best on the grassy slopes of the Cashmere hills, but are also reared with success in Lahore and still further to the south.



COBRA CAPELLA.

the warm plains of the low country. It is remarkably well-shaped, with light graceful limbs and fine expressive head. Its colour is slaty grey, mixed with rusty brown and black.

In the same country is to be found a small red deer, the flesh of which is highly esteemed.

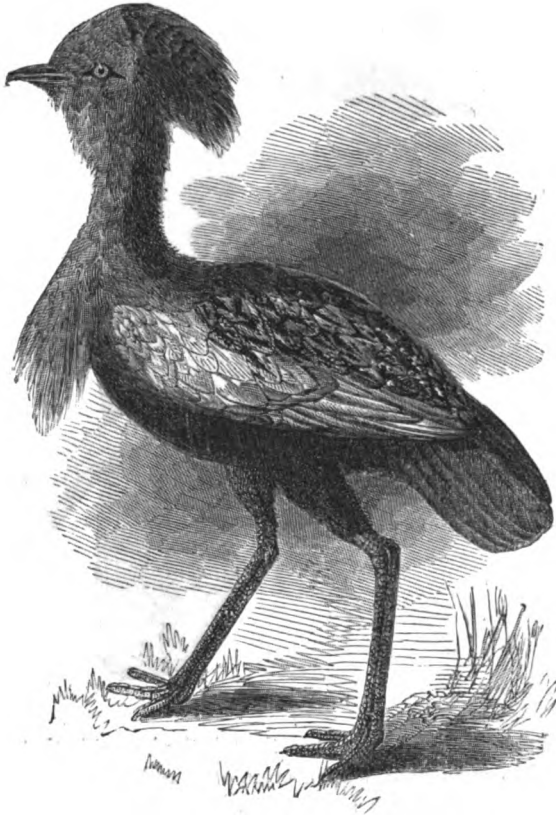
Perhaps the most highly prized of any animal in the East is the goat of Cashmere, with the long silky hair of which are worked the world-famed Cashmere

The boa, the rattlesnake, the cobra capella, the tic-polonga, and many other varieties of snakes, are in great abundance.

Porcupines, armadilloes, ichneumons, guanas, and lizards exist in vast numbers.

The birds of India are scarcely less beautiful than numerous. Perhaps the choicest of them all are those of the Himalayan pheasant tribe, birds distinguished for their very graceful and rich plumage. The Himalayan bustard is another bird remarkable for its form and varied colour. Pea-

cocks, eagles, falcons, vultures, kites, cranes, wild geese, wild fowl, snipes, bustards, parrots, and parroquets, the latter in every conceivable variety, abound in all parts at various seasons.



HIMALAYAN BUSTARD.

Crows, and a bird called the adjutant, are to be seen in all large towns in thousands, and prove very serviceable in removing offal of every description from the streets: they are the best, and indeed the only scavengers known in India, and no one ever attempts to kill these birds.

The laughing crow is met with in great numbers in the vicinity of the forests of Hurdwar and Sircenagur, feeding on the wild fruits of the

jungle. These birds are usually seen in flocks of fifty or a hundred, making a noise resembling loud laughter. The plumage of the back



LAUGHING CROW.

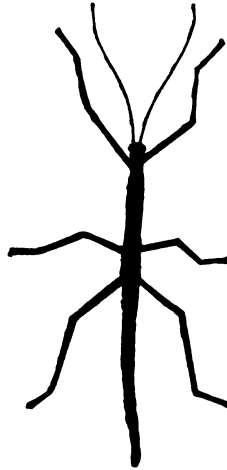
wings and side is olive-brown ; on the tail the brown is that of amber. The head is ornamented with a crest of rounded feathers. A black line passes from the beak across the eyes to the ear-covers, and excepting this the whole of the head is white, as are also the throat and breast.*

Amongst the insects, the locust is of common occurrence, frequently visiting particular districts in such clouds as to darken the air. The natives fry these creatures in oil, and eat them with considerable relish. The leaf-insect, which in shape and colour bears so close a resemblance to a number of leaves as to render it impossible to detect them on

* Gould's Birds of Hindostan, plate xviii.



THE LOCUST.



BAMBOO INSECT.

plants ; the stick-insect, which in like manner wears all the appearance of a heap of dried sticks ; and the bamboo-insect, shaped precisely as a small piece of bamboo, are all perfectly harmless ; whilst the myriads of centipedes, scorpions, ants, mosquitoes, and other creatures, prove extremely obnoxious to Europeans, more especially to new-comers.

The rivers and bays of India abound with various descriptions of fish, some of which have been long known to and much esteemed by Europeans. A far greater number, however, although said to be excellent eating by the natives, have never been met with on an English table. The objection to many of these latter consists in the great number of small bones contained in them ; in spite, however, of this, the natives use them in a variety of ways, either as curries or stews.



LEAF INSECT.

Amongst those known to Europeans are the mango-fish, a great favourite in Calcutta during the mango season, the Indian mullet, the sable-fish, the whiting, a species of perch of great size, the kowall, the rowball, the inkle-fish, the nattoo, the mountain mullet, a species of sole, several kinds of herring, the white and black pomfret, and a very excellent salmon. Most of them are salt-water fish.

The animals of the Tenasserim and Peguan provinces differ in few

particulars from those of Hindostan proper. Elephants, tigers, bears, and panthers abound; whilst several species of the rhinoceros, the hare, the rabbit, the porcupine, are also to be met with in considerable numbers. The most interesting and valuable of all the animals of this region is a hardy and swift-footed pony, highly esteemed throughout all parts of India, especially for mountain journeys, where, from their being so sure-footed, they are invaluable. The sheep and goat are rarely met with here; but buffaloes, oxen, and several varieties of the deer are plentiful.

In ornithological specimens these provinces are peculiarly rich; amongst them may be instanced a peacock of surpassing beauty, besides partridges, pheasants, wild fowl, quail, pigeons, and an abundance of water-fowl of great delicacy and flavour. The edible-nest swallows are also common, and furnish a supply of nests for the China market, which realises a considerable revenue to the local government.

There is nothing to remark in the fishes of Pegu, similar as they are in every respect to those of the Bay of Bengal. The only exceptions which claim our notice are the climbing-perch, which makes its way inland to some distance, and a barbel of extraordinary beauty, whose scales, when fresh from the water, glisten in the sunshine like diamonds of the first quality.



PART I.

HISTORICAL.

THE HINDOO PERIOD.



CHAPTER I.

THE ERA OF FABLE AND THE EARLY HINDOO DYNASTIES.

THE early history of India, like that of many other countries, presents little else than a confused series of mythological tales, full of absurd recitals and chronological inconsistencies. To place any credit in the writings of the first Hindoo chroniclers, would be to carry the history of their country to a date long anterior to the creation of the world. The exploits of Rama, one of their favourite heroes, are stated by them to have taken place a million of years since; whilst one of their records claims an antiquity of double that extent. The labours of such oriental scholars as Colebrooke, Jones, Wilson, Prinsep, &c. have done little more for Hindoo history than point out the utter worthlessness of its earliest records. The most that can be made of that period is a tolerably accurate guess as to the probable dates of such events as need not be put down as altogether fabulous. From the time of Alexander's invasion of India we are enabled to arrive at something more like certainty with regard to Indian events and Hindoo sovereigns; but until Hindostan became known to and finally conquered by the Mahometan race, there was at best a most uncertain and irregular chain of records, from which the modern compiler of history can glean but vague and unreliable details.

Of late years the labours of Mr. Prinsep have brought to light the means of deciphering many ancient inscriptions upon columns and on the walls of rock-cut temples, which had hitherto defied the investigations of the learned. These prove to have been in the Pali dialect, and when read by the aid of Mr. Prinsep's key, were found to throw considerable light upon some portion of Hindoo history, and eventually

to enable the discoverer to fix something like a date of certainty to the reigns of monarchs which had previously been but ill defined.

Of the great antiquity of the Hindoos there can be no doubt. Whilst Joseph was ruling under Pharaoh in Egypt, there were Hindoo princes who possessed considerable territories, and could bring large armies into the field. The "Ramayana," an Indian epic, although undoubtedly replete with fables and exaggerations, cannot but be regarded as shadowing forth, however falsely coloured, certain events and exploits which possessed reality in themselves.

The first mention made of this nation gives as their residence a tract of country between the rivers Sersooty and Caggar, distant from Delhi about one hundred miles north-west. It then bore the name of Bramhaverta, as being the haunt of gods; and although it was but about sixty-five miles long by forty broad, it was the scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages.¹ At no very distant date from the first records, the Hindoos appear to have extended their territory, which then seems to have included the districts of Oude, Agra, Allahabad, Lahore, and Delhi. The city of Oud, or as it was then termed, Ayodha, appears to have been the capital of the kingdom. There were born, as emanations from Brahma, two princes, whose descendants were known as the solar and lunar races. Of these upwards of sixty appear to have lived; but the accounts of their exploits are so fabulous, that no use can be made of them, and we must therefore pass on to Rama, whose deeds, as already mentioned, were chronicled in the "Ramayana."

In this oriental epic we find the most extravagant recitals and supernatural occurrences detailed with the minuteness of facts. The hero is Rama, a king of Oude, who having resolved on a life of penance for a certain period, retired to a secluded forest with his wife Sita, a woman of surpassing beauty and extraordinary accomplishments. During their residence in this solitary spot, Ravana, the king of Ceylon and ruler over a race of demons, chanced to see the beautiful queen, and became so enamoured of her that he carried her away to his capital, Lanka.

Rama, roused to activity by this loss, called to his aid Hanuman, the pretended monarch of a race of supernatural monkeys; and these warriors, with their united followers, are made to march through the Deccan, cross the Pamben Passage by a miraculous bridge, and encountering the wicked but mighty Ravana near his city, totally defeated him and his warrior-demons. Sita was of course released; but the tale

¹ Wilson's preface to Vishnu Purana, p. 67.

ends gloomily, for Rama, having accidentally killed his brother Lachmen, threw himself in his grief into a river, and was re-united to the divinity.

Whatever fable and romance there may be in this great Hindoo poem, it is more than probable that Rama did carry his arms to the south, and with some degree of success; the Ceylon invasion, however, would appear to belong to a more recent period than that named in the "Ramayana." Nothing can be stated of the long line of solar princes who succeeded Rama; and there is good ground for believing that during that after period the seat of government was transferred from Oud to Canouj.

The contents of the "Maha-Barat," which is the second great Indian epic, read far more like history than those of the "Ramayana." It relates to the great war which arose out of the claims of two rival branches of the then reigning family for the district of Hastinapoor, supposed to be a country to the north-east of Delhi, on the Ganges. Into this quarrel most of the neighbouring princes of India seem to have been drawn, and the war appears to have raged with great fury for a long period, carrying with it the partial ruin of some of the most flourishing districts of Hindostan. The victors of the Pandu branch suffered so severely in this violent contest, that for one or two generations they did not recover their former position.

The probable period in which this famous war occurred may be some time in the fourteenth century before the Christian era. Of the race of Pandu kings who filled the throne from this period, we find nothing on record beyond a mere list of their names; and even here the loosely compiled annals of those remote times differ as to whether there were twenty-nine or sixty-four of them.

Dismissing from our minds all that portion of the "Maha-Barat" which deals in marvellous occurrences and extraordinary exploits, we may still glean from its pages much matter of a more solid and reliable tone. There are scattered through it a great number of useful facts bearing upon the position of the several kingdoms and independent states, their social condition, power and influence, which greatly redeem the general character of this Iliad of the East. From it we may learn that there were at least six distinct kingdoms in this part of India. Greek writers speak of as many as one hundred and eighteen; but they probably intended to have written tribes, and not independent states.

Besides the kingdom of Hastinapoor, we find one very powerful monarchy mentioned—the sovereignty of Magada. The king of this country at the period of the great war was Sahadeva; and from that

time until A.D. 436, we find a long line of kings chronicled in one unbroken succession. It was in this state that Sakya or Gotama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, was born, somewhere about B.C. 550, during the reign of Ajata Satru, the thirty-fifth sovereign from Sahadeva. It is the ancient language of this country, Magadi or Pali, which has ever since been employed in the sacred writings of this widely spread religion.

Following this race of monarchs, we find that the fourteenth of the line was murdered by Chandragupta, who was of the Sudras, a low caste. It has been successfully shewn by Sir W. Jones and Mr. Prinsep, that this king is the Sandracottus, or Sandracoptus, of the Greek historians, whom they represent as having concluded a treaty with Seleucus, one of Alexander's successors, about the year 310 B.C.

The third king after Chandragupta, named Asoca, appears to have been the first who really had any claim to the title previously bestowed on many others, that of lord paramount or emperor of India. The mastery obtained by the indefatigable Prinsep over the old Pali inscriptions scattered throughout so many remote parts of India, has amongst other points satisfactorily established this one regarding the rule of Asoca, that his dominion extended from far northward of Delhi, even southward to Taprobane or Ceylon, and embraced a wide extent of country east and west. It appears from the same inscription that his government partook of a highly civilised nature, more advanced than might have been expected; for many of those ancient writings appear to be edicts for the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries in distant parts of his empire, and also for the sinking wells and planting shady trees along the public highways for the benefit of travellers.*

The Magada kingdom appears to have gradually lost its ascendancy, until, in the fifth century of our era, we find it brought under subjection to the kings of Canouj, and its territories no longer recognised as a separate state.

The kingdom of Bengal, although at various periods attaining to a considerable degree of power, if we may judge from inscriptions on copper and stone, cannot be awarded the supremacy in India which has been claimed for it by several Hindoo writers. We can lay our hands upon very little reliable data as to the actual position of this state, though the lists of four distinct dynasties are preserved to this day, and may be tolerably correct. The last of the Hindoo dynasties,

* Elphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 393.

whose names ended in Sena, was subverted by the Mahometan invaders about A.D. 1203.

Gujerat appears to have had an independent existence at an early date, though we are without any reliable particulars. In the middle of the second century of our era, it seems beyond a doubt that a government existed at Balibi, under a Rajpoot race of rulers. In A.D. 524 these princes were expelled by an incursion of Indo-Bactrians from the north, but again held the reins of power in A.D. 531.

In the eighth century the Balibi rulers appear to have been succeeded by the Chauras, another tribe of Rajpoots, who eventually removed their capital to Anhalwara, now Patan, and in after years attained to considerable power amongst the native states. This race became extinct in A.D. 931, when the Rajpoot tribe of Salonka succeeded it, and remained on the throne until early in the thirteenth century, when they in their turn were followed by a dynasty who ruled until the conquest of the country by the Mahometans in A.D. 1297.³

Of the kingdom of Canouj, our information is far from perfect, though such as has reached us, aided by the deciphering of various inscriptions, leads to the belief that this was not only one of the most ancient, but equalled any other state in its extent and importance. The splendid ruins of the capital of Canouj, to be seen at the present day on the banks of the Ganges, attest the wealth and magnificence of this people in their palmy days.

This state bore in remote times the name of Panchala. It extended from the Banar and Chambol in Ajmir eastwards as far as Nepal, which it included. The princes of Canouj appear at various times to have carried their arms into the states of Bengal and Orissa on the east, and as far northward as the Indus. Little is known of them except what we gather from the Rajpoot writings and traditions, that the original race was subverted by a Hindoo dynasty, who subsequently succumbed before a Rajpoot tribe, who continued to govern Canouj until its final conquest in A.D. 1193 by the Mahometans.

Cashmere may undoubtedly claim equal antiquity with any of the preceding, though it may well be questioned if the dates assumed by the local histories be correct. According to the Cashmerian annals, that country was an independent state 2600 years B.C. There is a very imperfect list of the monarchs of Cashmere, with a most meagre summary of events. After the succession of five distinct dynasties, the government was seized upon by Mahmoud, of Ghazni, in A.D. 1015.

³ Briggs' Ferishta.

Scinde appears, beyond a doubt, to have been a distinct kingdom at the period of the "Maha-Barat," though when Alexander invaded India it was evidently divided into some petty states, all, however, independent. Early in the seventh century it was again united under one government. During the early part of the next century it was invaded by the Arab tribes, but subsequently retaken by the Rajpoot tribe of Samera, A.D. 750, and eventually fell before the rulers of the Ghorian dynasty in A.D. 1015.

The earliest mention made of the kingdom of Malwa appears to be about fifty years previous to the death of Buddha. This state must at one period have been in a highly flourishing condition, and to one of its rulers, Vicramaditya, is attributed almost universal sway over India. Certainly he extended his possessions far beyond the ordinary limits of the country, through the centre and west of India. We have little more than a long list of princely names in the "Ayeni Akberi" in connection with this state, though one of its early rulers, Rajah Bhoja, would appear, by traditional records, to have acquired a more than common reputation. It lost its independence about the year 1231 of our era, when the Mahometan arms swept over the whole of India.

Of the remaining states or principalities we can say little more than that they comprised Gour, Mithili, Benares, Mewar, Jesselmer, and Jeipoor; the three last of which still continue to exist as independent states.

Leaving Hindostan, and its fragmentary histories, we turn southwards, and find that the Deccan, if it be less involved in obscurity, is at the same time of far more modern date, and even less interesting in its details.

There seems to be little doubt but that at one period this part of India was peopled by others than Hindoos. The aborigines are said to have been foresters and mountaineers, leading a wild and lawless life. But this must have been at a very remote period, for there is abundance of proof that an advanced state of civilisation prevailed previous to the time of the Greek notices of India.

Through this tract there are not less than five dialects spoken: the Tamil, the Telugu, the Mahratta, the Canarese, and the Urya. The Tamil tongue prevails over the whole district to the south of Madras, on both sides of the peninsula.

Of all these southern states, that of Pandya is the most ancient, together with the neighbouring kingdom of Chola. They were both founded by men of low origin; and although for some generations

they made frequent and destructive wars upon each other, there seems to have been at a later period a long and cordial understanding between them. Pandya extended not farther than the present districts of Tinnevely and Madura, its capital being the town of the latter name.

The kingdom of Chola extended over a wider range of country than the preceding,—from Madura to Nandidroog, and at one time over a portion of Carnata. The twelfth century, however, saw this state much humbled, and losing some part of its independence, until a Mahratta chief being called in to aid the reigning rajah in some troubles, deposed him and assumed the sovereign power, thus founding the family of Tanjore. The capital of this state was generally Conjeveram, west of Madras.

The state of Chera, which we find mentioned by Ptolemy, comprehended Travancore, Coimbatore, part of Malabar, with some portion of Carnata. It does not appear to have risen to any consequence, and in the tenth century was over-run by the troops of the neighbouring kings, and partitioned amongst them.

Kerala included within its original boundaries Canara and Malabar; but about the commencement of our era these two districts appear to have become separated; the former remained independent until far into the twelfth century, when it became a tributary of one of the neighbouring states. The Malabar country seems to have been broken up into a number of petty states, one of which was that of the Zamorins, whose capital was Calicut, and where they were found by Vasco di Gama in the fifteenth century.⁴

The kingdom of Orissa, although during a long period in a highly flourishing condition, has left little to tell its history beyond the most absurd recitals of native writers up to A.D. 473, when a more intelligible narrative takes up the thread of events. We hear of it in the "Maha Barat," and afterwards in connection with the names of Salivahana and Vicramaditya, who appear to have occupied the country. From A.D. 473 to A.D. 1131, the government was administered by rajahs of the Kesari race, under whom many petty wars were entered upon, until a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa seized upon the throne, whose successors were afterwards supplanted by a Rajpoot family of the race of the sun. This dynasty was, about the middle of the sixteenth century, expelled by a Telinga chief, and thirty years later Akber annexed the country to the empire.⁵

Powerful as the Mahrattas became in more modern times, and ex-

⁴ Elphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 415.

⁵ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv.

tensively though their language be spoken, we find far less of them in historical records than of any other race or country. Indeed, until the Mahometan writers mentioned them, there was nothing to mark their existence beyond some inscriptions which allude to their capital, Tagara, as a place of considerable commercial importance, though its site has been long since lost. This place is also mentioned by Arrian as a great emporium of the Deccan country, though with a very vague allusion to its position.

A race of kings of Rajpoot descent ruled over Maharashtra, as this country was called until the twelfth century, when a family of Yadus supplanted them.⁶ Towards the end of the following century a Mahometan invasion took place, and after the reigning rajah had for some length of time been tributary to the Emperor of Delhi, the government was finally subverted by that power about A.D. 1317. How this people at a later period rose to great military power, and proved one of the most formidable opponents to and chief destroyers of the Tartar empire, will be seen in succeeding chapters.

It may be sufficient to notice the Chalukya rajahs of Rajpoot descent as having ruled over a tract of country bordering on Carnata and Maharashtra. Another line of these chiefs governed Calinga, extending from Orissa to Dravira. Their rule appears to have lasted from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, at which latter period it yielded to the supremacy of the kings of Andra, and subsequently to the rajahs of Cattac.⁷

The Andra kings reigned over a tract of country to the north-east of Hyderabad early in the Christian era. We possess little information concerning them, though it is certain that towards the end of the thirteenth century they had risen to some importance and power, and had extended their limits on the south. In A.D. 1332 the country was overrun by an imperial army, afterwards by the kings of Orissa, and finally became annexed to the kingdom of Golconda.

Before closing this sketch of the early history of Hindostan and the Deccan, it may be well to glance at the view taken of India by the Greek writers shortly after that country became opened to the western nations.

Alexander himself evidently did no more than touch upon the very outskirts of India. Having checked the advance of his army on the banks of the Hyphasis, when the eastern world had but just been glanced at, he bent his steps towards the south-west, and passed on-

⁶ Wilson's Preface to the Mackenzie Papers.

⁷ Elphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 417.

wards between the desert and the Indus, leaving some few garrisons behind him, and one or two kings and chiefs allied to his government.

A perusal of the writings of Ptolemy, Arrian, Aristobulus, and others of the early historians, cannot fail to impress us with a favourable opinion of their general accuracy, if we consider how limited the extent of their knowledge must have been, and under what disadvantages they must have written. We shall find that they represent the position and habits of the people, the state and form of internal government, the religion and literature of the Hindoos, precisely as we have in later days found them to be; and so far from expressing surprise at any erroneous statements they may have advanced, we should rather wonder that their mistakes have been so few.

Of the division of society into distinct castes, the Greeks were perfectly aware, though they have added to the number of classes through some misconception. They appear to have been much struck with the absence of slavery in India; for the servile state of the Sudra caste would hardly have attracted the notice of men accustomed to the domestic slavery of Greece and Rome.

The subdivision of Hindostan into a great number of kingdoms and petty states and principalities did not escape the attention of the Greeks, who, however, greatly overstated their number, calculating them at upwards of one hundred.

The forces which the Indian kings were capable of bringing into the field in those days were doubtless overcharged, but their composition and arrangement are truly enough described.

Their account of the revenues of the country, and the sources whence derived, quite agree with our own knowledge of those matters. In the minute descriptions given of the assessment of lands and crops, of the irrigation and culture of the soil, of the duties of the various functionaries of the revenue department, of the natural products of the earth, of the articles forming the commerce of the country, —on all these points they relate that which might equally be written at the present time.

We find the public festivals and royal shows^a of the Hindoos described as they are known to have taken place in much more recent times. And not less precise and accurate are the early writers in their account of the dress, the domestic manners, and social habits of the various classes^b composing an Indian community. In speaking of the personal appearance of the Hindoos, both Arrian and Strabo notice the difference between the inhabitants of the north and the south country.

^a Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493.

^b Arrian's *Indica*, cap. xvi.

The southern Indians they describe as swarthy, tall, and handsome, not unlike Ethiopians in some respects ; whilst the denizens of the northern latitudes are said to be much fairer, and not unlike the Egyptians.

The weapons employed by the Indian soldiers were, excepting fire-arms, precisely such as are in use at the present day. The valour of the Hindoos is always highly spoken of, and they are described as being far more formidable enemies than any the Greeks had previously encountered in the East.

That the country was in the days of Alexander in a highly flourishing condition there can be but little doubt, even if we make some allowance for exaggeration. There were said to have been 1500 cities, thickly peopled, between two of the rivers of the Punjab ; and one city is described as being 8 miles long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile broad, surrounded by ditches and ramparts, with 64 gates and 570 towers.



CHAPTER II.

THE ARAB AND TARTAR INVASIONS, AND THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF
THE MAHOMMEDANS IN INDIA.

A.D. 664-1022.

THE earliest appearance of the Arab armies of the west on the confines of the Indian territories was in the year 664, during an expedition of this people into the Afghan country, when, having penetrated as far as Cabul,¹ and made its ruler a tributary prince, a portion of their army under Mohalib, a celebrated Moslem commander, pushed on as far as Mooltan, sacked the city and carried away numerous prisoners. Although the Arabs made several fresh inroads into the Afghan territories, at subsequent dates, it does not appear that the country eastward of that land possessed any attraction for them, since no further mention is made of any inroads by this people across the northern waters of the Indus.

We hear, however, of numerous incursions by Arabs into the Scinde country as early as the reign of the Calif Omar ; but these would appear to have been chiefly of a piratical character, with no other aim than plunder. The seizure of one of these marauders' vessels, at a subsequent date, in one of the sea-ports of Scinde, led to the invasion of the country by a numerous army under Mohammed Casim, the younger son of Hejaj, the governor of Basra. This juvenile warrior met with the most complete success, capturing the fortified city of Dewal,² overthrowing the son of the Rajah of Scinde, and spreading terror and carnage as far as the capital itself. Here the Rajah Daher interposed with a powerful army of fifty thousand men, and a numerous troop of elephants. Small as was the force of the Arab general, he had no alternative but to fight ; and availing himself of a strong position, he waited within it for the attack of the Hindoos. The great advantage possessed by the troops of Scinde proved of little avail ; for at an early period of

¹ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 4.

² Believed to have been on the site of the modern Kurrachee.



THE RAJAH ON HIS STATE ELEPHANT.

the engagement, the rajah's elephant having been wounded by a fire-ball, rushed from the field of battle, smarting with pain, and plunged into the water of the neighbouring river. This untoward circumstance struck dismay into the Hindoo soldiers, who, dispirited at the absence of their royal master, began to give way ; and although the rajah soon re-appeared, mounted on his war-charger, the fortune of the day had been already decided. Finding all his efforts unavailing, Daher determined not to survive the disgrace of a defeat, and rushing with a chosen few amongst the thickest of the Arab horse, fell covered with wounds.

It was in vain that his widow, with more than woman's courage and all a woman's hope, endeavoured to rally his broken forces. She, however, placed the chief city, Brahmanabad, in a posture of defence, holding it against the victors for some time ; and when at last all hope

had fled, the women and children of her adherents perished in a huge funeral pile; and the small Rajpoot garrison, flinging wide the gates, rushed out, and met their deaths upon the Arab weapons. Such as remained within the walls were slaughtered without mercy, and the younger members of their families carried away into captivity.³

Casim, it appears, met with but little opposition from this time, and found sufficient leisure to settle the administrative affairs of the newly conquered territory, which he arranged on a just and politic foundation, appointing many of the old Hindoo governors who had held office under the late rajah to similar posts, on the plea that they were best qualified to maintain the established institutions of the country.

Having arranged much of the internal affairs of the country, Casim directed his attention farther eastward; and, bent upon the acquisition of fresh territory, commenced a march towards the celebrated city of Canouj, on the Ganges. He had marched as far as Oudipur, when an unlooked-for catastrophe cut short at once his plan of conquest and his career. Amongst the captives carried away from Scinde were the two daughters of Rajah Darhe; these, on account of their high lineage and great beauty, were destined for the harem of the Commander of the Faithful. Arrived at the court of the Calif, they were presented in due form to the sovereign, who had been curious to witness the charms of the elder of them, who was indeed surpassingly beautiful. On being conducted to his presence, she burst into a flood of tears, and exclaimed that, having been dishonoured by Casim in her own country, she felt that she was not worthy to appear before the commander of the faithful. The calif, incensed at this outrage, which thus became an insult to himself, and smitten moreover by her beauty, ordered that the offending general should be sewed up in a raw hide and dispatched in that state to Damascus. This order was of course carried into effect; and the body of the late conqueror of Scinde having arrived at the palace, it was laid before the princess, who, unable to contain her delight at the sight of it, declared to the astonished calif that Casim was indeed innocent of the charge imputed to him, but that he had brought ruin and death upon her family, and she was now avenged.⁴

From this time the Arab arms appear to have made no progress. All ideas of further conquest seem to have died with Casim, whose authority was handed over to less ambitious commanders. The rule of the Musselmen in Scinde continued until about A.D. 750, when the Rajpoots uniting their forces with the Hindoos made a desperate effort

³ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 409.

⁴ Ayeen Akberry, vol. ii. Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv.

to expel the foreigners from their country, in which, after some severe struggles, they eventually succeeded.

The declension of the Arab sway may be said to have commenced at this time; certainly the empire of the califs at no later period extended over so large an extent of country. The death of the famed Haroun-al-Raschid was not long afterwards followed by the secession of Khorassan and Transoxana. By degrees other provinces fell away from the califate; and at no distant date the commanders of the faithful were reduced to puppets in the hands of their Turkish guards, and the dissolution of their empire was sealed.⁴

Amongst the many petty dynasties of mixed Turkish and Mogul descent, which now swept over the northern provinces of the Arab possessions, were the Samanis, a family of Bokhara descent, who, having firmly established themselves in Khorassan, ruled over that country for upwards of a century. It was during their sway that the first member of the house of Ghazni, afterwards the founders of the Mahometan empire in India, assumed an importance which his descendants turned to good account. Alptegin, the founder of this new dynasty, was a Turkish slave in the service of Abdulmelek, fifth prince of the house of Samani, and in that capacity performed the most menial offices. Finding that this slave possessed not only great personal courage, but many natural good qualities, his royal master, as was then a frequent practice, promoted him to some important posts, and eventually made him governor of Khorassan.

Alptegin held this command until the death of his patron, when, having given offence to his successor, he was forced to seek safety in flight; accompanied by a faithful band of adherents, he took refuge amongst the hill tribes around Ghazni, in the very heart of the mountains of Soliman, where he bid defiance to his enemies, and secured himself in the sovereignty of that part of the country. The hill tribes of the vicinity were nothing loath to receive amongst them one who was both able and willing to enlist their swords in his service, and provide them with pay; and such as did not directly submit to his sway remained in friendly relation with him. During a period of fourteen years he appears to have maintained his position in the Ghaznivide country, supported by a numerous and well-appointed army, chiefly made up of Mameluk horsemen and Afghan freebooters.

His death, which occurred in the year 976, placed on his mountain-throne one who like himself had been a slave. Sibektegin had served Alptegin with fidelity from the day that he had purchased him from a

⁴ Price, vol. iv., quoted by Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 521.

merchant travelling eastward from Turkistan, his native country; and having proved his faithfulness and ability, he promoted him to the highest office next to himself. Whether he was named by the dying ruler as his successor, wanting heirs, does not appear certain, but the accession of Sibektegin to his master's power, under the circumstances, was the most natural occurrence. He is said, likewise, to have married a daughter of his late chief, and thus to have strengthened his hold on the popular feeling of the hill tribes of Ghazni.⁶

Events were now about to occur which speedily called forth the activity and courage of the new ruler. The Hindoo rajahs of the country east of the Indus viewed with considerable apprehension the establishment of this Mahometan power so contiguous to their own country; and aware of the passion for aggrandisement manifested on every fitting occasion by this race, prepared to adopt aggressive measures, with a view of ridding their neighbourhood of such a dangerous rival. Acting on these feelings, Jeipal, rajah of Lahore, prepared a large army, marched across the Indus, and approached the hilly regions of Ghazni, when he was encountered by Sibektegin. A fierce storm of wind, rain, and thunder so damped the energy of the Hindoo troops, unaccustomed to the severe cold of these climates, that Jeipal found himself under the necessity of coming to terms with his adversary, and agreed, as the price of peace and safety, to pay fifty elephants and a large sum of money. The elephants were surrendered on the spot, and the two armies separated, the Hindoos retracing their steps to their own country.

Once safely within his own territories, Jeipal forgot his former danger and fears, and refused to complete his engagement by withholding the money-payments agreed upon. The Tartar chief was not likely to submit to this insult, and placing himself at the head of a numerous force of Turk and Afghan horse, marched rapidly towards the Indus. Jeipal was prepared for the coming storm; he strengthened himself with the powerful assistance of the rajahs of Delhi, Ajmir, Calingar, and Canouj, and soon found himself at the

⁶ "A story is told of Sibektegin while yet a private soldier, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was carrying off his prize in triumph, he observed the dam following his horse, and shewing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power."—*Elphinstone*, vol. i. p. 526.

head of a hundred thousand cavalry and a vast number of foot-soldiers. Sibektegin did not muster a fourth part of this number; but nothing daunted by the numerical strength of his adversaries, he relied on the superior strength and discipline of his chosen horsemen.

Events proved the soundness of his judgment. The enormous masses of Hindoo troops were unequal to the shock of his Mameluk and Afghan charges, and once having succeeded in breaking their lines, he found little difficulty in completing their disorder and final overthrow. Jeipal's huge army fled in the utmost disorder, and were closely pursued by Sibektegin as far as the Indus, up to which point he at once established his authority, and left a governor with a numerous body of horse in command of the country about Peshawur.

How far Sibektegin might have pushed his conquests cannot be known, since he was required in another quarter to aid his neighbours and former masters, the Samanis, in repelling attacks from some turbulent chiefs of Bokhara. These refractory tribes were with difficulty reduced to submission; and the ruler of Bokhara, to reward the services of Sibektegin and his son Mahmoud, conferred on the latter the government of Khorassan, and recognised the father in all his present possessions as far as the Indus. Matters having been thus settled in the west, Sibektegin prepared to return to his government, but on his way thither was seized with illness and died.

No sooner did Mahmoud find himself firmly established on the throne, and invested with the new title of sultan, than his restless and ambitious spirit, long nurtured by the military exploits and bold daring of his father, sought for some field on which to establish a new and dazzling reputation.

It is scarcely matter for surprise, that the world-wide reputation of India for wealth should have led the young sultan of a semi-barbarous nation to turn his eyes in that direction.* Added to this, it may fairly be presumed that Mahmoud was not altogether unmindful of the glory he would acquire by extending the Moslem faith on the wreck of Hindoo idolatry.

In the year of the Christian era 1001, Mahmoud crossed the Indus with an army whose chief strength lay in its horse, for even at that period the Afghan cavalry were nearly always irresistible in open warfare. Defeating the rajah of Lahore at Peshawur, and carrying off a vast quantity of treasure, the sultan returned to Ghazni for a season.

Three other expeditions into the Indian territories followed at various intervals, in the last of which the conqueror secured treasure and precious stones, to an amount previously unheard of, from the

sacred shrine in the fortress of Nargacot at the foot of the Himalayas. To celebrate this achievement, Mahmoud gave a triumphal feast, which lasted many days, during which the rich spoils of the war were exposed to public gaze upon tables of pure gold, amidst the sound of martial music.

Victories but served to stimulate this warrior-king to fresh achievements; and the glory and treasures which would have proved to many inducements to after-repose, only whetted the royal blade of the Ghaznide sultan for new and mightier strokes of conquest. The Nargacot exploit was followed after a year or two by the reduction of the Ghor country, the capture of Mooltan, an expedition to Tareesa near the Jumna, and two attacks upon the Cashmerian provinces.

In the year 1017 Mahmoud took the boldest step eastward that had been made by any foreigner within the Indus. The victories he had already acquired, seemingly with so much ease, over the Hindoo rajahs on the north-west frontiers, emboldened him to attempt something on a more enlarged scale. Accordingly, we find him assembling an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot at Peshawur, with which he crossed the river, and taking his course due east as far as the Jumna, he turned southwards, and arrived at the gates of Canouj before the rajah had received notice of his approach.* After destroying many temples and razing a number of fortresses, Mahmoud returned once more to Ghazni laden with the wealth of India.

It was in the year 1022 that the first permanent settlement of the Moslems east of the Indus took place, by the annexation of the Punjab to the kingdom of Ghazni; and from this event may be dated the rise of the Mahometan power in India. Hitherto all the conquests of Mahmoud had been but of a transitory nature. Renown and plunder appeared to be the leading objects of his expeditions; but in this year, during a march to relieve his ally, the rajah of Canouj, Mahmoud was refused a passage for his troops through the territories of the Lahore rajah. This ill-judged step called down upon the offending Hindoo the vengeance of the Moslem conqueror, who did not quit the country until he had annexed it to his own dominions, and by that act laid the foundation of the Ghaznide dynasty in India.



THE MAHOMETAN PERIOD.



CHAPTER I.

SULTAN MAHMOUD AND HIS SUCCESSORS OF THE GHAZNIVIDE AND GHORIAN DYNASTIES.

A.D. 1022-1206.

THE reduction of the Lahore territories thus brought the Mahometan conqueror within the limits of India ; and having by this stroke made himself permanently master of the whole country as far as the Sutlege, re-inforced his army of occupation, and strengthened the various garrisons in these districts, he felt himself at liberty to undertake further conquests.

Two years later we find him entering upon his twelfth and last expedition in India ; but this time not so much on political as on religious grounds. The temple of Somnât, situated at the extreme southern boundary of Gujerat, was famed for its sanctity in the eyes of all good Hindoos. Mahmoud determined to evince the ardour of his zeal for the Prophet, by destroying this high place of heathen worship ; and it may not be incorrect if we surmise that the reputed wealth of the Indian shrine had some influence in drawing upon it the warlike notice of the Sultan of Ghazni.

Crossing the desert which separates Scinde from Mooltan, a distance of 350 miles, in perfect safety, the invading army found itself in Ajmir. Meeting with no resistance, the sultan pushed on towards the object of his journey, and soon arrived before Somnât. The Hindoo defenders of their faith in vain offered a gallant resistance ; Mahmoud carried all before him, and became master of the gorgeous temple and its vast treasures.

Returning to his capital, the victor appeared for a time disposed to remain in quiet ; but fresh opportunities offered themselves, and once more tempted him to take the field. His last exploit was the crowning one of his reign : the conquest of Persia seemed to leave him the most potent prince in the East ; and certainly there was no power near to disturb his security. But amidst all this glory the conqueror was cut off ; and almost before his victorious army had had time to gather repose from their last exploits, ere their Persian laurels had lost their first bloom, their leader and sultan was taken from amongst them—the founder of the Afghan dynasty in India was no more.

Mahmoud, if not the greatest sovereign the world ever saw—as maintained by most Mahometan writers—was assuredly the most famous of his age. Uniting in his person many brilliant and estimable qualities, he possessed but few of the failings so peculiar to the time in which he lived. To the character of a great general he added that of a liberal encourager of literature and the arts ; and although he was not wanting in religious zeal, and lost no opportunity of humbling the power of Hindoo idolatry, he cannot be charged with any acts of cruelty against his heathen adversaries ; and it is said that he never took the life of a Hindoo save in battle or during the storming of a fortress. This, it must be remembered, is the character of a prince who lived in an age when imprisonment and murder were ordinary steps in a royal career.

Perhaps his greatest failing, and one which grew with his years, was that of avarice. His Indian conquests helped to fill his treasury to an extent unknown in any previous or future reign. It is reported, that upon his hearing of the great wealth of some contemporary monarch, who had managed to amass as much as seven measures of jewels, he exclaimed with great fervour, “ Praise be to God, who has given me a hundred measures.”¹

His love of riches was, however, blended with a spirit of liberality in certain directions. Besides founding a university in his capital, with a museum and library attached, Mahmoud set apart a large yearly sum, amounting to fully 10,000*l.* a year of our money,² for the maintenance of a body of professors and students, as well as pensions to learned men. Amongst the literary characters who were attracted to his court by this patronage, was the poet Ferdousi, who composed an epic poem of 60,000 couplets, celebrating the exploits of the Persians previous to the Mahometan conquests, a work which occupied his energies during a period of thirty years, and which has been

¹ Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 572.

² Briggs' Ferishta, vol. i. p. 60.

deservedly admired by Europeans not less than by Orientals for its many surpassing beauties. Mahmoud, however, for some cause not quite clear, disappointed the poet in his promised recompense for this noble production; and it is said that Ferdousi died of a broken heart.

Mahmoud was not often wanting in his public duties; and it is related of him, that on one occasion a woman went to him to complain of the death of her son, who had lost his life from robbers in a remote part of some newly-acquired territories. The sultan observed that it was impossible that he could enforce the laws in such a distant corner of his kingdom; the woman replied—"Why, then, do you take countries which you cannot govern, and for the protection of which you must answer in the day of judgment?" Mahmoud felt the justice of the reproof, and at once gave instructions to afford better protection to his distant subjects.³

Mohammed, who had been nominated by his deceased father as his successor to the throne of Ghazni, in preference to his brother Masaud, did not reign many weeks. The more warlike and popular character of the latter gained for him the suffrages of the people and the army, who proclaimed him sultan so soon as he made his appearance at the capital from the province of Ispahan.

The military qualities of the new sovereign were very shortly in requisition; for whilst a rebellion broke out in Lahore, the Seljuks, a warlike and powerful tribe of Tartars on the north of the Oxus, threatened his dominions with an invasion on the west. The troubles in his eastern possessions being quelled, Masaud marched against his new enemies, who had in the mean time (A.D. 1034) defeated and killed one of his ablest generals. A campaign of two years on the western frontiers of his dominions ended in a decisive battle near Mero, in which the Seljuks (A.D. 1039) were left complete masters of the field.

The sultan retreated with the shattered remains of his army to Ghazni, where finding disunion and discontent amongst his people and army taking a formidable shape, he determined to retreat beyond the Indus, and seek to recruit his shattered fortunes in his Indian territories. On his way to Lahore discontent took the form of mutiny, which ended in his deposition, and the restoration to power of his brother Mohammed. The immediate result of this was the death of Masaud, by command of Ahmed son of Mohammed, after a turbulent reign of ten years.

The rule of Mohammed was not, however, destined to a long con-

³ Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 571.

tinuance. The deceased sultan's son, Móddúd, took immediate steps to avenge his father's death. Marching from the western frontiers with a small body of troops, he made his way through Ghazni to Lahore; and meeting Mohammed and his son at Fattahabad, he attacked and completely routed their army, making themselves and families prisoners, and eventually put them to death to secure to himself the undisturbed possession of the throne.

The whole attention of the new sultan was for a time directed to the west, where the movements of the Seljuk invaders were becoming daily more alarming. Either from the circumstance of Móddúd having espoused a daughter of one of the Seljuk chiefs, or from more important matters engrossing their attention elsewhere, they appear not to have offered any real opposition to his regaining possession of Ghazni, which he did in the year following his accession to power.

Disturbances now occurred in the east (A.D. 1042), caused no doubt by the absence of the new sultan from his Indian territories. The rajah of Delhi made this the occasion of recovering all the cities captured by Masaud on the east of the Sutlege; and elated with his first successes, the Hindoo prince pushed his forces to the very gates of Nargacot, to recover which holy shrine vast crowds of Indian volunteers flocked to his standard. The religious zeal of the Hindoos bore down all opposition, and despite the strong military position of this temple-fortress, the shrine fell once more into the hands of its votaries.

Stimulated still further by this new success, and assured by the absence of the sultan, the rajah called around him the whole Hindoo population of the Punjab, and proceeded at once to deliver the country from the Ghaznivide yoke.

Lahore was shortly after (A.D. 1044) invested by the Indian army, and the garrison, receiving no succour or supplies during a siege of seven months, began to be reduced to great extremities. They must soon have yielded before fatigue and famine, but determined to make a last desperate effort, they sallied so vigorously upon the besiegers as completely to disperse them and raise the siege.

The remainder of Móddúd's reign was occupied in keeping within bounds the turbulence of his subjects, the disaffection of his Indian possessions, and the restlessness of his Seljuk neighbours. In the midst of these conflicting occupations Móddúd expired after a reign of nine years (A.D. 1049).

The throne was now occupied by the late sultan's brother, Abul Hasan, who, however, after a short rule of two years, gave way to his uncle, Abul Rashid.

This prince was not more fortunate than his predecessor ; for before the second year of his reign he was besieged in Ghazni by a revolted chief, captured, and put to death with all his family. The successful rebel enjoyed the fruits of his treason but a month, at the end of which time he was assassinated ; and the army sought for some member of the rightful family to occupy the vacant throne.

The choice at length fell upon a young prince, Farokhsád, who had passed many years in prison through the jealousy of previous outlaws. His reign, although it lasted but six years, may be called a prosperous one compared to those preceding it. He managed to curb the restless, aggressive spirit of the Seljuk tribes, and at the same time to preserve order and quiet within his own dominions, but at last fell by the hand of an assassin.

His successor was his brother Ibrahim, a prince of widely different tastes and temperament from all who had gone before him. His desire was peace ; and having conciliated his troublesome neighbours, the Seljuks, he devoted himself steadily to the internal affairs of his kingdom. Religion, the administration of justice, and the encouragement of learned men, appear to have engrossed the chief of his time ; and the only mention we find of him, in any of the historical records, as engaged in a military undertaking, was upon some expedition to the Sutlege, on which occasion he captured several cities from the Hindoos. Little as there is to record of this monarch of a political nature, his reign nevertheless lasted for the unusual period of forty-one years, and terminated as peacefully as it had commenced.

The next in succession was Masaud II. (A.D. 1089), who enjoyed a peaceable reign of twenty-five years, during which period the greater portion of his attention was devoted to legislating and improving the condition of his country. Some expeditions into Hindostan were undertaken by his generals, but with no great or lasting results.

Arslan, the elder son of the deceased sultan, commenced his reign with violence, and ended it in his own blood. Having imprisoned his brothers, their uncle, the Seljuk sultan, marched against him with a formidable army, defeated him, and placed one of his brothers, Behráh, on the throne. Arslan was pursued from the battlefield and slain.

The new sultan (A.D. 1118) appears to have inherited the love for literature which had distinguished so many of his predecessors. Learned men, poets and philosophers, were welcomed at his court, and treated with the greatest consideration. The peaceful and prosperous state in which he found the kingdom greatly favoured this, and for a period of

nearly thirty years allowed him ample opportunity to gratify his tastes. The peaceful tenour of his long reign was unfortunately broken through an act which could scarcely have been expected from a monarch of such elevated tastes.

Having had a difference with his son-in-law, Kutb-u-din Sur, prince of Ghor, he contrived first to get him into his power, and then to kill him. The brother of the murdered prince lost no time in avenging him, and marching upon Ghazni with a numerous army, drove out the treacherous Behrám. The defeated monarch, however, found means and opportunity to fall upon the invader and completely routed his troops, making himself prisoner, and eventually putting him to a cruel death.

Retribution for this double crime was at hand. Ala-u-din, another brother of Kutb-u-din, entered the Ghaznivite territories at the head of a small but determined body of troops ; and although in the first instance fortune did not appear to favour him, he finally succeeded in compelling Behrám to fly for safety to his Indian territories, where he shortly afterwards died from exhaustion and grief.

His son, Khosru, who had shared his prosperity, had now (A.D. 1152) to participate in his reverses. The discomfited army of Ghazni, finding itself deprived of its leader, followed the son with more than ordinary devotion, and succeeded in fighting a way to Lahore, where the new monarch found his Indian subjects ready to receive him with open arms. It does not appear that the reign of Khosru was marked by any political events of consequence. His tastes led him to consult the prudent policy of peace, and to rest contented with the Indian limits of his ancestral possessions ; nor do we find that he suffered any molestation from the new dynasty ruling at Ghazni.

At his death (A.D. 1160) he was succeeded by Khosru Malik, who, after a most tranquil reign of twenty-seven years, was attacked by the Ghor kings, and eventually defeated and slain. The kingdom of Lahore from this date became a portion of the Ghaznivite territory in the hands of the new line of princes.

Gheias-u-din, the Ghorian sultan of Ghazni and Lahore, aided by the military talents of his brother, Shahib, had not long been settled in his new conquest before he began to turn his attention eastward, and, like many of his predecessors, to attempt new conquests on the Indian side of the Sutlege. The rajah of Delhi was the first Hindoo potentate attacked ; but so well was he supported by his followers, that the fierce and warlike forces led against them from the north failed in their efforts ; and despite the terrible charges of Afghan horse, the troops of

Delhi were left masters of the battle-field ; Shahib, who commanded the invading forces, escaping with great difficulty and badly wounded.

Two years later (A.D. 1193) Shahib, burning with a desire to wipe out the stain upon his military reputation left by his former defeat, again marched an army of Turks and Afghans across the frontiers, and encountered Pritwi, the Delhi rajah, whom he found assembled with a powerful array from many Indian states to oppose his further progress. Upon this occasion the Afghan cavalry decided the result of the day, for having drawn the Hindoo troops from their line of battle, Shahib suddenly wheeled round a body of chosen horse, 12,000 strong, and charging the vast mass of troops whilst in broken columns, succeeded in utterly routing them.⁴ The rajah was made prisoner, and ultimately put to death whilst in confinement.

This victory was followed by other conquests. The rajah of Canouj was defeated in a pitched battle, and his territories were at once annexed to the dominions of the victor. Gwalior, in Bundelcund, as well as several strong positions in Rohilcund, were next taken possession of ; and in the following year the Ghaznivite warrior extended his arms still farther, subduing the fine provinces of Oude, Behar, and Bengal.

The death of Gheias-u-din, which took place after a reign of forty-five years, placed his brother, Shahib-u-din, on the throne. India, however, saw no further exploits of this successful warrior. He was engaged in a war with the sultan of Kharism, which terminated to his disadvantage, and led to the defection of some portion of his western possessions. A second expedition against that country was on the point of being undertaken, when Shahib fell by the hands of assassins after a short reign of four years. Few soldiers had been more successful or enterprising than the conqueror of the central provinces of Hindostan ; even the brilliant achievements of Mahmoud were unimportant in extent compared to those of the Ghorian sultan, who had extended the Afghan rule as far as the extreme limits of the Ganges.

Upon the death of Shahib (A.D. 1206), his nephew, Mahmoud Ghorî, was proclaimed sovereign ; but he continued to rule over no more than Ghor, and so far abandoned claim to any further territory as to send the insignia of royalty to the viceroy of India, Kutb-u-din, then resident at Delhi. Thus India became an independent power ; and in the person of the new monarch commenced the line of kings of Delhi.

⁴ Ferialta, vol. i. pp. 173-177.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF DELHI TO ITS CONQUEST
BY THE TARTARS.

A.D. 1206-1526.

KUTB-U-DIN was the first of a line known as the slave-kings of Delhi, from the fact of their having been originally Turki slaves. The present monarch had been raised to his high rank through the favour of Shahib, who greatly admired his many good and shining qualities. He seems to have been a prudent and just monarch, and to have attached his subjects to his person by the wisdom and gentleness of his rule, which, however, lasted for but four years as king, though he had governed the state of Delhi as viceroy for fully twenty years. His son Aram was a weak prince, and was set aside shortly after his accession for Altamsh, son-in-law of Kutb-u-din, who, like his predecessor, had been raised from slavery to high favour.

Altamsh was not deficient in military talent and personal courage, and found ample occupation during his reign for both qualities. The Mahometan power was never so thoroughly established in any portion of India proper, but some rajah or dependent sovereign found occasion for attempting an assertion of their territorial rights. In this way Behar, Malwa, and Gwalior called down upon them the chastisement of Altamsh. It was during this reign that the celebrated Ghenghis Khan poured his Mogul myriads from the north over a great part of Asia, and at one time threatened the Indian monarchy with an invasion.

The death of Altamsh at Delhi brought his son, Rukn-u-din, to the throne, whence his indolence, indifference, and dissipation shortly drove him in favour of his sister Rezia.

The sultana (A.D. 1236) was a woman of more than ordinary attainments, and seems to have administered the affairs of the kingdom with wisdom and industry. Her talents, however, failed to secure her in the possession of the throne. Jealousies crept in, a party rebelled against her authority, and finally, after a severe engagement, her troops were defeated, and Rezia made captive and slain in cold blood.

During the two short reigns of Behrám and Masaud which followed,

the most prominent event was the invasion of India at different points by armies of Moguls, one of which penetrated as far as Bengal. They were, however, driven back with considerable loss.

Nasir-u-din Mahmoud (A.D. 1246) was the grandson of Altamsh. Of studious disposition, he committed the charge of government and of all military operations to his vizier, formerly a Turki slave of his grandfather, and a man of great ability. Through his energy several revolts in the remote Hindoo states were suppressed, and the inroads of the Moguls on the western frontier effectually checked.

Upon the death of Nasir (A.D. 1266), his vizier, Gheias-u-din Bulbun, stepped quietly to the throne, where he maintained himself by a line of rigorous cruelty to all suspected of being inimical to his interest. His reign, which lasted for a period of twenty years, was marked by insurrections and invasions, all of which he overcame with the same success which had marked his career whilst vizier.

With his successor, Kai-Kobad, ended the race of the slave-kings. This monarch ruled but for a brief period; and at his death the choice of the people fell upon Jelal-u-din, in whose person commenced the house of Khilji. His reign, as also that of his nephew and successor, Allah-u-din, was a constant succession of plots, intrigues, and murders.

At this period a third Mongolian invasion of India took place, more formidable than either of the previous. Thanks, however, to the bravery and experience of his general, Zaffer Khan, the sultan was victorious, though his success cost him the life of his heroic commander, who fell covered with wounds. This victory induced Allah-u-din to turn his arms to the peninsula of India, where he defeated several of the hitherto independent rajahs, and compelled them to pay him tribute. Jealous of the influence and number of the Moguls in his army, the sultan ordered them to be dismissed his service without pay, and afterwards to be exterminated to the number of fifteen thousand.

The death of Allah (A.D. 1316) was said to have been hastened by poison administered by his favourite general, Mallek Kaffir, who thereupon caused the late king's youngest son, an infant, to be proclaimed. This meeting with the disapproval of the nobles and army of Delhi, they placed Mubarik, the eldest son of Allah, on the throne, slew Mallek, and so far restored tranquillity. The new sovereign, although he began his reign with no less an exploit than the conquest of the Malabar country, quickly abandoned himself to dissipation, and left all authority in the hands of a low Hindoo, one Mallek Khosru, who shortly afterwards found an opportunity to murder his master, together with every member of his family.

This treason drew upon him the speedy vengeance of the nobles, who, with the rajah of the Deccan, dispersed his adherents, and terminated his power with his life. The race of Khilji ended with Mubarik, and with his successor commenced the rule of the house of Toghlak.

There being no member of the royal family left (A.D. 1321), the choice of the nobles and of the army was naturally directed towards those chiefs who ranked highest amongst them. Their selection was Gheias-u-din Toghlak, governor of the Punjab, a man of high reputation in military and civil affairs, and who proved himself not unworthy of the popular choice. He shewed both activity and wisdom during his short reign. The threatened invasion of the Moguls on the north-western frontiers was effectually checked by a line of defences thrown up along the Afghan boundary, whilst on the south he busied himself by subduing a further portion of the Deccan, and arranging matters in Bengal and Tirhoot, as well as annexing the territories of the rajah of Dacca to his dominions.

Returning from this last expedition, he was killed by the fall of a bungalow erected expressly to receive him by his eldest son, not without strong suspicion of premeditation against the latter, who, as a consequence of this occurrence, mounted the throne.

Mohammed Toghlak was proclaimed sultan (A.D. 1325) amidst a great shew of ostentatious liberality to all about him. He was a prince of great ability, and possessed more than ordinary acquirements; and few monarchs evinced a greater desire to patronise men of learning and distinction than did the new sovereign. His accomplishments, however, did not counterbalance his terrible crimes; and, if possible, his talents served but to add to the violence of his outrageous actions.

An army of Moguls, which found means to enter the Punjab, was bought off by a large sum of money. The subjugation of the remainder of the Deccan was completed, and general good order was restored throughout the most remote provinces of his vast dominions.

From this time Mohammed seems to have abandoned himself to a most extraordinary and violent line of conduct, quite at variance with the previous reputation he had earned. An invasion of Persia with a gigantic army,—the conquest of China,—were both productive of disastrous consequences to himself and his people. And added to these freaks were his excessive fiscal imposts, his tampering with the currency, and terrible cruelty to the inhabitants of many districts.

These excesses produced open rebellion (A.D. 1338) in many quarters; and during the next thirteen years we read of a succession of revolts, which seem to have kept the sovereign constantly employed. Many of these outbreaks were quelled for a time; but in several

instances the disaffected provinces defied the power of the tyrant, and maintained their independence. Amongst these were Bengal, the Carnatic, and the Malabar territories.

Mohammed is reported to have died of a surfeit of fish at Tatta, whilst on his way to quell one of the numerous revolts of that unsettled period, leaving no family behind him.

Firuz Toghlak, the late king's nephew (A.D. 1351), was raised to the throne in the absence of any direct heirs. His reign, though not distinguished by any great military exploits, was yet one of prosperity, and attended with the happiest results to his people. He reversed all the fiscal and monetary decrees of his uncle, and busied himself more in the execution of works of public utility and improving the resources of his dominions, than in seeking to add to their extent.

In the eighty-seventh year of his age, Firuz, from bodily infirmity, resigned nearly all his power into the hands of his vizier, who soon began to use his authority against the claims of the heir-apparent. He failed, however, in his plots; for the son persuaded Firuz to banish his minister and invest him with supreme authority. His dissolute conduct soon disgusted the nobles; and eventually he was compelled to fly to the mountains for safety, and the old king once more resumed the reins of government.

Upon his death a scene of disorder, struggles, and bloodshed followed. Two grandsons reigned after him in succession, each for but a few months; Nasir Toghlak, the banished son of Firuz, returned and resumed the government during three years; after which his son, Humayun, assumed the sceptre, but lived only forty-five days.

Mahmoud Toghlak, the younger brother of the preceding, was a minor when he ascended the throne (A.D. 1394). This circumstance, added to the previous distracted state of the kingdom, induced the governors of Gujerat, Malwa, and Juanpoor, to assert and maintain their independence; and it was soon evident that the new sovereign, so far from being able to turn his attention to them, would find occupation nearer home, where civil troubles awaited him.

In the midst of these commotions (A.D. 1398) a fresh calamity descended upon the country, which at once threatened the speedy dissolution of the empire. Tamerlane, having overrun Persia, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with portions of Russia and Siberia, at the head of vast hordes of Tartars, turned his attention to India, and sent forward his grandson, Pir Mohammed, to prepare the way for the main body of the invaders.

The Tartar general swept the Punjab with his fierce troops, and after carrying fire and slaughter through the entire province, took pos-

session of the fortified city of Mooltan. Tamerlane meanwhile had effected a passage across the dangerous defiles of the mountain-ranges to the north of Afghanistan, marched for the Indus, which he crossed at Attok, and thence made for Samana, massacring the inhabitants of every town through which he passed.

Reinforced by a junction with the army of his grandson, Tamerlane marched towards Delhi, where he found the Sultan Mahmoud prepared to receive him with a large force, aided by many auxiliaries and a numerous body of elephants. The invaders proved superior to the Indians both in numbers and valour; and although the sultan did his best to defend his kingdom, the Hindoo army was defeated with immense slaughter. Mahmoud sought refuge in Gujerat, whilst his broken forces took shelter within the walls of Delhi, where they made terms with the Tartar chief, and submitted to his authority as Emperor of India, which he was then proclaimed.

The capitulation of the city did not save it from the plunder and violence of the Tartar troops, who, meeting with some resistance in their excesses, fell upon the inhabitants, and a general massacre ensued: "some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead; and the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army gained admittance, and a scene of the utmost horror ensued."⁵

Tamerlane quitted Delhi when there seemed nothing further to be gained by remaining; and carrying with him an immense booty and a vast retinue of slaves of all ranks, he marched through Meerut and up the banks of the Ganges as far as Hurdwar, thence across Lahore to the Ghazni country by the route he had followed on entering India.

The Tartar monarch may be said to have found Hindostan a garden—he left it a desert, A.D. 1399. Famine and pestilence were the gifts he showered on the inhabitants, whom he deemed not worthy of slavery in a distant land. Acquisition of territory seemed to be no part of his plan. A fame such as in those days of bloodshed was deemed worthy of a despot, he certainly achieved, but with no advantage to himself beyond the amount of treasure he managed to carry with him on his way to meet other foes.

After various struggles and some bloodshed in Delhi for the mastery, Mahmoud at length came forward and re-asserted his claim to the throne. He lived a few years after this; and was succeeded by Doulat Khan Lodi, who, after a rule of one year, gave way to the governor of the Punjab, Khizir Khan; and thus ended the Toghlaq dynasty of the Afghan race of kings.

⁵ Ferishta, vol. i.

Khizir Khan affected to rule in the name and under the authority of Tamerlane, and by this artifice gave a stability to his government which it could not otherwise have possessed. His reign of seven years was followed by that of his son Syed Mobarik, a just and prudent ruler, who was, however, during thirteen years, continually embroiled in disturbances.

Seyd Mohammed, his grandson, was placed on the throne upon the assassination of Syed Mobarik. He ruled for a brief period, and was succeeded by his son, Seyd Allah-u-din, who, after reigning for seven years in great weakness, abdicated, and made way for the fifth or Lodi dynasty.

Behlol Lodi, governor of the Punjab, was descended from an Afghan family of high character, whose power and influence had caused the jealousy and persecution of the late dynasty. The outbreak which drove Seyd Allah from his throne called Behlol to Delhi; and although meeting at first with some resistance, he soon established himself on a firm footing, and reigned peacefully and successfully for a period of twenty-eight years.

His son and successor Secander Lodi maintained himself in his father's possessions with vigour and firmness, managing the internal affairs of the kingdom with great leniency and prudence. He was, however, a bigot, and persecuted the Brahmins with great cruelty. The territories of Behar were re-annexed to Delhi by Secander, who was not deficient in military talent. He died at Agra in A.D. 1516.

Ibrahim Lodi, his son, possessed all his father's intolerance, without any of his good qualities. By a course of cruelty and oppression he alienated the affections of his people from his family, and at length drove his nobles to open rebellion. These called to their aid one who was only too glad to avail himself of the opportunity of re-conquering the old acquisitions of Tamerlane. Baber, a descendant of the last-named emperor, and who then reigned supreme in Ghazni, accepted the invitation of the governor of Lahore, and passed the Indus at the head of a small but well-appointed army. After some encounters in the upper provinces, Baber advanced towards Delhi, where Ibrahim met him with a large body of troops far superior in number to his own. The superior tactics of the Tartar chief, and the valour of his well-disciplined troops, gave them the advantage over the huge but unwieldy mass of Hindoo soldiers. The last of the Afghan race of monarchs fell on the battle-field, leaving Baber in possession of the country, with no obstacle between himself and the empire.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE REIGN OF BABER TO THE DEPOSING OF SHAH JEHAN.

A.D. 1526-1658.

DESCENDED in a direct line by his father's side from Timur, the first Tartar scourge of India, Zehir-ed-din, or, as he is more generally styled, Baber the tiger, claimed equal consanguinity by the maternal line with another great warrior, Ghenghis Khan, the Mogul conqueror. It is from this latter circumstance, doubtless, that nearly all writers have erroneously applied the term "Mogul empire" to the rule of this Tartar dynasty.

Contrary to the general expectations of his followers, Baber determined upon exercising the title by which he was now known, and as Emperor of India to remain at Delhi, strengthen his position, and even add to his already extensive territories. This resolve, although disapproved of in the first instance by the chiefs of his army, soon found favour in their eyes when they began to taste the pleasures of an Indian life, and became accustomed to the soft enervation of a southern climate.

The various governors and subordinate rajahs, who had assumed something of independence during the recent disturbances, were not disposed quietly to submit themselves to the rule of the newly-made emperor, and several of them set him openly at defiance. To chastise these became his first duty; a task, however, more arduous and dangerous than he had at first contemplated. The Afghan chiefs and the Hindoo and Seikh soldiery fought with determined obstinacy, and disputed every battle with desperate valour. On more than one occasion Baber, who did not spare himself, was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy; and it was not until the end of the fourth year of these hard-fought struggles that he brought the various provinces once more under the dominion of Delhi.

The emperor was not destined to outlive these successes long. A life of strange vicissitude and great bodily hardship had made inroads

upon his constitution, not to be shaken off. He was sensible that his end was drawing near, and accordingly prepared for it by many judicious arrangements relative to the future government of the country, which he bequeathed to his son Humayun, and finally expired at the end of the year 1530, having reigned over India five years.

Humayun ascended the throne with the most brilliant prospects. The empire appeared to be firmly established; the revenues were in a flourishing condition, and he himself a prince well calculated to secure the goodwill of all those about him. Of an amiable disposition, with a great taste for literature, and a considerable share of military reputation, he gave promise of swaying the destinies of the Indian people to their happiness and his own glory. But his character proved far from suited to the spirit of the age in which he lived, and which could adapt itself to none but an iron rule.

An excursion against Gujerat was followed by one into the Afghan territories, where, although victorious, he nearly fell a victim to treachery, and only succeeded in escaping with his life. Hearing of his reverses, his brothers and some chiefs rebelled against him; and after one or two attempts to recover his authority, he was eventually compelled to seek safety in the kingdom of Persia, where he was received with great kindness, and even promised assistance, by the monarch of that country.

By the aid of this new ally, Humayun was at length enabled to punish his rebellious relations, and retake a portion, though a small one, of his former dominions; and after an absence of nearly sixteen years re-entered Delhi in triumph. His restoration, however, was not long enjoyed by him; for missing his footway whilst walking on a terrace of his palace, he fell to the ground below, and suffered such severe injuries as caused his death a few days afterwards.

Before proceeding to narrate the events which distinguished the career of Akbar, the successor of the preceding monarch, it may be well to place before the reader a brief account of the other Indian states, partly independent and partly owning the supremacy of the emperors of Delhi, inasmuch as most of these will figure in the pages which chronicle the deeds of the new monarch.

The empire of Delhi had reached its utmost limits in the reign of Mohammed Toghlaq; but upon the death of that monarch many provinces of the kingdom threw off their allegiance, and with but few exceptions maintained their independence until the reign of Akbar. Of these the most important were, perhaps, the kingdoms of the Deccan, viz. Deccan proper, from the ruins of which sprang the king-

doms of Bijapoor, Ahmednegar, Golconda, and Berar. The kingdom of Gujerat, founded in A.D. 1396, continued independent until A.D. 1561, when it was conquered by Akbar. It comprehended pretty nearly the tract of country at present known as the Gujerat country. The Malwa kingdom lasted from A.D. 1401 until 1512; whilst that of Candeish continued intact from A.D. 1399 to 1599. Besides the preceding were the Rajpoot states of Scinde, Bundelcund, Gwalior, Oodipoor, Marwar, Jesalmeer, Jeipoor, and some petty hill tribes in the western deserts.

The kingdom of Bengal remained independent from A.D. 1338 to 1573, governed by Hindoos, whilst Mooltan and a part of the Punjab were governed partly by Afghan families and partly by descendants of Tamerlane.

At the time of his accession to the throne Akbar was little more than thirteen years of age. His youth and inexperience were fortunately fully compensated by the wisdom and vigour of his vizier Behram Khan, his father's general and prime adviser. This able commander lost no time in putting down the insurrections which broke out in various parts of the empire at this time, as was usual upon the death of an Indian monarch; and by carrying the young emperor, nothing loath, with him, he helped to complete the military education which had been commenced in his father's reign.

The first who brought upon him the chastisement of Akbar was Hemu, a Hindoo prince who had assumed the title of Emperor of Delhi. This usurper had collected a powerful body of troops favourable to his claims and inimical to the Mahometan rule, and by their religious zeal was enabled to make a good stand against the Tartar army. A great battle was fought at Paniput, in which the Hindoo prince bore a conspicuous part; but despite the number and valour of his devoted followers, victory, which for some time appeared doubtful, at length declared in favour of the Mahometan forces, and Hemu was taken prisoner after being badly wounded in his howdah. It is related that the captive was brought to Akbar in his tent, where his minister, Behram, desired him to give the first blow to the Hindoo, as a signal for his death. The brave young emperor refused to strike his wounded prisoner, upon which the vizier, enraged at his unlooked-for generosity, struck off the head of the captive with his own hand.

This victory was followed by the complete submission of the provinces of Delhi and Agra, and shortly afterwards by the pacification of the Punjab. The young emperor had, however, to deal with another and more dangerous opponent in the person of his prime minister and

general, Behram Khan. This able but violent man, raised by his undoubted ability and past services to the highest offices and greatest authority, began to give evidence of a cruel and jealous spirit, in the many deaths which he caused amongst those about the court, who might in any degree oppose his authority or wishes. He soon became not only hated and feared by the nobles of Akbar's court, but an object of distrust and aversion to the monarch himself, who at length formally deposed him and sent him on a pilgrimage to Mecca; on the road thither he was assassinated by a relative of one of his former victims.

At this period (A.D. 1560) the dominions of the emperor included only the Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Ajmeer, and Gwalior. A general spirit of insubordination ruled through most of these provinces, which was no doubt ministered to by the belief that Akbar's extreme youth rendered opposition to his authority an easy matter. The emperor soon shewed a determination not only to restrain and punish these refractory spirits, but also to recover all those portions of the empire which had fallen from it during the past century, and so make India but one country under one common head.

Malwa was the first province annexed by Akbar, though not without some hard fighting and a good deal of subsequent insubordination on the part of the generals and governors put in command, against whom the young emperor was compelled to proceed in person. Other revolts in various parts of the kingdom followed, which occupied the attention of the monarch for seven years, at the end of which period he had either slain or conciliated all his unruly chiefs and opponents.

The Rajpoot princes were the next who drew against them the arms of Delhi. The strong fort of Chitur, in Oodipoor, was besieged, and after a gallant resistance captured with all its treasures; the rana was never taken, and the country managed to hold out against Akbar through his entire reign.

Gujerat was next (A.D. 1572) subdued by Akbar in person, and annexed to the empire; after which Bengal was attacked by one of the imperial generals and finally subdued, though not without some hard-fought battles. Here, too, Akbar had to contend with rebellious chiefs, who appear to have given him more trouble than the original possessors of the country. By means of great firmness, and judiciously blending with it a degree of moderation and clemency, Akbar finally succeeded in quieting all this portion of his dominions,¹ and firmly establishing his power throughout the whole of central India.

His attention was next turned to Cashmere, a country situated on

¹ Stewart's History of Bengal.

the Himalayas, above the reach of the temperature of Hindostan, and gifted with fertility and a salubrious climate. The dissensions of the reigning dynasty, a race of Mahometan adventurers, opened a tempting door to the ambitious spirit of Akbar, who forthwith sent an army, which, forcing the mountain passes leading to that country, soon compelled the king and his chiefs to accept the terms offered them, namely, complete subjection to Akbar's sovereignty. From this period Cashmere seems to have been the summer residence of the emperors of Delhi so long as that monarchy lasted.

A war with the Afghans of the north-eastern provinces of Cabul did not interfere with the quiet government of Hindostan, the whole of which was now under the rule of Delhi as far as the Nerbudda, excepting only a few of the Rajpoot territories.

The Deccan became the scene of Akbar's further conquests in the year 1596; and after two years spent by his generals in that country, he himself marched to the scene of operations before Ahmednagar. The war in the peninsula was terminated by the defeat of the reigning princes and the annexation of a considerable part of that state to the emperor's dominions.

Leaving the prosecution of further objects (A.D. 1601) in the hands of his minister, Abul Fazl, Akbar quitted the Deccan and proceeded to Agra. This was rendered necessary by the rebellious conduct of his eldest son, Selim, who, instigated by bad advisers, and under the influence of opium and wine, had seized upon Allahabad and declared himself king of Oude and Behar. This rupture was, however, healed shortly afterwards: Selim was declared heir to the throne, admitted at court, and permitted to wear royal ornaments.

The many years spent by Akbar in warlike operations, the daring and reckless manner in which he had ever exposed himself to the dangers and privations of the field and the camp, had not failed to work their effect upon his constitution; despite his abstemious habits, he appears to have laboured under severe and frequent ailments during the latter years of his reign, and in the month of September 1605 his illness assumed so alarming a form as to leave little doubt what would be the result.²

A combination was attempted on the part of some of the nobles to set up Selim's son, Khusru, as successor, but it broke down; and Selim, who at first had absented himself from his father, remained by his side during the last days of his mortal illness, and received from his hands the royal scymetar.

² Price's *Memoirs of Jehan-Ghir*, p. 70.

Akbar died after a reign of forty-nine years, passed amidst almost continued warfare, leaving his kingdom on a firmer basis than it had been at any previous period. Possessed of all the military genius so necessary in those times, Akbar was endowed with many excellent qualities not often combined with royalty in the East. A lover of science and literature, a most rigorous dispenser of justice, a practised financier, a thorough master of all business details, the late emperor found time amidst all his wars to pursue the peaceful studies of a philosopher. Tolerant in the extreme to all religious sects, Akbar frequently held discourses with Brahmins and Christians upon their creeds, and would permit no persecution for difference of opinion. His intimacy with the learned Abul Fazl and his brother Feizi contributed doubtless to his moderation; and to the same cause may be ascribed his own free-thinking ideas, which, whilst they rendered him a very good sovereign, made him a very indifferent Mahometan.

The revenue of the empire was placed upon a sound footing; many splendid works of military and ornamental character were undertaken, and the whole of his own royal establishment, although on a vast and magnificent scale, was reduced to the most systematic order.³ In short, no part of his government appeared too insignificant in his eyes to deserve its own share of regular attention.

No opposition was offered to the succession of Selim, who was saluted by the title of Jehan-Ghir, or "Conqueror of the World." But before the end of the first year of his reign, it became apparent that the peace of the empire was to be disturbed by Jehan-Ghir's own son Khosru, who, raising levies, marched northwards and seized on the city of Lahore. His father followed him at the head of a chosen body of troops, and, in an engagement which followed, totally defeated the rebel army, making many prisoners, amongst whom was the author of the treason, Khosru, who was loaded with chains and kept a close prisoner for a year.

About this time (A.D. 1611) the emperor married the widow of a late governor of Bengal, who became so famed for her unrivalled beauty and brilliant accomplishments as to receive the title of *Noor-mahal*, or "Light of the Harem." This favourite obtained complete ascendancy over the emperor's mind, but exercised it with great wisdom, influenced, it is believed, by the sage councils of her father, a man of high repute. The emperor resigned to Noor-mahal the direction of his imperial household, and by her aid it was managed not only with magnificent pomp, but with a great regard to economy and order.

³ Ayeen Akberry.

The monarch alludes most feelingly to the good influence of his sultana and her family in his autobiography, and ascribes much of his prosperity to their wise councils and devoted services.

Some disturbances in Bengal were soon quelled, as was also a difference with the Rana of Oodipoor, who was forced to submit to the authority of the emperor. Jehan-Ghir's attempts upon the Deccan were less fortunate, and after an obstinate resistance his army was forced to quit that country with heavy losses.

At the conclusion of these operations (A.D. 1615), an ambassador from the British Court, Sir T. Roe, reached Ajmeer, to form a treaty of amity with the emperor, or, as he was then termed by European writers, "the Great Mogul." Sir Thomas remained in the country three years; and in the account of his embassy, written by himself, he has left a very ample description of the Delhi court, and the state of the country at that time.

From this it appears that, however rigorous in his outward bearing, the emperor indulged in free living when in private, and even in the company of the English ambassador. Jehan-Ghir gave every encouragement to Europeans, and permitted the free exercise of their religion. It is said also that he wore figures of Christ and the Virgin at the head of his rosary, and that two of his nephews embraced Christianity with his full consent.⁴

The prodigious wealth of the emperor may be judged from the circumstance related in his memoirs of his presenting the bride of one of his sons on the evening of her marriage with a pearl necklace valued at sixty thousand pounds, and a ruby worth twenty-five thousand pounds, with a yearly maintenance of thirty thousand pounds.⁵

The great and unbounded influence of Noor-mahal over the emperor raised up many enemies to her authority, and amongst others Korrun, or, as he was afterwards styled, Shah Jehan, the monarch's third son. Fearing her power as adverse to his claims, and possibly having advices of some intrigues against him at court, the prince threw aside all disguise, and boldly raised the standard of rebellion by laying siege to Agra. Here he was defeated with considerable loss, and compelled to seek his safety in flight; but nothing daunted by his first failure, he continued to maintain his struggle for several years with varied fortune.

An incident at this time had well-nigh changed the whole course of events, but for the device and boldness of the famed Noor-mahal. Mohabet Khan, governor of the Punjab, having incurred the displeasure

⁴ Sir T. Roe.

⁵ Memoirs of Jehan-Ghir.

or jealousy of that favourite, was ordered to repair to the presence of the emperor, then encamped on the Hydaspes, to meet certain charges against him. He set out at the head of a few thousand chosen horse, and perceiving that his ruin was intended, resolved to strike a blow that should frustrate the plans of his enemies. Being encamped at no great distance from the royal quarters, he made a forced march at daybreak, when the bulk of the imperial army had crossed the river, and finding little opposition, rushed to the emperor's tent and at once made him prisoner.

Noor-mahal was not likely to remain an idle witness of her husband's captivity; and although Mohabet evidently intended the seizure to serve to secure his own safety, she at once made an attempt at his rescue by open force. This was frustrated by the vigilance of Mohabet; but an after effort carefully planned and executed met with better success, and the monarch once more found himself safe among his own troops.

A reconciliation with Mohabet then took place, and he was put at the head of an army to march against Shah Jehan, who still continued in open revolt in the south. Instead of attacking that prince, the old general came to terms with him, and their forces united in the Deccan against their mutual enemy Noor-mahal.⁶

Meanwhile (A.D. 1627) Jehan-Ghir had proceeded to Cashmere to enjoy the bracing air of that mountain country, and whilst there was seized with an attack of asthma, from which he had been previously a sufferer, and which at once assumed an alarming character. His physicians ordered an immediate removal to a warmer climate, and as a last hope he was conveyed towards Lahore, but expired before he had been many days on the road, in the sixtieth year of his age and the twenty-second of his reign.

Noor-mahal in vain attempted to assert the claims of her favourite, Sheriar, to the throne. No sooner did Shah Jehan receive tidings of the emperor's death than he marched with all speed to Agra accompanied by Mohabet, and there caused himself to be proclaimed. Sheriar was defeated and slain; Noor-mahal retired into private life with a yearly allowance of a quarter of a million sterling; and the new sovereign found himself in quiet possession of the throne.

The emperor soon gave evidence of his love for splendour and magnificent buildings by the costly and beautiful public works he began to erect, and the festivals he held on the anniversary of his accession, which were marked by a profusion unknown even in those days of

⁶ Gladwin's Memoirs of Jehan-Ghir.

oriental luxury. This first annual celebration is said to have cost him nearly two millions sterling.

Amidst all this enjoyment, troubles were in preparation in more than one part of his vast empire. Cabul was invaded by a strong party of Uzbeks, who, however, were soon driven back with heavy loss. In the Deccan a formidable opponent sprung up in the person of Khan Jehan Lodi, an Afghan general, who had distinguished himself under Jehan-Ghir, but who proved an unruly and troublesome adherent. He allied himself with the King of Ahmednagar, and prepared to invade the Deccan territories of the emperor, who at once took the field with a powerful armament.

Khan Jehan, unable to cope with the superior force brought against him, retired to the most inaccessible districts of the country, and for a long time evaded the pursuit of the imperialists, but was at length compelled to fly to Bijapoor, where he hoped to receive assistance. Disappointed in this expectation, he endeavoured to reach the northern frontiers, but was cut off in Bundelcund.

The Deccan was still unsubdued ; and although the war was prosecuted with unabated vigour for several years, and Ahmednagar and the Nizam's territories were soon overrun, Bijapoor offered a bold and determined resistance, and it was not until A.D. 1636 that terms were finally settled with the king of that country, who agreed to pay an annual tribute to the emperor. In the following year Shah Jehan returned to his capital ; not, however, to quiet enjoyment, for other occupations awaited him.

Candahar being made over to him by the governor of that country, Shah Jehan seized the opportunity of dissensions among the chiefs of Balkh to invade that country with an army chiefly composed of Rajpoots, under the command of Prince Morad, his second son. Success attended most of these operations ; but the inclemency of the seasons and the want of supplies caused more distress than the arms of their enemies, and eventually led to the evacuation of the country, after a lavish expenditure of life and money.

Candahar, the possession of which was disputed by the Afghan and Persian forces, was invaded in three successive years ; twice Aurungzebe, the younger of the princes, and lastly by Dara, the eldest brother, but each time with ill fortune.

During the interval of peace which followed these enterprises, Shah Jehan found the means of completing the entire survey of his vast dominions, preparatory to re-assessing the lands for revenue pur-

poses ; this task, it is said, had occupied his attention for a period of twenty years.⁷

Other less tranquil occupations awaited the monarch in the south. The Deccan, which had never been effectually settled, gave unmistakable signs of approaching disturbances. A difference between the king of Golconda and his vizier formed a pretext for the interference of the emperor, who dispatched Aurungzebe against the king ; and the young prince, partly by artifice, partly by force, managed to seize on Hyderabad, and finally to dictate most severe terms to his opponent, the chief feature of which was the payment of a million sterling in cash into the emperor's treasury.

It was about this period that a race of men but little known, and only casually mentioned by one of the Mahometan historians, began to attract some small degree of attention in their immediate neighbourhood, and by degrees so to strengthen their position in the Deccan, that at a later period they rose to sufficient importance, not only to affect the destinies of the Mahometan rulers of India, but at one time to cause serious uneasiness to the British government of that country.

The existence of the Mahrattas was noticed by Ferishta as early as A.D. 1485 ;⁸ but until the period at which we are now arriving, they had not been recognised as a distinct people. We have no certain data as regards their origin, which they themselves boasted was from the Rajpoots, and which may possibly have been the case with one or two of their chief families. But there was nothing in common between these two races. Whilst the Mahrattas were in person small and sinewy, and in their character crafty, persevering, and enduring, the Rajpoots were of a noble and commanding figure, proud but open in nature, indolent but brave.

They had located themselves in a tract of mountain country situated above the high lands of the western ghauts of the Deccan, in the immediate vicinity of the states of Golconda, and forming the most inaccessible portion of the Bijapoor territories. Their chiefs had by degrees established themselves in the confidence of the local government ; and many of them were appointed to offices of trust in the villages and districts ; many held inferior commands in the Bijapoor army ; whilst others were entrusted with the custody of hill forts and revenue stations.

Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta dynasty in the Deccan, was born

⁷ Duff's History of the Mahrattas, p. 126.

⁸ Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 457.

A.D. 1627; and at the period of which we are now treating was, although scarcely eighteen years of age, admitted by his father, Shahji Boola, to the joint management of his jagir, or collectorate, at Poona. Whilst in the exercise of these duties, he found ample opportunities of gratifying his love of a wandering romantic life; and it is even said he not unfrequently took a part in the depredations of the lawless tribes who frequented the hilly country in the vicinity. Certain it is that he found means to win over the attachment of large parties of the Mahratta soldiers, who were doubtless struck by the bold daring of their young chief, and only too ready to connect themselves with any enterprise calculated to lead to their enrichment and independence, however desperate it might appear.

Having collected around him a party of his most trusty followers, he contrived by dint of stratagem to obtain possession of one or two hill forts, and eventually to seize on the revenues of his father's jagir. This success emboldened Sevaji so far as to lead him to open revolt against the authority of the king of Bijapoor. The whole of the hill forts of the ghauts, and next the northern Concan, fell into his hands; and the treasure of which he became possessed by these exploits enabled him to augment his forces and place them on a footing of respectability.

Matters were in this state with the young Mahratta chief when Aurungzebe invaded Golconda; and Sevaji, profiting by the opportunity thus afforded him by the prospect of a tedious war, ventured to enter the imperial territories; and attacking the town of Juner when unprepared for defence, obtained possession of it, and carried off considerable booty.⁹ This daring act was subsequently overlooked, if not forgiven by Aurungzebe, who was just then called away by his father's illness to take part in proceedings of a more important nature than the chastisement of a lawless freebooter; and Sevaji thus found himself at liberty to carry out his plans of aggrandisement at the expense of the Bijapoor sovereign.

In the year following the Golconda affair (A.D. 1657) an expedition against Bijapoor, although successful, was brought to a sudden termination in consequence of the dangerous illness of the emperor at Agra. The eldest prince and heir to the throne, Dara Shako, was with his father, and had long wielded the powers of the crown; but so soon as intelligence of the sovereign's danger reached the younger sons, Morad and Aurungzebe, they instantly made common cause, and set out together for the capital at the head of 35,000 horse. Dara opposed

⁹ Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 466.

them with an army greatly superior in numbers, but not so in discipline and valour. In the battle which followed, one day's march from Agra, all the princes distinguished themselves in a manner worthy of a nobler cause. Dara was, however, defeated, and fled in the direction of Delhi with 2000 followers. The immediate consequences of this decisive engagement were the imprisonment of Morad in the strong fort of Gwalior, the confinement of Shah Jehan to his palace at Agra, and the proclamation of Aurungzebe as emperor. The deposed monarch lived for fully seven years after this event in indifferent health, and possibly not loath to be saved the labours of government, though he would doubtless have preferred that his eldest and favourite son Dara should have held the reins of power.

Thus ended the rule of Shah Jehan, a prince who had reigned thirty years, the greater part of which was spent in wars and various military expeditions. Whatever fault is to be found with him before he came to the throne, his after conduct merits unqualified praise as regards his duty to his subjects, and his liberality accompanied by wise economy. The revenues of his kingdom must have been enormous; for with all his profuse expenditure in gorgeous spectacles and public works, not less than his many costly wars, he managed to accumulate in his treasury a sum in coin amounting to twenty-four millions sterling, besides a vast heap of jewels and gold ornaments and vessels. His famous peacock-throne is said to have cost six millions and a half sterling, and was one blazing mass of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, representing the plumage of a peacock in its natural colours.

The city of Delhi was rebuilt by him in a style of surpassing splendour and of great extent. But the most celebrated work of this monarch was unquestionably the Taj Mahal, a magnificent mausoleum of white marble and mosaic work at Agra, the delicacy and richness of which has ever drawn forth the admiration of all beholders.¹⁰ The beautiful mosaic work so profusely and elaborately scattered over this sepulchre is believed to have been the work of Italian artists.

Judged by the standard of Asiatic sovereigns in his days, Shah Jehan must be awarded a high rank amongst the rulers of the East, whether we regard him in his military or civil capacity. Both European travellers and Oriental historians agree in one general commendation of his character as a warrior, a ruler, and a lawgiver. At no time had the Tartar empire in India been more frequently and seriously threatened by external enemies, and yet it would be difficult to point

¹⁰ Taj Mahal is a corruption of Mumtaz Mahal, the name of Shah Jehan's queen, whose sepulchre it forms. *Elphinstone's India.*

to a period when those dominions were more consolidated, more secure within themselves, or when the revenues were more thriving, or the laws more promptly and equitably administered. It is no small praise to tell of this monarch, that although the magnificence of his public festivals, the splendour of his daily court, and the lavish outlay he incurred in vast public undertakings, were such as had scarcely had a parallel in the reigns of any of his race, they were followed by no harsh or unusual exactions from his subjects, who were, on the whole, more lightly burdened than any of their ancestors.



CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE PROCLAMATION OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE FALL OF THE
TARTAR DYNASTY.

A.D. 1659-1765.

ON his assumption of the imperial dignity, Aurungzebe took the title of Alamghir, by which he is still known amongst Asiatics, although his former name continued to be used by Europeans.

The new emperor did not find himself in quiet possession of his father's throne. Dara his elder brother, although a fugitive in Lahore, had still many adherents amongst the Hindoo chiefs and Rajpoots, the more so as it was known that he was favoured by his father. Another adversary came forward in the person of Soliman, Dara's son, who, aided by Rajah Jei Sing and Dilir Khan, marched to meet Aurungzebe at the head of a strong force. Treachery, however, overcame the young prince, and he soon afterwards found himself a prisoner in the hands of a petty chief.

The emperor's pursuit of Dara, who now moved towards Scinde, was diverted by news of the advance of another of the royal brothers, Shuja, who, as governor of Bengal, had found means to raise a considerable force of cavalry and artillery, and was then marching towards Allahabad to dispute his brother's supremacy. The two armies met at no great distance from this city; and after lying close to each other for some days, a decisive engagement followed, in which Shuja was defeated with the total loss of his army.

It was in vain that the unsuccessful prince endeavoured to retrieve his fortunes by further struggles in his own province. The imperial army under Prince Sultan drove him from post to post, until at length, being hard pressed at Dacca, he fled with a few followers to the rajah of Arracan, in whose territories he appears afterwards to have lost his life.¹

The after career of Dara and his family was one of successive de-

¹ Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 449.

feats, desertions by adherents, and flights from province to province, ending in his capture and ultimate death at Delhi. It was during these reverses that the traveller Bernier encountered the fugitive prince and his family near Ahmedabad, and spent some days with them, as related by himself in his published travels.

Not long after this occurrence, Aurungzebe, under various pretences, contrived to despatch his brother Morad and his son, as also the two sons of Dara, all of whom had been imprisoned by him in fortresses in Gwalior.

Freed from all claimants to his usurped throne, the monarch looked around him for the means of employing his large army and the energies of his vizier Meer Jumla, who might, if remaining idle, be tempted to projects inimical to the peace of the empire.

The rich country of Assam offered a tempting bait to his ambition; and thither the old general was despatched at the head of an army whose strength defied all opposition. In a few months the country was overrun, and the capital in the hands of the invading army; and it appeared to the mind of Aurungzebe that it would require but his instructions to enable his victorious troops to march forward and obtain possession of the Celestial Empire.

Before these ambitious plans could be attempted the winter season began. The troops, cut off from all supplies by the artifices of the natives, and exposed to the rigours of an unusually severe monsoon, began to suffer from want of food and proper shelter. Unaccustomed to such rigorous weather as they found themselves exposed to in an enemy's country, many fell victims to disease; and finally the army, which had defied the utmost efforts of powerful antagonists, was driven back to its own territories by the attacks of the elements. The commander, Meer Jumla, died before reaching Dacca, a victim to the rigorous season and the unceasing hardships he had endured for many months.

About this period Aurungzebe was attacked with an illness of such a severe character as at one time to place his life in great jeopardy. This was the signal for many intrigues amongst his chief adherents, some of whom looked to Shah Jehan, the deposed monarch, who still lingered out his days in regal confinement; others brought forward the claims of Akber, third son of Aurungzebe, who was already a great favourite amongst the army.² But the emperor, having notice of these designs, ordered steps to be taken which effectually prevented them

² Bernier.

from being carried into execution. He soon afterwards rallied, and sought repose and renovated health in the cool valleys of Cashmere.

Whilst absent on the northern frontiers of his dominions, events were occurring in the Deccan which were destined at no remote period to afford full occupation for his activity and talents. Sevaji, the Mahratta chief, from some cause not explained, had thought fit to break the alliance he had formed with the emperor, and commenced a series of attacks upon the forts in the vicinity of Aurangabad, besides ravaging the towns in the plains. This drew upon him the chastisement of the imperial viceroy of the Deccan, who, notwithstanding the daring opposition and unflinching valour of the Mahratta troops, contrived to drive them back to their own fortresses.

A successful raid into Surat, when that town was completely sacked by the troops of Sevaji, and shortly afterwards the assumption by that chief of the title of rajah, and the act of coining money bearing his own effigy, were the means of bringing against this troublesome vassal a greatly increased force of imperialists under the command of Rajah Jei Sing. Sevaji, shut up in his hill-forts and closely besieged by the royal army, found himself compelled to make submission to the emperor, abandon the greater part of his fortified posts, and hold the remainder under the authority of that monarch.

For a time the Mahratta chief served in the Delhi army against his old opponents of Bijapoor, and earned high commendation from Aurungzebe; but subsequently, on Sevaji presenting himself at the court of the emperor by invitation, his reception was so cold and even humiliating, that he determined on breaking with his superior; and having found means to elude the close surveillance kept over him at Delhi, effected his escape to his own territories by means of careful disguises.

In this year (A.D. 1666) died Shah Jehan, after an imprisonment of seven years in the citadel-palace of Agra, during which time he appears to have remained master of his own acts within the limits prescribed to him.

Fortune seemed to smile on the emperor in all his undertakings up to this period. Little Thibet on the north, and Chittagong on the east, were added to his dominions, and neighbouring potentates courted his friendship and alliance.

The Deccan, however, continued to baffle the efforts of every commander sent against it, and Sevaji, once more among his old followers, proved as formidable a foe as he had before been useful as an ally. He did not rely on his arms alone, but succeeded so far with presents

to the imperial general, as in the end to prevail on the emperor to grant him peace on most favourable terms.

Bijapoor and Golconda, both wearied of protracted struggles, were too glad to purchase a respite at the hands of the Mahratta by a large payment of money ; and Sevaji, left thus in quiet possession of his territories and hill-forts, turned his sole attention to strengthening his position and regulating the internal affairs of his little kingdom.

This tranquillity proved but a temporary lull, and two years after the conclusion of the late hostilities, Aurungzebe broke the treaty by an open attempt to seize the person of Sevaji. This led to the recovery by the Mahrattas of many important posts from the emperor, and also their overrunning the states of Surat and Candeish.

Although the imperial army far outnumbered that of the Mahratta chief, the want of unanimity amongst them, the daring attacks of Sevaji, and the vacillating conduct and continued jealousy of Aurungzebe in regard to his various generals, contributed to procrastinate the war in the Deccan until his attention was called to another quarter.

A war had been carried on for some time with one or two of the Afghan tribes under the direction of a son of the celebrated Meer Jumla. The success which at first attended the imperial arms was finally converted into severe defeats ; and just at this time, A.D. 1672, the emperor determined to attend personally to the prosecution of the war.

His presence in the north appeared to serve his cause but little, and after several campaigns of more than doubtful results, he returned to Delhi, having come to some sort of arrangement with the refractory tribes.

The attachment of his Hindoo subjects was severely tried after his return from the north-west provinces by a variety of edicts and regulations of an extremely harsh and oppressive character.

Amongst other orders, he determined that none but Mahometans should be employed in any office of trust under the government. Various taxes were increased that bore especially on the cultivators of the soil ; and the most obnoxious of all imposts, the jezzia, or poll-tax on infidels, was re-instituted, much to the dissatisfaction of all classes save the Mahometans.

These and some personal disputes led the Rajpoots of western Rajpootana to combine against the authority of the emperor, and we accordingly find a considerable army sent against them. Peace was temporarily made, but finally broken, and a still larger force detached against the Rajpoots. Fire and sword were carried through their territories, and their families made prisoners, but in vain. The brave

Rajpoots defended their hill-fortresses with unflinching obstinacy, and being afterwards joined by Prince Akbar with a strong body of his adherents, they hazarded a meeting with the royal army in the plains. Treachery, however, was employed against them, and finding themselves exposed by this means to far superior numbers, they fled from the field; Akbar and the Rajpoot Rana sought refuge in the Deccan with the Mahrattas. Other Rajpoot chiefs, however, remained to dispute the possession of their territories with the imperial troops, and though they did not succeed in driving them out, they so continually harassed and cut them up as to keep them in a constant state of alarm.

Once more the emperor turned his arms towards the Deccan, and a variety of encounters took place, most usually to the advantage of the Mahrattas. Sevaji had just at this time made an incursion on the southern states of the peninsula, and had succeeded in annexing a considerable part of the Mysore Jagir to his territories. Continued invasions of the imperialists called him again to the north, and he was engaged in repelling their attacks when a sudden illness carried him off in the fifty-third year of his age (A.D. 1680).

Sambaji succeeded to his father's authority, but to none of his good qualities, and almost the first days of his rule were disgraced by acts of wanton cruelty to some members of his family.

The conduct of the new chief towards his subjects was not less impolitic than it was cruel to his relations. New taxes were levied, the revenues of the country were squandered, his father's chief advisers were neglected, and most of his troops were left greatly in arrears of pay.

These grounds of complaint, added to the appearance of the fugitive Akbar in the Mahratta territories, induced some of the most disaffected to make overtures to that prince to give the sanction of his name to the pretensions of a half-brother of Sambaji, one Rajah Ram. The plot was, however, discovered and frustrated, and Sambaji, to find employment for his people, led them against the Abyssinians of Jingera, and engaged soon afterwards in hostilities with the Portuguese, who had settled on the same coast.

A more formidable enemy, however, now (A.D. 1683) made his appearance in the person of the emperor, who, having settled his affairs with the Rajpoots, found leisure to turn his attention once more to the Deccan.

The two following years did little to bring matters to a settlement, though causing great suffering and loss on both sides. Sambaji ravaged part of Gujerat whilst the imperial forces were engaged in the south;

and although he found himself unable to cope with the large force brought against himself and his allies, he contrived, by a continued succession of sorties from his mountain fortresses, to cut off the supplies and embarrass the movements of the invading army.

These efforts did not prevent the imperial forces from laying close siege to the capital of Bijapoor, which eventually capitulated, and being dismantled, was never afterwards capable of affording shelter to troops. The subjugation of the kingdom of Golconda followed; and shortly afterwards the rajah of the Mahrattas fell into the power of the emperor, and was beheaded in prison.

The country was, however, as far from being subdued as ever. Sambaji's brother assumed the command of the Mahratta forces, who, following the practice of previous campaigns, harassed the enemy in every possible way without exposing themselves to any serious danger. Larger armies were brought into the field, and endeavoured by attacking the foe on various sides to distract their attention and weaken their resistance. But the nature of the country was against these vast bodies of troops, whose supplies had to be collected from a great distance and at a heavy expense. It was in vain that Aurungzebe with untiring perseverance took the field himself, and personally superintended the siege of some of the most important strongholds of the Mahrattas. It seemed a fruitless task to capture fort after fort and city after city, whilst the enemy lurked as bold and as unsubdued as ever amongst their hills and thickets.

More than ten years were thus spent by the emperor, at the end of which time his prospects appeared less hopeful than when he commenced. The heavy drain upon his resources caused by this most costly warfare, and the defalcation of some portions of his territorial revenues, gave him much uneasiness, and before long embarrassed his movements. His troops began to clamour for their arrears of pay, which it was not in his power to give them; angry expostulation and many defections were the consequence; and to crown all, a very severe fall of rain flooded his encampments, and caused the loss of much of his stores and baggage, and of some thousands of his troops.

Hard pressed on all sides and in all ways, the emperor would now have gladly listened to any terms for an accommodation of matters; but the Mahrattas, conscious of the growing weakness of their opponents, were so unreasonable in their expectations, that Aurungzebe felt himself compelled to break off all negotiations. Finding it impossible any longer to maintain his large force in such a country and

under so many serious disadvantages, and himself being worn out by fatigue and annoyed by financial embarrassments, he at length ordered a retreat to Ahmednagar, and considered himself fortunate in arriving safely within that city with the loss of a considerable portion of his once proud and invincible army.³

It soon became evident that the days of Aurungzebe were numbered. He seems, indeed, to have felt a strong persuasion that his end was not remote, from the day he entered this his last earthly resting-place; and his letters, many of which are still extant, serve to shew the state of his body and mind.

Ever suspicious of all about him, his jealousy seemed increased as the prospect of his death drew near, and his utmost efforts were employed to foil any possible plotting on the part of his sons. In his last moments he dictated several letters to these princes, whom he had studiously kept at a distance from him, which, whilst they contain much useful admonition and advice for the future, shew not less his own remorse for the past.⁴ He drew up a will a short time previous to his death, in which he expressed a wish that his sons should divide the empire amongst them; the eldest, Moazzim, taking the northern, and Azim the southern districts; whilst the youngest, Cambakhsh, was to have the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapoor. This appears to have been his last act. He soon afterwards expired, amidst many pangs of remorse and great terror of the future, in the fiftieth year of his reign and the eighty-ninth of his life.

Thus departed one of the greatest and least happy of the Tartar monarchs who had ruled in the East. Possessing bodily and mental faculties inferior to none of his predecessors, and superior to most of them, he was yet singularly unfortunate in his own personal career, not less than in his rule over his many subjects and his undertakings against foreign or tributary states. The hollow hypocrisy of his nature, and his narrow-minded policy, did far more to estrange the hearts of his friends and a great portion of his subjects than any acts of open cruelty or decided oppression.⁵

It was during the reign of this monarch that the British East India Company's servants, by the determination with which on several occasions they attacked and defeated the Portuguese and other enemies of the empire, first laid the foundation of their political power, which at no very distant date was destined to spread, and at length overshadow the Tartar dynasty.

³ Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i. p. 409.

⁴ Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 549.

⁵ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 552.

Confined within the limits of the old native towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Surat, with the island of Bombay, the English traders acting for the East India Company had scarcely attracted the attention of any eastern government. The embassies which had been at various times despatched from Britain to the Court of Delhi had been received with marks of favour bordering upon patronage, and there appeared no jealousy on the part of any of the sovereigns with regard to the unostentatious establishments of these European factors.

British influence in the East had far more to fear from the power and jealousy of the Dutch, who had not long succeeded in wresting from the Portuguese a great part of their possessions and trade in the eastern seas, and who seemed determined, if possible, to close the commerce of India against their British competitors. Nor were these the only obstacles to the progress and prosperity of the company. Internal mismanagement, and incompetency and tyranny on the part of one or two of the governors of their settlements, tended to prostrate the energies of those who served them faithfully, and at one time jeopardised the very existence of the association.

The rash conduct of Sir John Child, governor of Bombay, brought against that small settlement the arms of Aurungzebe, who would unquestionably have reduced the place, but for the timely death of the incompetent commander, upon which the emperor agreed to a treaty on very moderate terms.

At the period of which we are now detailing the events (A.D. 1707), a new chartered company was established in London for the purpose of trading to the East, and before long the two had merged in one body, much to the advantage of both. The Court of Directors became better constituted as a governing body, their powers were more clearly defined, and new vigour and life seemed infused into all branches of their service, which before long bore fruitful results in the operations carried on with the distant settlements.

But to return to the affairs of the empire. The injunctions of Aurungzebe regarding the succession were altogether unheeded by his sons. Whilst Moazzim was proclaimed emperor of all India at Cabul, under the title of Bahadur Shah, his brother Azim took the same step at Agra, whither he returned so soon as he received tidings of his father's death. Both of these made preparations to assert their claims to the throne by force of arms. A battle was the consequence, in which Azim and his two sons fell, leaving Bahadur Shah in possession of the field and the crown.

Prince Cambakhsh, the youngest of the two brothers, being indis-

posed to admit the claims of the new emperor, was attacked near Hyderabad, his army utterly routed, and himself mortally wounded. This event left Bahadur without a rival, and he at once gave his attention to the troubles of the Deccan, where the succession to the command of the Mahrattas was being disputed by the nephew and the guardians of the infant son of the late rajah. These disputes were shortly afterwards arranged, as were also the imperial differences with the Rajpoots, who now gladly accepted the overtures of the sovereign.

Bahadur Shah was well disposed to conclude these matters, as the Seikhs were giving his governors in the north more occupation than they could well undertake; and he accordingly marched to the Punjab, resolved to put down the rebellious outbreak with a strong and determined hand. He was not long in forcing these rude warriors within their own territories, and eventually succeeded in capturing their strongest forts, and scattering their forces with considerable loss.

Returning to Lahore after this undertaking, Bahadur Shah died after a short illness, in the seventy-first year of his age, having reigned five years.

No sooner had the emperor breathed his last, than his four sons strove for the mastery. Battles were fought, negotiations were set on foot, and every artifice and effort employed to strengthen the cause of the various claimants; but in the end Jehandar Shah, the eldest, succeeded in defeating his brothers, and for the time securing possession of the throne.

The contemptible character of this monarch (A.D. 1712) soon estranged the affections of the nobility and the people from him; and there is every reason to believe that open revolt would have been the result, but for an event which at that moment took place. This was the appearance of a rival candidate for the crown, in the person of Farokhsir, the emperor's nephew, who assembled an army at Allahabad, repelled one or two detachments sent against him, and finally routed the troops of Jehandar near Agra so completely, that the monarch was forced to fly to Delhi in disguise. He was there seized by his late vizier, and delivered up to Farokhsir, who, in putting the fallen sovereign to death, meted the same end to his traitorous minister.

The empire had gained but little by the change of sovereigns. Farokhsir was not less contemptible than his predecessor, though with the additional vices of cruelty and jealousy. He intrigued to secure the death of Hosen Ali, one of his most able and active supporters, whom he had found himself compelled against his will to make commander-in-chief of his forces. The plot failed, and the intended victim

of his master's jealousy proceeded on his expedition against the Mahrattas in the Deccan.

The reputation of this general suffered in the campaigns which ensued. The Mahrattas followed up their old tactics with so much perseverance, as in the end to baffle the utmost endeavours of Hosen Ali to bring them to a decisive engagement, and he was eventually glad to compromise matters by several concessions, which, however, Farokhsir refused to ratify.

This led to a misunderstanding between the monarch and his general, and subsequently to a difference with the vizier, the brother of the latter. Farokhsir, with all the desire, but none of the determination needed to rid himself of these powerful and able men, began to plot against them, though in such an unskilful and undecided manner as served but to expose his own imbecility and fears, and at the same time thoroughly to disgust and alienate those who would have seconded his views.⁶

The immediate result of these weak and futile attempts on the part of the emperor was the march of Hosen Ali to the capital at the head of an army devoted to his service. After some treating with the weak-minded sovereign, and a rising of the inhabitants of the city against Hosen's followers, the brothers formally took possession of the citadel, seized the person of the emperor, and quietly put him to death after an inglorious reign of six years.

Upon the deposition of Farokhsir, two young princes of the royal family were successively elevated to the throne, each of them living but a few months. Subsequently the vizier and his brother raised to the imperial dignity another prince named Roushu Akhter, who was declared emperor under the title of Mohammed Shah.

From the commencement of this reign (A.D. 1719) there were not wanting unmistakeable signs of the approaching decline and fall of the Tartar dynasty in India. The overbearing conduct of the vizier and his brother, coupled with the disgust created by the knowledge of the means by which Farokhsir had met his death, tended to estrange the minds of the people from the ruling powers, who, besides, gave evidence of their own weakness by continued disagreements.⁷

Insurrections took place at Allahabad, and other large cities, as well as in the southern division of the Punjab, which occupied the imperial forces for some time.

It was during the rule of this monarch that an embassy was despatched from Calcutta to the court at Delhi, by the company's servants,

⁶ Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 581.

⁷ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 584.

with the view of obtaining some further grants of territory and greater privileges than they then enjoyed. The emperor received the British officials with some show of favour; but through the secret influence of his vizier, who was also governor of Bengal, and extremely jealous of the European settlers, matters appeared for some time likely to result far from satisfactorily to the embassy. Fortunately for the English, the emperor was seized with a dangerous illness, which baffled the skill of the royal physicians, and in the hour of need recourse was had to the aid of the medical officer attached to the embassy, who succeeded in restoring his imperial patient to health in a short period. This led to a concession of all the demands of the British, who returned to Calcutta well satisfied with the results of their journey to Delhi.

Amongst other turbulent proceedings which agitated the empire, was the conduct of Asof Jah, governor of Malwa, who, under various pretences, managed to raise a considerable body of troops, at the head of which he marched towards the Deccan, and encountering detachments of the royal army, routed them, and established himself, by the co-operation of the Mahrattas, in possession of a large tract of that country.

To oppose this formidable chief, Hosen Ali marched towards the south, taking care that the emperor accompanied him, in order to prevent plots during his absence. Mohammed, disgusted with the state of servitude in which he lived under the rule of the brothers, and eager to be rid of them, fell into a plan for the assassination of Hosen, which took place not far from the royal tent. This led to the revolt of Abdallah, the vizier, who was, however, soon afterwards defeated and made prisoner, surviving his reverses but a short time.

These occurrences were followed by the appointment of Asof Jah to the viziership. This austere and ambitious man, however willing he may have been to aid in the government of the empire, was soon disgusted with the frivolous life of Mohammed and the little regard paid to himself. At the end of the first year of his tenure of office he threw up the viziership and withdrew to the Deccan, where it at once became apparent that his design was to render himself independent of the imperial authority.

Establishing himself at Hyderabad (A.D. 1723), Asof took immediate steps to secure the possession of the states around him, and at the same time to turn the Mahratta power to his own advantage by directing against the empire the arms of that restless people. Saho was at this time the dominant rajah of the tribe; whilst another claimant, Samba, held himself prepared for any opportunity which might offer of asserting his rights, real or pretended. By playing one of these against the

other, Asof contrived to strengthen his own hands, and at last induced Saho to agree to a treaty, by which he undertook to invade the imperial territories.

At this period (A.D. 1731) we first hear mentioned the names of Holkar and Sindia, afterwards so famous in eastern history. The ancestors of these noted chiefs were, at the time of which we are now treating, the former a shepherd on the Nira, south of Poonah, the latter, though of a good family near Sattara, in such reduced circumstances as to be serving as the domestic of a Mahratta general.

The events of the succeeding half dozen years (A.D. 1737) may be comprised in a few sentences, no occurrences being of sufficient importance to deserve separate notice. On all sides the Mahrattas continued to make encroachments, adding to their territories as occasion offered, seldom with any real opposition, never with any that was effectual. The empire was yearly becoming weaker, and required but some sudden or violent shock to cause its total dismemberment.

Meanwhile the possessions and influence of the European settlers throughout India had been gradually extending. The French had appeared on the scene, and their naval force, under the command of the brave Labourdonnais, acted so effectually against the fleet of the British, as for a time to cripple most seriously the operations of the latter. Peace being restored between the two nations, they still continued their operations against various native states on one pretext or the other. The governor of Madras took up the cause of a deposed rajah of Tanjore, and marched a body of troops into those territories to assert his rights, without, however, carrying out any real or permanent object. It was during these operations that the since renowned Clive, then a young lieutenant, took the field for the first time, and in his earliest action gave evidence of that cool valour and sound judgment which before long earned for him a world-wide reputation.

The troubles of the Deccan (A.D. 1739) and the frivolities of his own court had so occupied the attention of the emperor that no heed had been given to the movement of the ambitious monarch of Persia, Nadir Shah, who having left his kingdom at the head of a brave and well-disciplined army, conquered a great part of the Afghan territories, and was already turning his attention to India, where he well knew a sure victory and rich booty awaited him. He did not wait long for the pretext necessary to give a shadow of justification for crossing the Indus, which he did at the close of the year 1738. Mohammed Shah, roused by this intelligence, collected a force but ill calculated to oppose the veteran army of the invader, though aided by the questionable

presence of the Nizam of the Deccan. Early in the following year a battle was fought at Carnal, which resulted in the defeat of the imperial army and the submission of Mohammed Shah. The emperor was treated with great consideration, and permitted to reside unguarded in his own quarters. The two monarchs afterwards proceeded in company to Delhi, where they resided under the same roof.⁸

The stay of the Persian monarch at the Indian capital, though brief, was marked by rapacity and bloodshed. A tumult having arisen in the city, the pretext was afforded the Persian troops of an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants, which lasted for a whole day, the loss of life during which time has been variously estimated at from 30,000 to 150,000.

This was followed by a general plunder of the city, from the royal treasury down to the most humble dwelling, when an incredible amount of coin and jewelry of various sorts appears to have been brought together and appropriated by the Persian king as payment for the cost of this most unwelcome visit.

The value of the gold and silver coin thus carried away is said to have been nine millions sterling,⁹ whilst the gold and silver plate and jewels amounted to quite as much more. Besides a great number of the finest horses, elephants, and camels, Nadir Shah carried with him several hundreds of the most skilful artisans and workers in the precious metals.

Nadir Shah at length took his departure from the capital of India, after a sojourn of fifty-three days, the memory of which outlived the perpetrators of the atrocities committed therein. Before quitting Delhi, the king of Persia seated Mohammed upon his throne, and with his own hands placed the diadem upon the brow of the re-instated emperor, at the same time enjoining the strictest obedience to him from the nobles and chiefs assembled about them to witness and partake in the ceremony.

Freed from the dreaded presence of these powerful invaders, the emperor had full opportunity to observe and deplore, without the power of remedying, the misery which threatened him. With scarcely the shadow of an army, an exhausted treasury, a devastated country, cities in ruins, and surrounded by many and designing enemies, the prospect for the future was indeed dispiriting.

The nabobship of the Carnatic being at this time (A.D. 1740) the subject of contention between two rival candidates, the aid of the Mahratta army was called in by one, which very shortly settled the

⁸ Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 627.

⁹ Scott, vol. ii. p. 212.

question for the moment, and resulted in the imprisonment of the defeated candidate. This interference was looked upon with a jealous eye by Asof, or, as he was then more generally styled, the Nizam al Moolk, who finally used his influence to bestow the rank of nabob of the Carnatic upon one of his own connection. The French commandant of Pondicherry, anxious to obtain a footing with some of the native chiefs, used his interest and some money to obtain the liberation of Chanda Sahib, the deposed nabob, who no sooner found himself at liberty than he commenced raising troops and sacking such towns and forts as he found unprotected.

From this date to the year 1748 the troubles in the state of Arcot continued to occupy the attention of the nizam, who died at that period, at the great age of one hundred years. This event, as was almost always the case in eastern governments, led to contentions in the family as to his successor, in which both the English and French took an interest, according as their own advantage might be best served.

From the time of the departure of Nadir Shah from Delhi but few events had occurred within the then prostrate empire. The sole exception to this quiescent state of things were the rise of the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe inhabiting a mountain tract near Oude, and an invasion of India by an Afghan chief, Ahmed Shah Durani. The former was put down by the emperor in person; the latter was repelled by the imperial forces at Sirhind under Prince Ahmed, though not without a severe contest.

Immediately after this battle, the prince was called off to Delhi, by intelligence of his father's dangerous illness, which ended fatally a month later. Mohammed Shah had reigned twenty-nine years. There was no opposition raised to the succession of his son, who was accordingly proclaimed emperor under the title of Ahmed Shah.

One of the new monarch's earliest efforts was directed against the Rohillas, who still continued to be troublesome neighbours. The vizier, Safder Jang, was sent against them, but was repulsed; and finally, driven to extremity, was forced to the humiliating expedient of seeking the aid of the two Mahratta chiefs, Holkar and Sindia. With the aid of these useful auxiliaries, the vizier obtained a decisive advantage over the Rohillas, and succeeded in driving them from their strongholds to the foot of the Himalayas, when they were glad to sue for peace on any terms.¹⁰

A more formidable enemy appeared next in the person of the Afghan king, who once more marched into the Punjab, seized upon

¹⁰ Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 660.

Lahore and other principal cities, and finished by demanding that the emperor should regularly cede to him the possession of the entire country. Too weak to refuse, and fearing another invasion of India, Ahmed Shah at once consented to the terms proposed, and was only too glad to buy off on such terms an enemy of this formidable character.

Dissensions at the court followed closely upon these external troubles. The assassination of a favourite eunuch of the emperor by his vizier led to an open rupture, and eventually to the expulsion of the offending minister. His successor, however, proved not more acceptable to the monarch, who commenced plotting against his life; and upon the discovery of these intrigues open war was declared between the emperor and his subject. The latter proved victorious; and obtaining possession of the monarch's person, he caused his eyes to be put out, and a young prince of the same family to be proclaimed in his stead as Alamghir II.

The new emperor evinced (A.D. 1754) as little cordiality towards the vizier, Ghazi-udin, who had placed him on the throne, as had his predecessor. It was evident that the minister intended to rule with an iron hand, whilst his royal master should look on and sanction his acts. The rigorous severity of his government soon caused an open mutiny, which had nearly cost him his life. Nor was this the sole result of his conduct. Having treacherously seized on Lahore and other cities in the Punjab, contrary to the treaty lately entered into with Ahmed Shah of Afghanistan, that king again crossed the Indus, marched to Delhi, and meeting this time with no opposition, took possession of the capital, and abandoned it to slaughter and plunder.

Having no intention of retaining possession of Delhi, the Afghan king contented himself with securing such treasures as had escaped Nadir Shah, and then retreated across the Indus; having meanwhile left a Robilla chief in command of the capital, as a check upon the tyrannical power of Ghazi-udin over the emperor. The ambitious minister once more had recourse to his old friends the Mahrattas, to second his efforts at supremacy. By the aid of that power, he eventually succeeded in wresting the Punjab from the hands of the Afghan monarch, took forcible possession of Delhi, and having made the unfortunate and helpless Alamghir prisoner, put him to death.

Shah Alum, the heir to the throne, owed his safety at this moment to his absence from the capital. Ahmed Shah Durani of Afghanistan was not long in taking revenge for the occupation of the Punjab. He prepared a formidable body of troops for a further invasion of the empire, crossed the Indus at a time when armies seldom take the field,

and marching southwards, encountered the Mahratta forces in the plains of Paniput, near the Jumna, under Sedasheo Bhao. The forces of the latter comprised about 100,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, many of whom were sepoys, besides a large park of artillery and a liberal supply of rockets. The Durani brought against this army about 50,000 horse, composed of Persians and Afghans, with 30,000 infantry, partly of Rohillas and partly Indian soldiers, but ill trained.¹¹

After facing each other for some time, during which the Mahrattas suffered much from want of supplies, an engagement took place, when, after a terrible slaughter on both sides, the Durani's army was victorious. The survivors of the Mahrattas fled from the field, but were so hotly pursued that but very few of them escaped to tell the tale of their disasters. The power of this people was so effectually broken by this battle, in which most of their chiefs fell, that many years elapsed before they were in a position to exercise any influence in Indian affairs.

The invading army having thus effectually broken up the last remnants of the empire, retired beyond the Indus, and appeared no more on the eastern side of that river.

The history of the Tartar dynasty may now be said to have closed, as the remaining events which occurred in the various provinces and states of India comprising that once powerful empire belong so entirely to the history of the British power in the East, as to render it necessary to link them together. The fugitive Shah Alum subsequently obtained possession of the capital of his ancestors; but being without the power to retain it, he fell into the hands of a Rohilla chief, who deprived him of sight, and afterwards gave him into the power of Sindia, one of the Mahratta chiefs, who retained him in close confinement at Delhi until that city was taken by the British forces in 1803. Shah Alum and his son, Akbar Shah, both died pensioners on the bounty of the East India Company; and with the last of these princes ended the race of the Tartar monarchs of India.

¹¹ Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. ii. p. 152.

THE EUROPEAN PERIOD.



CHAPTER I.

EARLY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN WORLD,
WITH SUBSEQUENT EUROPEAN PROGRESS, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
BRITISH SUPREMACY IN INDIA.

THE earliest records which we possess of commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of India and those of countries to the west of Arabia relate to the Jewish kingdom (B.C. 1014). History informs us that Solomon drew large and frequent supplies of spices and cotton goods from the southern and eastern parts of Asia, and even in his time the Phœnicians were said to have been long in possession of the bulk of the Indian trade, which was chiefly carried on by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. An overland communication appears to have existed through Persia and Arabia ; but with this double intercourse, the western nations remained in deepest ignorance of the country and the people that lay towards the rising sun.

All that Europe knew of India prior to the expedition of the Macedonian monarch was through its gold, its pearls, its spices, and its rich cloths. But the length of time occupied in the voyage, the circuitous route by which these goods were conveyed, and the many hands through which they passed, rendered it highly improbable that any but the most wild and fanciful pictures of the East ever reached those who consumed the products brought from those distant lands.

It was reserved for Alexander the Great (B.C. 331) to achieve, amongst other things, the opening of this hidden region, although he himself visited but its confines on the west. Unlike the progress of those northern conquerors who came after him, carrying fire and sword and scattering death and ruin about their footsteps, the Macedonian carried with him the softening influence of civilisation. Of the knowledge of

India, which flowed westward consequent upon the invasion of Alexander, we have already treated at the conclusion of our first historical section.

The early death of the conqueror destroyed any plans he may have formed for opening up a trade with, or settling an empire in Hindostan ; and for nearly three centuries the commerce between the eastern and western worlds was conducted by the Egyptian and Arab merchants, by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean ; the ports being then Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria.

There were, however, two other routes by which a small portion of the traffic with the East was carried on. One of these lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities ; a desert and difficult route, but one of great antiquity. The only halting-place on this dreary road was the famed city of Tadmor, or Palmyra, so called from the abundance of palm-trees which flourished around its walls. This regal city owed its prosperity to the commerce which passed through it, and which, in the course of time, raised the state to a degree of importance and power that exposed it to the jealousy of imperial Rome. A war ensued, in which its brave and noble-minded queen, Zenobia, was captured, her city destroyed, and with it the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the days of Abraham.

The second route was by way of the Indus upwards, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Cush, and so on to the river Oseus and the Caspian Sea, whence the merchandise was conveyed by other land and water conveyance to the cities of the north and north-west. Even in the present day we find this a route of some importance, serving as the means of carrying on a trade between India, Persia, and Russia, which is of more real value to the latter country than is perhaps generally known in Europe. The richest silks, the finest muslins, the most costly shawls, the rarest drugs and spices, are bought up by Russian dealers and transported by this tedious route to the cities of the great Czar.

With the Palmyra route the carrying-trade of Egypt with the East suffered equally from the ravages and conquests of the Roman emperors, though not so permanently. We read that during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, one of the kings of Ceylon, then famed for its spices and pearls, despatched an ambassador to the Roman court, loaded with many costly gifts. At a later period still the Chinese were visited by an emissary from the great ruler of the western world.

With the decline of the Roman empire the trade with India rallied, and gathered something of its olden strength. The two events, however, which most sensibly contributed to the re-opening of this com-

merce, were the removal of the seat of imperial government from Rome to Constantinople, and at a later period the invasions of the Saracens.

Not less enterprising than brave, the Saracenic conquerors of the East were active in forming commercial depôts, and opening a trade wherever nature favoured their designs. By them the city of Bussorah was built on a spot peculiarly adapted for navigation, and before long the Euphrates and the Tigris swarmed with the mercantile marine of this new and energetic race. The genius, however, of the Saracens was not such as to fit them to become civilisers and traders. They possessed too much of the military fire of conquerors to sit down and open out the many commercial advantages which lay before them : it sufficed them to have shewn the path.

The Turkish rulers of Syria, who followed upon the ruins of the Saracenic dynasty, cared as little for the great prize of eastern commerce as had their predecessors, and were content that Constantinople should be the centre of the traffic which they allowed quietly to pass into the hands of the Genoese.

This was but a moiety of the eastern trade. The Arabs, as hardy and venturesome at sea as on land, had resuscitated the traffic through Egypt ; and by dint of many explorations along the coasts, they boldly sailed from the ports on the Red Sea, through the Straits of Babel-mandel, and stretching eastwards, reached in due time the coasts of Malabar. It is believed that we owe the introduction of the mariner's compass from the East into Europe to these enterprising navigators. This portion of the commerce of India passed into the hands of the Venetians in Egypt, and rapidly raised their republic to an importance and power which has seldom been equalled by any other modern state of similar extent.

Such was the position of oriental commerce, when an event occurred which led to mighty results, and changed the whole course of affairs. Christopher Columbus, in searching for the East, found a new world in the West ; and at no great distance of time, Bartholomew Diaz (A.D. 1486) stumbled upon a road to the East round the "Cape of Storms," so called by him in token of the disastrous weather he there experienced.

The Portuguese monarch, in whose service Diaz had sailed, was naturally elated at the importance of this discovery ; for it was easy to see, that by means of this new passage to India the trade carried on by the Italians, at a great hazard and cost, would rapidly fall into the hands of their western neighbours.

Maritime affairs were in those days (A.D. 1498) carried on in a very different fashion to the business of present times ; and, anxious as the court of Lisbon was to profit by the fortunate discovery, it was not until eleven years afterwards that a large and well-appointed fleet sailed for India under the command of Vasco de Gama. The Cape of Good Hope, as it was now re-christened, was safely doubled ; and at the end of the tenth month from their departure, the ships composing this first Portuguese fleet of India anchored in the roads of Calicut on the Malabar coast. A valuable cargo of the precious things of the East recompensed the enterprising navigators for all their toils and dangers ; and the king of Portugal had the proud satisfaction of witnessing the spoils of Indian commerce piled at his feet ; whilst the merchants of Italy and Egypt looked on in undisguised alarm. It was soon demonstrated that the monopoly of the eastern seas was at an end. It was in vain that Venetian merchants leagued with Egyptian Mamelukes to fit out a powerful squadron, and endeavour to annihilate the fleets of the Portuguese. The latter proved more than a match for their assailants, and remained masters of the Indian waters. Soon after this the power of the Venetian state became crippled, and at last annihilated, so that the merchants of that country ceased to hold any influence amongst other powers. Egypt too passed into new hands ; and although the Turkish successors of the Mameluke rulers would gladly have weakened the power of the Portuguese, they lacked the skill and enterprise to do any mischief in that direction.

The merchants of Lisbon had, however, other opponents to encounter—opponents possessing both daring and skill. The Moorish traders—half merchants, half buccaneers—had to this period held possession of the Indian seas without opposition ; and long habitude had impressed them with the feeling that in them rested the sole right to navigate and traffic on the waters of the East. It was not to be expected that these people would quietly see any interlopers trenching on their vested interests ; nor was it long before the subjects of King Emmanuel found this to their cost.

The Portuguese monarch was not ignorant of the opposition which his attempt to open a trade with the natives of India would meet with from the Moors. Every care was taken to render the armaments which followed the first expedition as strong and efficient as was possible. A fleet of thirteen sail of all sizes, well manned, and carrying out upwards of a thousand soldiers, was despatched from Lisbon, for the purpose of extending the commercial operations already so favourably commenced by Vasco de Gama, but under command of another officer, one Pedro Al-

varez de Cabral. This commander had orders to open commercial negotiations with the Zamorin of Calicut, with the view of obtaining permission to form a settlement for trading purposes within his territories.

It was during this voyage to India that Cabral accidentally discovered the Brazils, having been driven near the South American coast by stress of weather. Arrived at Calicut, the Portuguese commander found little difficulty in persuading the prince of the country to accede to such proposals as he made. A treaty of commerce was entered into, and the new-comers very shortly found themselves established within the boundary of the city.

The Moors, from their long intercourse with the natives of India, had naturally great influence with the Zamorin, who may have looked upon the Portuguese with eyes not more favourable than the former. They contrived in a very short time to work upon the fears and jealousy of this prince to such an extent, as to induce him, with their co-operation, to attack the European factory, and kill the whole of the residents therein.

Cabral was not slow to avenge this cruel treachery. Bringing his entire force to bear upon the city, he found little difficulty in burning or sinking the greater part of the Moorish vessels at anchor under its walls, and reducing the place to a heap of ruins. The Zamorin, upon this, was glad to purchase safety at the expense of several new concessions to the victors ; and a treaty far more favourable to the latter was concluded upon the spot.

This decisive blow at the power of the ruler of Calicut was shortly afterwards productive of the best results to the Portuguese. Impressed with the courage and success of the new-comers, many of the petty sovereigns of the adjacent states sought their friendship, entered into amicable treaties with Cabral on behalf of his sovereign, and allowed factories to be established at various points where the localities presented favourable opportunities for opening a trading intercourse with the interior of the country.

Having so far established the supremacy of the Portuguese flag upon the Malabar coast, Cabral prepared to return to Europe with a fleet freighted with the rare and costly products of the East, and not a little experience of oriental affairs, at that time shrouded in the greatest mystery.

Arrived at Lisbon, this successful commander was received with the utmost favour and distinction by his royal master, upon whom the precious freightage of the ships, and the boundless prospect for the future, made no slight impression. The wealth of India brought thus, as it

were, to the very threshold of Europe, was well calculated to arouse the energies of a nation, at that period deeply imbued with a chivalric spirit of enterprise and discovery. The rich display of spices, silks, precious stones, and gums, were but types of the boundless mines of wealth to be opened in that far-off land of rich promise. The envied power and riches of the merchant-princes of Venice might now be their own destiny. The East lay, as it were, prostrate at their feet ; and it required but an outstretched hand to seize the willing prize.

The king, Emmanuel, was not tardy in turning the information brought by Cabral, as well as the enthusiasm created in the minds of the people, to full account. A fleet of twenty sail, all good ships and royally found, was immediately equipped, and the command of the armament given to Vasco de Gama, who, from his former experiences, was well fitted for this distinction. The monarch had no reason to regret the selection he had made. De Gama rapidly placed matters on a sounder and more thriving footing than they had hitherto been, by cultivating the friendly acquaintance of all those native princes who appeared willing and able to further his views. With the Zamorin of Calicut he was less careful to keep up an intercourse, being thoroughly convinced of the duplicity of his character, and of his prejudice against Europeans. This slighting of his importance led the prince to take aggressive steps : he despatched his fleet to attack the ships of De Gama ; but although they were far superior in number, it was in vain to contend against the superior skill and courage of the Portuguese ; and the result was, that the Zamorin was compelled to see his adversaries successful in all their undertakings.

Shortly afterwards the Portuguese commander, having fulfilled his mission in the East, took his departure for Europe, leaving a small fleet, and sufficient forces to protect their factories, under the direction of one Loche. This officer, however, proved unequal to the task ; and instead of guarding the trading settlements and the territories of such native princes as had favoured his countrymen, and thus excited the enmity of the powerful ruler of Calicut, he proceeded in various directions in quest of adventure and riches. The immediate result of this conduct was the attack and capture of Cochin, a friendly state, by the Zamorin. The return of the fleet to the Malabar coast, the death of the unqualified commander, and the final appointment of Albuquerque to the post of captain-general of the Portuguese forces in India, were the means of restoring matters to their original footing. The king of Cochin, with the aid of his European allies, defeated the numerous troops of the Zamorin, and recovered from that chief possession of his city.

It was fortunate for the Portuguese that they possessed such an able commander as Albuquerque; for all that valour, judgment, and decision could effect, was needed to preserve their power and influence among the native states. The promulgation of a papal bull, couched in the arrogant and dictatorial tone peculiar to those insolent documents, and assigning to the king of Portugal the possession and sovereignty of the whole of India, so far from serving the cause of the interlopers, tended to jeopardise their very existence in that part of the globe. It was found an exceedingly difficult task to persuade the benighted denizens of the eastern world, that any Christian dignitary, however exalted his earthly station might be, possessed any right to bestow their territories, their possessions, and themselves upon any band of adventurers who chose to set up a claim to such lavish gifts.

The attempts made under cloak of this Catholic document brought down upon the heads of the Portuguese the enmity and hostility of every race they came in contact with; and before long they found themselves in the unpleasant predicament of carrying on their barter at the cannon's mouth. Their factors were compelled to go about armed to the teeth; every bale of goods was bought at the cost of blood; each entry in their books was made under the protection of drawn swords.

The indomitable energy and perseverance, no less than the prudence and foresight of Albuquerque saved the Portuguese from the imminent danger which at this period (A.D. 1511) threatened their possessions in the East. A series of bold enterprises, crowned in every case with undoubted success, served to reinstate their name and reputation upon the old footing; and before two years had passed, this excellent commander had the satisfaction of beholding the neighbouring rajahs and princes eager to ally themselves and open trading treaties with him. Goa was taken possession of, and strongly fortified. The island of Malacca was conquered and garrisoned; and, in short, at every point along the eastern and western coasts of the Indian peninsula, where there appeared an opportunity for commercial intercourse, there Albuquerque planted the flag of his sovereign and built a factory. Not content with his conquests in India, the Portuguese commander opened communications with China, and freighted several ships for that remote country.

By a series of wise and liberal enactments, he gave such encouragement to trade and navigation, that soon his ports were crowded with vessels of merchants from every eastern state, anxious to transact business where they could do so in the greatest security and to the most advantage.

Having thus fairly established the Portuguese empire in India, Albuquerque might have extended his influence still farther, had he not been cut off by death in the height of his successes, after a brilliant rule of five years. His loss was felt not less keenly by the natives of India than by his countrymen; far and wide the influence of his name had been felt for good, and wherever it was known, regret, deep and universal, was expressed for the death of one so good and talented.

His successor, Soarez, was opposed to him in nature and reputation; and in proportion as his conduct departed from that steady and unflinching course pursued by Albuquerque, so did the prosperity of the Portuguese settlements suffer in their transactions with the native dealers. Self-interest was the dominant feeling with the new commander; and as his example was not long in being followed by those under his authority, it became a struggle amongst the whole body of military to enrich themselves as rapidly as possible, without regard to the public service, or the means used to attain their ends. Corruption and oppression ruled rampant at all the stations; justice was forgotten amidst the general scramble for wealth; and it soon became evident, that before very long the position of Portuguese affairs in India would be in no better condition than they were previous to the government of Albuquerque.

Fortunately for their reputation, the authorities at Lisbon gathered tidings of the existing state of things in the East, and recalled Soarez whilst there was still something to be saved; although the successor appointed, Sequera, did nothing to retrieve the confusion into which matters had fallen. The power of the Portuguese was at that period at an extremely low ebb; and there is little doubt but that, had the native princes made any combined and well-directed attack upon them, they could hardly have helped proving completely successful. As it was, however, the old-established reputation of the Portuguese arms served to keep them safe at that time from any plots.

At length a change was wrought in the councils of the court at Lisbon by the decease of King Emmanuel. The veteran Vasco de Gama, under the title of Count di Vidigueyra, was appointed to the sole command, as captain-general of the Indian empire, and sailed once more for the scene of his former exploits at the head of a well-appointed civil and military staff. Unfortunately the old commander lived but three months after his arrival in India; yet in that brief space of time he managed, by dint of activity and boldness, to correct many of the

abuses existing, and to put down the swarms of pirates and robbers who infested both sea and land, equally with the numerous speculators in high places.

His death was followed by a long series of disgraceful struggles amongst the Portuguese leaders for the supreme command ; and when at length a superior officer was sent out from Lisbon to assume the chief authority, it was not without difficulty that he asserted his office, and dispatched one of the principal misdoers under arrest to Europe.

The good offices of Nunio were needed to endeavour to place Portuguese affairs upon a better footing. Yet it seemed a hopeless task, so widened had been the breach between the Europeans and the various rajahs. To add to his difficulties, he involved himself in a war with the emperor of Delhi, taking up the cause of the sultan of Gujerat. Subsequently, the emperor having been worsted, the sultan and his allies came to an open rupture, and war was declared, which led to a protracted struggle between the two powers, and gave occasion to the emperor to avenge his defeat by sending reinforcements to aid his countrymen against the Europeans. The valour and discipline of the Portuguese troops proved in the end too much for the hordes of rude soldiers brought against them ; and thus the danger was averted, and at the same time the singular bravery and skill displayed by the garrisons of the factories so influenced the feelings of the many petty rulers in the vicinity, that those who had before been ready to declare against the Portuguese, and waited for the moment to do so, now professed the most devoted attachment to them, and sought their friendship by every means.

Stephen de Gama, the son of the veteran of that name, although in every way qualified for the important post, was not permitted to hold the reins of government in the East long enough to effect any beneficial improvements ; whilst the notorious conduct of his successor, De Souza, went far, by cruelty, oppression, and religious persecutions, to ruin the Portuguese character and influence in that part of the world. So infamous was the conduct of this sanguinary and haughty man, that the sultan of Gujerat once more declared war upon the oppressors of India ; and with the assistance of numerous reinforcements from the court of Delhi, he laid close siege to a fortified town, and pressed it so severely, that it must have fallen into his hands but for the timely arrival from Lisbon of De Souza's successor, De Castro, a man of very different stamp, who relieved the garrison of the besieged city, defeated the besieging army with great slaughter, and finally carried the war

so vigorously and successfully into the heart of the enemy's country, as to induce the sovereigns of the Deccan and Gujerat gladly to sue for peace on terms proposed by himself.

The successful general followed up these exploits by a course of wise and conciliatory measures, calculated to remove the evil impression left by his several predecessors. In this he finally succeeded: enemies were made friendly; peaceful trade took the place of warfare and persecution; religious toleration was the order of the day; and before a year had elapsed, prosperity once more smiled upon the Portuguese settlements. Their ports were crowded with shipping; their factories teemed with produce and merchandise; and on all sides were heard the busy sounds of industry. At no period of their Indian history could it be said that the Portuguese had attained any greater degree of prosperity than they enjoyed under the wise administration of De Castro.

The establishment of Jesuit institutions in the East by the monk Francis Xavier must not be omitted, as it forms an important epoch in the history of those colonies, and at no distant date exerted a sensible influence upon the course of events. Of limited capacity in ecclesiastical matters, he compensated for religious deficiencies by energy and untiring zeal; and not particularly exacting in the degree of sincerity of his followers, contrived, in an incredibly short space of time, to convert vast numbers of heathens to a nominal Christianity. The new faith, in his skilful and enterprising hands, assumed a degree of elasticity and pliability which moulded it to the temperament of any of the Hindoo or Moslem races; and as Xavier looked more to the number than the faith of his disciples, he was met on all sides with open arms.

To the zeal of a religious apostle he added the enterprise of a politician, and carefully played into the hands of the civil government; not making himself a party to any of the corrupt malpractices of those times, but rather setting himself in opposition to the misdoers. At the death of De Castro, however, the old leaven of corruption, which had during his rule lain dormant amongst the civil and military servants of the Indo-Portuguese government, shewed itself in undisguised colours. It was in vain that the Jesuit exerted his strongest influence to avert the evil effects of this state of things; equally useless was it to represent the misconduct of the officials to the court at Lisbon. The evil-doers had powerful friends at home; and at that distance, with the then tardy and uncertain means of communication between remote parts of the globe, it was not to be wondered at that justice was long

ere it found a response in the royal mind which then ruled the destinies of Portugal.

During the rule of the various governors who followed De Castro, little occurred worthy of record, save events which shock humanity, and cause us to blush for the deeds committed under the cloak of *religion*. Jesuitism had, unfortunately for India, brought in its train the institution of that infernal machine of evil passions and fanatical bigotry, the Inquisition, the archetype of Roman Catholicism. This devilish engine was set to work at Goa, and made to do the bidding of priestly intolerance and lay enmities; and when, by the death of Don Sebastian, the crown of Portugal fell into the hands of Philip of Spain, the work of wickedness received a stimulus that wrought it up to the highest pitch of cruelty.

The enormity of the crimes perpetrated within those fearful walls, the terror which the name of a priest of Christ inspired in the breast of every Christian and heathen dweller in those devoted colonies, spread a sad and heavy gloom over the land that but a few short years previously had revelled in the sunshine of happy, peaceful industry. The records of these terrible times are far too sad to be long dwelt upon. It is enough to know that such things were, and leave the dark veil unlifted.

As evil has ever been known to work out good, so these persecutions and religious slaughters led in the end to favourable results. A cry for vengeance arose from the priestly shambles of the Inquisition. It went forth over that devoted land from shore to shore, and found an echo in many a heart,—sympathy in many a home. Insurrections, revolts, massacres, and burnings were to be met with far and near. Armed with another Papal bull, the Portuguese *Christians* deluged the country with blood; but in vain. Even the native converts joined the standard of the Hindoo and the Moslem, whose practice, if not their creed, was more merciful and tolerant than that of the civilised crusaders from the western world.

And now another people appeared on the bloody stage; a race of persevering, industrious merchants, who, by their cautious and humane policy, founded an empire in the East more durable, because more merciful, more kindly, than that of the intolerant Portuguese.

The Dutch (A.D. 1509) having gathered some information respecting the trade and possessions of the Portuguese in India, and lured by the prospect of a share of those costly spoils, fitted out a fleet of merchantmen under the direction of an East India Company, and despatched it laden with goods and merchandise for barter, and well

armed. The advent of this first armament from Holland was the dawn of salvation to India ; and from that time may be dated the decline and ruin of the Indo-Portuguese empire.

It was in vain that the governor of Goa, alarmed by the appearance of these formidable rivals on the eastern waters, endeavoured to excite the natives of India against the Dutch. He soon found that so far from the new-comers being regarded with fear or jealousy, they were looked upon with favourable eyes by the princes who ruled upon the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and that these people began to count upon the assistance of the Hollanders, as a foil to the oppressions of the Portuguese. Equally in vain was it to endeavour to repel the intruders by force of arms ; they would gladly have found a pretext for a quarrel, but the wary policy of the Dutch disappointed them in this, and the latter were, moreover, too well armed to be easily taken by surprise.

Following closely in the steps of these came the English, seeking their share of the wealth of these fabled regions. The fame of the Indian name, the marvellous tales told of the wonders and boundless riches of the land of the sun, had made their way across British waters, and found ready listeners amongst the merchants of London. Previous to this period the English had received the uncertain and ill-assorted shipments of Indian goods through the Venetians, who, enjoying a monopoly at that period, had imposed such terms on their traffic as seemed best to them. Subsequent negotiations with the sultan of Turkey had enabled the British to trade to greater advantage by sending their ships direct to the ports of that country, and purchasing such eastern goods as they required direct from those merchants, who imported them by the way of Persia. The opportunity, however, which was now presented, of being able to share in the lucrative commerce of India by a more direct and profitable means, was too tempting to be thrown away ; and incited by the news of the entire success of the Hollanders in obtaining a large share of the spice-trade of the East, at that time the most valuable traffic, and furthermore emboldened by the reports of several English travellers and adventurers who had visited various parts of India, and forwarded home copious results of their observations, it was at length determined upon to follow the example of the Dutch, and form an English East India Company.

It was in the year 1600 that a number of London merchants formed themselves into an association for trading purposes, with a capital of 369,891*l.* ; and applying to the sovereign (Queen Elizabeth) for a charter, they were finally incorporated under the de-

signation of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter of incorporation thus obtained named the first twenty-four directors, and the chairman, Thomas Smythe; but the power of nominating their successors was vested in the subscribers to the stock of the company, which was by shares of 50*l.* each. The following are the terms in which the powers of this new company were defined: "To traffic and use the trade of merchandise by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered, or hereafter to be discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, unto and from the East Indies, unto the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and unto and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, where any trade or traffic may be used; to or from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themselves should from time to time determine."

Amongst other stipulations inserted in this original document was a proviso, by the cautious Elizabeth, to the effect that if within the time allotted to the corporation by the charter it should in any way appear to her majesty that the privileges and immunities of the company worked detrimentally to the welfare of the trading or other portions of the community, then, by giving two years' notice, it would be lawful for the crown to cancel the entire deed of incorporation. On the other hand, if the course of events went to shew that the company carried on their operations in a right and public-spirited manner, then her majesty agreed to renew the said charter, and at the same time strengthen the powers and privileges of the company in many ways, as might appear unto her and her advisers most conducive to the general good.

The first English fleet which was dispatched to India (A.D. 1601) consisted of five ships, under the command of Captain Lancaster. These anchored in the roads of Achen in June of the following year; and one of the first acts of the commodore was to form a commercial treaty with the prince of the country. Having bartered some of the merchandise for such articles as the place furnished, Lancaster made sail for Java, to complete the homeward lading with spices, gums, silks, saltpetre, &c.; and finally, after arranging another treaty with the king of Bantam, he returned home well freighted with a valuable cargo.

This and similar successful voyages (A.D. 1605) by the fleets of the English company did not fail to arouse the jealousy of not only the

Portuguese but the Dutch, who had by this time established many factories and settlements along the Indian coasts, and upon some of the islands of the Eastern seas. Malacca was taken possession of by them ; and from that point they made several efforts to open a trading communication with other countries to the eastward. Although cordially detesting each other, the merchants of these two nations at once agreed upon a mutual course of action as regarded the new interlopers upon the Indian seas. They united to thwart and damage, by every means in their power, the traffic of the English ; and at length this secret opposition was flung aside, and exchanged for a more open hostility. Fleets were sent out to cut off the British merchantmen, by both the Portuguese and Dutch ; and so determined was the opposition, that it was eventually deemed necessary for the English East India Company to despatch much larger ships well armed with heavy cannon. The result of this decision was, that when next the Portuguese fleet made an attack upon the English vessels, which they did in the neighbourhood of Surat, they experienced a terrible defeat, amounting almost to annihilation. A second engagement led to precisely similar results ; and it then became evident to the native princes and sovereigns of India, no less than to the Portuguese and Dutch, that on the seas no power that could be brought to bear upon them was sufficient to master the English, and that in *their* hands must remain the dominion of the Indian waters.

The like desire which had in years past animated the petty and superior rulers of those countries to court a friendly alliance with the Portuguese, was now (A.D. 1632) manifested by them towards the British, whom they considered as perfectly invincible.

Advantage was taken of the favourable impression thus created, by despatching embassies from the British settlements to several of the native potentates, especially to the emperor of Delhi, by whom Sir Thomas Roe was most warmly received. By these means permission was gained for the formation of several new and important settlements, with factories for purposes of trade ; so that, indirectly, the very opposition of the Portuguese had proved the means of the advancement of their new rivals.

The rule of the Portuguese in India was now rapidly on the decline ; the Dutch were sensibly on the ascendant in many places where the former had ruled paramount ; and it became evident that in future the struggle, if there should continue to be any, would be between the Dutch and the English. Negotiations were entered upon in Europe with a view to prevent any further acts of hostility between the sub-

jects of two powers at amity with each other; but with little effect. The Dutch East India Company relied so confidently upon the strength of their position in the various trading countries of India, that they regarded any amicable arrangements as weak concessions on their part, and accordingly threw every obstacle in the way of an arrangement. The weakness and vanity of James I., and the troubles during the greater part of the reign of Charles, favoured the desired procrastination of the Dutch merchants, and left the English company to their own resources.

The active mind and energetic character of Cromwell (A.D. 1654) viewed matters in a far different light, and he at once perceived the importance of fully protecting our eastern commerce; and having in the war which he waged with Holland completely beaten that people where they had believed themselves the most powerful, he felt himself in a position to dictate his own terms in reference to Indian matters; accordingly, in April 1654, a formal treaty was concluded, in which the rights and privileges of the British East India Company were fully and honourably maintained.

From the weak and profligate Charles II. (A.D. 1669) little was to be expected; and the only advantage the British company derived during his reign was the cession to them of the island of Bombay, which had formed part of the dowry the monarch had received from Portugal on the occasion of his marriage with a princess of that country.

During the reign of James II. the Company might have strengthened their position with the utmost ease; for that prince, whatever were his other faults, did not possess that of inattention to the commercial interests of his subjects. He readily conceded them all the privileges they sought, and was prepared to forward their views in any manner that might have been desirable; but with all these advantages, the company suffered much from the incapacity or dishonesty of their own servants; and so great was this evil in the case of the governor of Bombay, Sir John Child, that the emperor of Delhi deemed it necessary to proceed to open hostility with the English, and was only prevented from sacking that town by the timely death of the unpopular governor.

The early part of the reign of William and Mary saw little improvement in the management of the affairs of the Company, or in their prospects in the East. The outcry against the misdirection of these affairs became loud and general; and it was only by heavy and frequent bribes in influential quarters that the directors contrived to maintain

their position. At length a new East India Association was formed, which, after some years of bitter animosity, became fused in the old one (A.D. 1708); and eventually the two obtained a new charter, which, amongst other concessions, granted to the Company the privilege of holding courts of session and appeal, as also a mayor's court, at each of the three Presidencies, then created, of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

By slow but sure steps (A.D. 1715) the servants of the Company advanced their superiors' interests; and it was so far a fortunate circumstance for them that, upon the decease of the then Emperor of Delhi, Aurungzebe, many dissensions and cabals took place, which enabled them to work out their own particular views. Another embassy was undertaken from Calcutta to the court of Delhi; and although many difficulties and delays intervened, the objects of the mission were eventually gained, much to the annoyance of the Viceroy of Bengal, who cordially hated the English, and who would gladly have denied them the possession of a foot of land within the imperial territories.

The commerce between France and India attained about this time such an importance as to excite the envy of the English; and when at length there was a declaration of war between the two countries, a fleet was equipped for the purpose of capturing Pondicherry. This expedition failed through the incapacity of the English commander, and the valour and skill of the French Admiral Labourdonnais, who, in his turn, attacked and reduced Madras, A.D. 1747. A second naval expedition against Pondicherry was attended with as little success as the first; and Boscawen, the English admiral, was forced to a humiliating retreat. These, and the failure of an expedition against Tanjore, served for a time to dim the lustre of the British arms in the East. Major Lawrence undertook a second expedition against Tanjore in aid of the dethroned rajah; and on this occasion the English, though with little permanent advantage, came off victorious. These operations were shared in by one who was afterwards destined to play an important part in Indian warfare. The name of Clive is inseparable from the history of British influence in the East, and ranks second to none other in its world-wide fame. At this time Clive was a young lieutenant in one of the regiments engaged upon this occasion, and his abilities and sound judgment were at once perceived by Major Lawrence, who did not fail to turn them to account.

The peace of the Indian peninsula was at this period greatly disturbed by repeated disputes between the nabobs of the Carnatic and

the Nizam al Mulk, viceroy of the Deccan. The treachery, the cruelties, the bloodshed which arose out of this struggle are scarcely to be paralleled in any country out of the East. At length, after a long series of crimes and treacheries, the nabobship of the Carnatic was assumed by Chanda Sahib, formerly the minister of that state. The death of Nizam al Mulk followed soon after; and disputes arising between his son and grandson, Nazir Jing and Murzafa Jing, respecting the succession, Chanda Sahib, noted not less for his cowardice than for his ambition, formed an alliance with the latter; they were soon joined by the French, and for a time victory declared in their favour; but so elated were they with their success, that instead of ensuring at once the power that now lay so easily within their grasp, they repaired to Arcot and Pondicherry, where they spent their time in pompous display; and thus afforded time to their enemies, who, being joined by Mohammed Ali, governor of Trichinopoly, and a detachment of English troops under Major Lawrence, came upon them unawares, and gained an easy victory. Murzafa Jing was flung into prison, whilst Chanda Sahib escaped with difficulty to Pondicherry.

Nazir Jing was shortly after shot in an engagement with the French, who captured the important fortress of Gingee. Murzafa was now released, and raised to the dignity of Viceroy of the Deccan; he did not, however, long enjoy his power, but was murdered by a party of the Patan troops; and Salabat Jing, son of Nizam al Mulk, was nominated by the French to succeed him.

The military energies of the English, which had suffered severely since the departure of Major Lawrence from India, were now retrieved by Clive, who requested and gained permission to attack Arcot, in order to divert the attention of Chanda Sahib, who was then engaged in the siege of Trichinopoly. Arrived at Arcot, Clive, in spite of the most inclement weather, at once made himself master of the town and citadel. But more memorable by far than the capture of the place was the defence made by this young officer when besieged. With but 200 Europeans and 300 sepoy, Clive withstood the attacks of fully 9000 of the nabob's troops, and 150 French soldiers. Breaches were made in the walls; but so bravely and effectively were they defended by the little band within, that the nabob's army finally fell back from the struggle; and, in spite of overwhelming numbers, retreated precipitately, after a siege of nearly two months. Not content with this, Clive, on being reinforced by a small detachment from Madras, pursued the retreating foe, and scattered the retiring host with terrible slaughter.

This siege terminated hostilities for a brief period; but before Clive had been many weeks at Madras, the French again took the field and threatened Arcot, though without effect. More serious work was before the English commanders. The siege of Trichinopoly had to be raised; and this was performed by Lawrence and Clive in conjunction with the forces of the rajahs of Mysore and Tanjore. The French troops, although greatly strengthened by those of Chanda Sahib, were unequal to the contest. D'Auteuil, a French general, coming to the relief of M. Law, was made prisoner; and eventually the latter was forced to capitulate, whilst the unfortunate Chanda Sahib, falling into the hands of the rajah of Tanjore, was sacrificed to the hatred of his enemies. This obstacle being removed, Mohammed Ali was declared nabob of the Carnatic.

Although in many respects the fortune of the French in the Indian peninsula appeared more than desperate, there were other circumstances which favoured them. M. Bussy possessed great influence at the court of the viceroy of the Deccan. He had risen to importance in the estimation of Salabat Jingle, by the advice and assistance he had rendered him, not only in his promotion to the vice-royalty, but in the subsequent government of that country. The friendly aid of the French general was eventually rewarded by the gift of the governorship of the tract of country known as the Northern Circars,—a large, populous, and thriving district, and in many ways calculated to strengthen the influence of the French in the peninsula.

The raising of the siege of Trichinopoly, narrated above, was followed by a series of incessant attacks and petty warfare between the troops on either side, with but little advantage resulting to either party; whilst the expenses of the French and English companies' establishments were necessarily much augmented by the constant hostilities carried on. A few years of this heavy drain upon their resources induced both to consider that the policy of their respective commanders was not the one best calculated to further their substantial interests.

The governments of the two countries being then at peace, it appeared a monstrous anomaly that their subjects in India should continue to wage war upon each other with so little pretext; and in the end, the consideration of this state of things led to an understanding between the French and English East India companies. It was arranged that M. Dupleix, the French governor-general, should be recalled, and that various concessions should be made on either side, though mostly in favour of the British. To render the cause of the French still more unsatisfactory, M. Bussy about this time gave

offence to his friend and patron the viceroy, who removed him from his government, flung off the friendship of the French people, and sought the acquaintance and friendly aid of their opponents, the British.

Clive, who had visited England to recruit his health during recent events, reached India once more in June 1756, and assumed the command of Madras. At this time events were occurring in the northern presidency which shortly called forth the activity and enterprise of the young commander.

Suraj-al-Dowlah, who had succeeded his uncle, Alverdi Khan, as viceroy of Bengal, was a cruel and rapacious tyrant. Not content with possessing himself of all the treasures which his relation had accumulated during a series of years, he determined to seize on the English factory and property at Calcutta; which, from the extensive commerce carried on, he imagined must be of great value.

He marched suddenly upon Calcutta with a large force; and, despite the gallant resistance of the little band who garrisoned the British factory, he took possession of the place and gave up the town to pillage. Such of the English residents as were able, sought shelter in the few ships at anchor in the river; but one hundred and forty-six fell into the hands of the tyrant, who ordered them to be confined until the following morning. The unfortunate prisoners were forced into a miserable, badly-ventilated cell, known as the "black-hole," and kept there during one of the most sultry nights of an oppressive season. In vain the wretched men supplicated for air and water; immense sums were offered to their guards for a change of prison. The soldiers outside could or would do nothing, and seemed to enjoy their sufferings, which, as night drew on, became intense. It was in vain they tried to force the door. Madness came on many; numbers fell fainting on the ground, and were at once trampled to death. Others fought for a place near the small hole which served as a window, and died in the madness of the struggle.

When the door of this horrible prison was flung open in the morning, a shocking sight presented itself. Of the hundred and forty-six who on the previous evening were forced within its walls, but twenty-three remained alive, and those so ghastly, so exhausted, as to look like spectres.

This tragedy brought speedy retribution upon the head of Suraj. Clive took the command of such forces as could be spared from Madras, and making his way rapidly to Calcutta, found small difficulty in possessing himself of that town. This was followed up by the capture

of Hooghly, further up the river ; and eventually, by the decision and rapidity of his movements, Clive compelled the viceroy to sue for peace.

It became evident, however, that Suraj did not intend to remain long on friendly terms with the English ; for, upon their marching to besiege Chandernagore, a French settlement, the viceroy thwarted them by every means in his power.

Clive determined that the nabob should be deposed, as a treacherous and dangerous enemy ; and this resolve was strengthened and aided by events which at that time occurred in Bengal.

Mir Jaffier, who had married the sister of Alverdi Khan, plotted against Suraj ; and having secured the co-operation of the English, found no difficulty in inducing Clive to take the field. On the 22d June, 1757, the British commander took up his position in the Grove of Plassy. Clive's forces amounted to about three thousand men, one-third of whom were Europeans ; those of the subahdar consisted of fifty thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse ; but, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, the battle terminated in favour of the English, and Suraj fled from the field. Finding himself without a friend on whom to rely, he sought to escape in disguise, but being recognised by an enemy, he was delivered up and placed in the custody of the son of Mir Jaffier, who ordered him to be assassinated.

Mir Jaffier being called upon to defray the expenses that had been incurred, it was discovered that the late subahdar's treasures were inadequate to meet the demand ; after some tedious negotiations, it was agreed that one-half of the money should be paid immediately, and the remainder in three equal payments in three years.

About this time Major Coote was sent to expel the French from Behar ; in which enterprise he succeeded, and an amicable arrangement was entered into with the governor of the province.

Whilst the above events occurred in the north, affairs were not less complicated in the south. War was again raging between France and England, and a fleet was daily expected with reinforcements for the French in Pondicherry. Captain Calliaud, the governor of Trichinopoly, was ordered by the Council of Madras to reduce Madura and Tinevelly, which he at once undertook ; he was, however, soon recalled to Trichinopoly, which had been besieged by the French during his absence. He contrived by forced marches to effect a junction with his garrison ; and the French, disheartened by his successful daring, marched back to Pondicherry on the following day. The enemy having been reinforced by troops from Europe under the command of

the Count Lally, that general laid siege to Fort St. David, and finally captured it on June 1st, 1758. Bussy had meanwhile established the French arms in the Deccan. Having forced the Nizam and his Omrahs to submit to his terms, he proceeded to the Northern Circars for the purpose of collecting the revenues of these provinces. Lally, determined, if possible, to strike a blow that should at once overthrow the supremacy of the British in India, and supply his exhausted treasury with means, ordered Bussy to join him with the whole of his forces. The harsh conduct of the French general towards all classes had rendered him most unpopular in his camp and in the native states, so that when he laid siege to Tanjore, he found but little cordiality or co-operation. His attempts against this city were rendered fruitless by the arrival of an English fleet in the vicinity, and relief afforded to the garrison by the governor of Trichinopoly; the result was the retreat of Lally to Carical.

The siege of Madras ended with no better success to the French arms. Lally retreated from the trenches; and shortly afterwards, in an engagement with the English under Coote, before Wandewash, suffered a complete defeat; Bussy being captured with most of the artillery and baggage. Coote steadily pursued his victorious career; Arcot, Timery, Devi-Cotah, Trincomalee, Pennacoi, Alamparva, Carical, Valdore, Cillambaram, and Cuddalore, all surrendered to the British troops.

Meanwhile, at Moorshedabad, Clive received intelligence of the engagement between the English and French fleets on the Coromandel coast, and the investment of Fort St. David, upon which he hastened to Calcutta, critical affairs requiring his presence. On his arrival he found instructions from England constituting a council of ten, and appointing four governors to manage the affairs of India. Clive's name was omitted; but the administration invited him to accept the office of president, by which they anticipated fresh instructions, that were forwarded upon the intelligence of the battle of Plassy reaching England.

Mir Jaffier, his son Meeran, and Nuncomar, a Hindoo, having combined to destroy Doolob Ram, the Dewan of the Viceroy, Clive was obliged to protect him in Calcutta. Active measures on behalf of the injured minister were prevented by the misfortunes of the English in the Carnatic, Fort St. David being taken, and Madras threatened with a siege. He resolved not to send troops to Madras, but entered upon a diversion favourable to that presidency, and of infinite service to Bengal.

Rajah Anunderaz, dissatisfied with the conditions on which Bussy had invested him with power, on the departure of this officer attacked and captured the French settlement of Vizigapatam, and made an offer to the Madras government to surrender his capture, provided a body of troops were furnished him to aid in subjugating the Circars. The executive of Madras being apprehensive of Lally's progress, declined a distant enterprise; and the rajah addressed himself to Clive, who, in opposition to the entire council, concluded a treaty with Anunderaz, and despatched Colonel Forde with a large force to aid him.

Forde's operations were retarded both by want of money and supplies; but being joined by the rajah, he advanced against the French under M. Conflans, who with superior force held a strong position at Rajamundri. Forde ordered an immediate attack; and although deserted by Anunderaz, defeated the French, captured their camp, and drove them from Rajamundri. The rajah's penuriousness prevented Forde from taking immediate advantage of his success; and when the English, after a vexatious delay, began to advance, M. Conflans retired into the fort of Masulipatam. Forde upon reaching it summoned the garrison to surrender, but was treated with ridicule, the defenders being more numerous than the besiegers, with an army of observation in the field; while Salabat Jing was on his march to support them with the army of the Deccan, and a reinforcement expected from Pondicherry. Though his troops were in a mutiny for their pay, and his ammunition short, Forde commenced a siege on the 25th of March, and maintained it vigorously until the 6th of April, 1759, when his engineers reported but two days' ammunition in store; at the same time intelligence reached him that the army of observation was effecting a junction with the advancing forces of the Deccan; whereon he resolved to storm the fort. As hot a fire as possible was ordered during the day, and the troops to be under arms at ten at night. Forde divided his little army into three divisions, and at midnight led them under the walls. The assailants gained the palisades of the ditch without discovery, when a heavy fire was opened on them; but they advanced determinedly until the ramparts were possessed, when separating to the right and left, they stormed with success bastion after bastion; surprised, terrified, and panic-struck, the firing coming from every direction, the French force surrendered at discretion as morning broke upon the scene.

The effect of this gallant achievement was great and immediate. Salabat Jing entered into a treaty with Forde, ceding Masulipatam to the English, and consenting to banish the French from his dominions

for ever. The Pondicherry reinforcement arrived too late to be of any service, and returned after enduring great privations.

Bengal was threatened at this time with a fresh danger. Alummigir II., dissatisfied with Mir Jaffier, invested his son with the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and the prince collected an army to assume his rights. Ramnarain, the ruler of Berar, joining Mir Jaffier and the English, closed the gates of Patna upon the prince, who besieged the place; upon which Clive hastened to its assistance: but before his arrival, the prince's allies had quarrelled with one another, reducing him to so much distress, that he wrote to Clive requesting money for his subsistence, and promising to withdraw from the province. The terms were acceded to, and the danger removed. Mir Jaffier was so grateful for his deliverance, that he made Clive a chief Omrah of the empire, and bestowed upon him a jaghire or estate round Calcutta worth thirty thousand pounds a year.

Clive, upon returning to Calcutta, was joined by Forde in time for another emergency. Though peace existed between England and Holland, the Dutch, jealous of the English progress in Bengal, fitted out a fleet at Batavia to counterpoise the English in that province, consisting of seven ships manned by 700 Europeans and 800 Malays. Entering the Hooghly, they landed their forces a few miles from Calcutta, to march to their settlement at Chinsura. Forde was ordered to intercept their progress, which he did with so much success that fourteen only reached their destination, the remainder being either slain or captured. The seven Dutch ships surrendered to the company's vessels; and the Dutch, in order to avoid being totally expelled from Beugal, were compelled to pay the expenses of the war.

In the Madras Presidency the tide of fortune flowed still in favour of the British. The French had retreated to Pondicherry, where, in May 1760, they found themselves completely hemmed in by the English. After sustaining a siege of eight months, the fort and town capitulated, upon which their remaining settlements fell an easy prey to the victors.

From this date the destiny of the French in India was sealed. Bussy had been killed some time previously in an engagement. Lally returned to Europe, and on his arrival in France was put on his trial for treason by the French parliament. Defence was in vain; he was condemned, and put to death by the hands of the common hangman. With him expired the French East India Company; and though some few isolated attempts were afterwards made to resuscitate that body, they never again took any part in Indian affairs.

The disappearance of the French, the impotency of the Dutch, and the subjugation or disunion of the native powers, promised to secure to the English undisturbed possession of India. Clive, having placed matters on a firm basis, took the opportunity of this political calm once more to visit his native country, full of honours and years, leaving the British power both feared and respected throughout those vast dominions.¹

¹ The authorities consulted in this and the following chapters of the historical section have been Mill's *History*, Aubir's *Rise and Progress of the British Empire in the East*, and files of the *Bombay Times*, *Calcutta Englishman*, and *Friend of India*.



CHAPTER II.

FROM THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA TO THE
DEATH OF HYDER ALI.

THE departure of Clive for England left the command of the army to Colonel Calliaud, who, though not wanting in energy and ability, had neither the prestige nor the military genius of Clive.

The emperor's son again made an attempt upon the power of Mir Jaffier, and thus kept Calliaud and his forces on the alert. Before long, however, another revolution took place at Delhi. The emperor was murdered, and his son invested with the dangerous title, under the name of Shah Alum.

The supremacy which orientals ever attach to the royal name, added to the direct influence of his vizier, the nabob of Oude, soon added large and seasonable reinforcements to his army, so that he found himself in a formidable position for warlike operations, and accordingly marched with his large army upon Patna.

Arrived before that important town, Ramnarain, in opposition to his counsellors, attacked him, but was signally defeated, and the detachment of English stationed there were cut to pieces. Calliaud immediately advanced to save Patna, and upon coming up with the imperialists, attacked them and gained a complete victory. The emperor having been reinforced by M. Law and his body of French troops, subsequently stormed Patna a second time, and was repulsed with great difficulty. A third assault was anticipated, but fortunately a strong reinforcement reached Patna under Captain Knox, who, upon finding how affairs stood, without allowing his troop time for refreshment, ordered an attack upon the imperial camp during the hour of the afternoon's repose, when he surprised and drove his enemies from their position, to which they never returned.

This gallant affair was speedily followed by the advance of the Naib of Poorania with 12,000 men and 30 pieces of cannon upon Patna.

Knox, whose forces amounted only to 200 Europeans, one battalion of sepoys, 300 irregular horse, and 5 pieces of ordnance, determined to cross the river and encounter the Naib, in which he was supported by a friendly rajah with 300 men. His intent was a night surprise of the enemy's camp; but through a mistake of his guide this was frustrated. In the morning, the Naib's army advanced and literally surrounded Knox, who, however, defeated him in every quarter, drove him from the field, and followed him with destruction until incapacitated by fatigue, when Calliaud took the retreating Naib off his hand, and pursued him vigorously for several days.

Upon Clive's departure for England the Court of Directors appointed Mr. Vansittart to the head of the executive,—a proceeding alike injurious to the government and offensive to the remainder of the council; it having been the usage to nominate the senior member of the council for the appointment, such a deviation, even in favour of a talented individual, would necessarily engender much unfriendly feeling, but in the case of Vansittart, whose only statesmanlike recommendation was a grave demeanour, it was highly offensive, and produced very violent dissensions in the Calcutta council, which often terminated most disgracefully. Vansittart found the treasury empty, the troops at Patna in mutiny for pay, Mir Jaffier's allowance to his auxiliaries in arrear, with little prospect of his paying either that or his large balance to the Company.

Instead of advising with his council, he arranged his plans with a secret committee, and determined to depose Mir Jaffier, and substitute in his stead his son-in-law Mir Casim, for which purpose he proceeded with some troops to Moorshedabad. Mir Jaffier naturally opposed this unjust arrangement as long as a probable chance of success remained, when, scorning an empty title, he retired to Calcutta on a pension.

Mir Casim's elevation was for a stipulated payment, the English undertaking to supply him with troops for the collection of his revenues. These payments, with the expenses of subduing some rebellious chiefs aided by the Mahrattas, exhausted his finances, which he determined to recruit by plundering Ramnarain the Hindoo governor of Berar; and to forward his views, charged the governor, who had been a faithful ally of the English, with various offences, which Mr. Vansittart, in defiance of the caution afforded him both by Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, listened to. The result is easily foreseen: Ramnarain was seized by Mir Casim, plundered, and eventually put to death with great barbarity.

Vansittart's government daily diminished in popularity; and all

confidence in the English was destroyed when the natives learnt the sacrifice of Ramnarain, who had so steadily supported the English interest ; while it was generally promulgated among the Europeans that the partiality to Mir Casim was the effect of corruption. Vansittart's principal supporters in the council were at this period recalled in consequence of their having presumed to censure the proceedings of the Court of Directors, which left him in a minority ; and Ellis, the most determined of his opponents, was appointed resident at Patna : he treated Mir Casim without the least deference, seized his officers for interfering with the transit of goods, and forcibly took possession of a quantity of nitre which had been purchased for the viceroy's use. In these acts Ellis was supported by the entire of the Company's servants. The seizure of his officers induced Mir Casim to abolish all transit-duties in his dominions ; but it will hardly be credited at this time that peculation was then so rife in the council of Calcutta, that this abolition of duties was declared an act of hostility against the India Company, and threats of war were made unless the edict was cancelled ; a proposition which Mir Casim took no heed of, and both parties prepared to solve the dispute by force.

The viceroy, knowing that Mr. Ellis, the resident at Patna, intended seizing that city, stopped some boats laden with muskets for the troops, and it was with considerable difficulty that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, who had been instructed to remonstrate with him, could obtain his sanction to allow the boats to pass. He eventually granted Amyatt permission to return to Calcutta, holding Hay as a hostage. Upon learning Amyatt's departure, Ellis intemperately took the city by a night attack. Mir Casim, enraged at this outrage, despatched a body to overtake and bring back Mr. Amyatt, who resisted, and was, with several attendants, slain. This seizure of Patna did not long remain unpunished ; the troops dispersed in search of plunder, and the governor, who retreated but a few miles, receiving a reinforcement from Mongheer, returned, and again possessed himself of the city, when the English surrendered and were sent prisoners to Mongheer.

Upon intelligence of these events reaching Calcutta, the council determined that no proposals should be received from Mir Casim, and that Mir Jaffier should again be invested with the power he had been deprived of ; and, on the 2d of July, 1763, the English army opened the campaign. The first engagement was with the van of the viceroy's army, near Moorshedabad, which terminated unfavourably to him, when the Indian troops retreated upon Gheriah, where Mir Casim joined them with all his forces. He was again attacked on the 2d of August, and

totally routed after four hours' hard fighting, losing all his cannon, baggage, and one hundred and fifty boats laden with provisions.

After this last engagement he retreated with his forces to Oodiva, where, among the hills, he entrenched his army with so much judgment, that his adversaries were kept at bay for a month; but, on the 5th of September, a sudden and successful assault was made, which compelled Mir Casim to fall back upon Mongheer, then his capital; which place, with its garrison of two thousand men, shortly surrendered to the English arms. Increased rage and cruelty attended each defeat of the viceroy: at Gheriah he executed the unfortunate Ramnair and several nobles; at Oodiva, two of the Sets of Moorshedabad; while at Mongheer the whole of his European prisoners were slaughtered at his command, with the single exception of a Dr. Fullerton, whose professional services and skill proved his safeguard.

On the 6th of November Patna fell by storm, when Mir Casim, considering his position irretrievable, fled to Oude, and requested the protection of its nabob, which was granted; for some time the English remained upon the confines of Oude, anticipating that the nabob would surrender Mir Casim; but in this they were disappointed, the nabob feeling somewhat confident in his position, owing to the insubordination which at the time prevailed in the English forces. This mutinous spirit prompted Sumroo, one of Mir Casim's chiefs, to attack the English near Patna, when he was repulsed with dreadful slaughter. Unfortunately the illness of Carnac procrastinated the war until the arrival of Major Hector Monro with a detachment from Bombay.

The mutinous spirit that existed in the army under Carnac prevailed more strongly upon Monro assuming the command; an entire battalion of sepoy, with arms and accoutrements deserted to the enemy, but were overtaken and brought back; twenty-four of the principal offenders were sentenced to be blown from the mouths of cannon, and the whole army ordered to witness the execution of the sentence. Four of the unfortunate men having been executed, the officers of the sepoy waited on the major, and stated that their men would not permit any more to be sacrificed. A command to load the field-pieces with grape, and for the Europeans to form in line, with the guns at proper intervals, was Monro's reply; at the same time he ordered the sepoy officers to return and command their men to ground their arms; and declared that if a single man stirred from his position, he would order his guns to be immediately opened upon them: this firmness intimidated the mutineers, and the execution was completed.

Monro's spirit effected a great improvement in the army; after

which he marched against the nabob of Oude, and destroyed his forces near Buxar; the Emperor Shah Alum upon this sought the friendship of the English, and concluded a peace, which gave the latter supreme power in Bengal. Mir Casim fled to the Rohillas, the nabob of Oude being no longer able to afford him shelter.

The finances at Calcutta at this period were in a wretched state; and Mir Jaffier being totally unable to liquidate the Company's claims, independent of those demanded from him by private individuals for losses both real and imaginary, sunk under his embarrassments in January 1765.

The council invested the second son of Mir Jaffier with the vice-royalty, and installed Rez-Khan, his prime minister, which was by no means agreeable to the new ruler; nor were these arbitrary proceedings supported by Vansittart, who, upon their adoption, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer.

The company's servants in India had hitherto been little controlled by the proprietary at home; but the latter, alarmed at the commencement of hostilities in India, with a mutinous army and exhausted treasury, petitioned the Directors that Clive, who had been created a peer, should be appointed to the head of affairs, he being the only man who could extricate them from their difficulties. This was far from palatable to the directory, Clive having, previous to leaving India, treated their authority with contempt, and sued them for the rental of his jaghire. But, after a warm discussion among the directors, his appointment was carried by thirteen against eleven votes. Upon this he demanded, and was invested with, the authority of commander-in-chief, president and governor of Bengal, and, with a committee of four nominated by the directory, empowered to act without consulting or being subject to the control of the council.

The capture of Pondicherry raised Mohammed Ali, who was the creature of the English, to the sovereignty of the Carnatic; and the nabob soon felt that it was for their, not his own pleasure and profit he reigned. In a short time, however, the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic was determined upon. The nabob, although unwilling, could offer no opposition, and was therefore compelled to submit.

The custom of receiving, or rather extorting presents, and the abuse of private trade, which had become great evils, were two things Clive immediately investigated, believing them fraught with danger to the Company, and pernicious to its servants. As a remedy for the first, he compelled both the civil and military servants of the company to sign a declaration that they would not accept presents from the native

princes under any pretext whatever. With the abuses in trade he found it more difficult to grapple; feeling that some sort of emolument was due to the Company's servants, their salaries being miserable and inadequate, he created a monopoly in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, for the benefit of the superior servants, the profits to be apportioned to their respective grades. Though no statesman would now be found to defend such a proceeding, he acted upon the principle, that the Company was a monopoly, and that the servants were merely adopting the practices of their masters.

The nabob of Oude having placed himself at the mercy of the English, submitted to the terms of their dictation, by which he retained his dominions, excepting Korah and Allahabad. These were transferred to the emperor; who, in consideration, promised not to interfere with his vassal, Bulwant Sing, rajah of Benares, for having joined with and rendered the English good service during the war. Understanding well the abuses, under the name of free trade, that the company's officers had perpetrated in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, the emperor refused to negotiate upon the subject, and trade was not mentioned in the treaty; but he was compelled to forego all arrears of revenue due from the Bengal province, and to cede to the Company the dewanee, or right of collecting the revenue in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, on condition of receiving twenty-six lacs of rupees annually.

To cover the heavy expenses which service in the field necessitates in India, the Company made an extra allowance to their officers, termed *batta*; and upon the army marching to aid Mir Jaffier, he promised the officers double *batta*. But when the revenues of Bengal reverted to the Company, this was a charge that could be ill supported. Clive determined to remedy the evil, and issued an order to the effect that double *batta* should cease on the 1st of January, 1766, excepting in some few instances.

Hereupon the officers determined, unless the double *batta* was restored, to resign their commissions simultaneously upon a certain day. Clive having good information of what was proceeding, sent expresses to Calcutta and Madras for fresh officers, and arrested the principal conspirators. Many of the leaders, among others General Sir R. Fletcher, were tried and dismissed the service. Fletcher, however, through family interest, was reinstated, and subsequently appointed to the command of the forces at Madras. Clive would doubtless have more severely punished the promoters of this conspiracy, but it was considered uncertain at this period whether the Company had the power to enforce capital punishment upon Europeans.

Clive's health at length failing him, he resigned his command, and returned to England in the end of January 1767, leaving affairs in the hands of the select committee, at the head of which was Mr. Verelst.

The most extravagant expectations took possession of the proprietors of India stock, in consequence of Clive's acquisitions. Overlooking the vast outlay involved by his conquest, and the incidental expenses of upholding them, they outvoted the directory, and declared the dividends should be increased to twelve and a half per cent. This could not be effected without borrowing at an enormous interest; and the interposition of the ministry and parliament was solicited, which, much to the chagrin of both parties, canvassed the policy of allowing a trading company to exercise imperial power over a great and extending dominion. During the peaceful administrations of Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier, the revenues scarcely defrayed the expenses of government; notwithstanding which the delusion as to the riches of India continued to prevail, although it was at the time well known that an expedition to depose the Ghooorka, and reinstate the rajah of Nepal, who had been dethroned by him, was abandoned in consequence of the want of funds, all the resources at control being required to arrest the impending dangers which threatened Madras.

The control of the Carnatic, obtained by the capture of Pondicherry, involved the English in all the political intrigues of the Deccan; and in their endeavour to obtain quiet possession of the Circars, they had to encounter the most hazardous war they had yet experienced in India.

Salabat Jing, subahdar of the Deccan, had not miscalculated when he reckoned that the departure of the French under Bussy would jeopardise his safety: he was assassinated by the confederates of his brother, Nizam Ali, who determined to maintain his vice-royalty in the Deccan, and to re-establish his authority over the Carnatic. He invaded and laid desolate the country; but made a precipitate retreat upon the advance of the English. When the Emperor Shah Alum ceded the Northern Circars to the English, the Deccan was esteemed a part of the vice-royalty; but this Nizam Ali would not admit, and resisted all attempts to take possession of it, until the English stipulated to pay him an annual tribute, and to assist him when necessary with troops; an undertaking which soon brought them into collision with Hyder Ali, the governor of Mysore.

While the French and English were fighting in the Carnatic, Hyder had risen from a subordinate rank to the command of the army of Mysore; and by subjugating the Nairs of Malabar, and taking posses-

sion of several small tracts of land in Southern India, established a principality for himself. According to their treaty with the nizam, the English joined him in invading Hyder Ali's territory, when our faithless auxiliary made peace with Hyder, and turned his arms against the English, whom he intended betraying to Hyder; but Colonel Smith discovering his treachery, retreated to Trincomalee, having previously engaged the combined forces of these native princes. The nizam, finding in several subsequent actions that the English were invariably victorious, became alarmed, broke his treaty with Hyder, and again addressed the Presidency of Madras, who, elated with the prospect of territorial aggrandisement, and presuming Mysore to be easily subjugated, bestowed its sovereignty upon Mohammed Ali; at the same time Colonel Smith, an experienced officer, was superseded in the command of the forces by the appointment of Colonel Wood, who was wholly destitute of knowledge in Indian warfare. This Hyder soon discovered, and defeated Wood, capturing the whole of his baggage. Subsequently, feigning to retreat, Hyder drew him from Madras; then, by forced marches, his son Tippoo, at the head of 6000 horse, appeared suddenly at the suburbs of the English capital. All was terror and confusion, amidst which Hyder was enabled to dictate terms of peace, which were agreed to.

Shah Alum, impatient of restoration to the throne of Delhi, unavailingly urged the English to yield their promised assistance. His prayer being disregarded, he formed an alliance with the Mahrattas; and by their aid easily reached his capital, rewarding his auxiliaries with the plunder of the country of the Rohillas. The emperor joined them in an attack upon Zabita Khan, whom, having deprived of the government of Delhi, he regarded with suspicion. Unable to withstand the imperialists and the Mahrattas combined, he was, after a spirited defence, defeated; and his country, then in a most flourishing condition, was, despite the emperor's wishes, laid waste by the Mahrattas. The remainder of the Rohilla chiefs being alarmed, sought their old enemy, the subahdar of Oude, engaging to pay him thirty lacs of rupees upon his driving the common enemy from their country. At this period the Mahrattas quarrelled with the emperor, and returned to Delhi, making him virtually a prisoner, and extorted from him the districts of Korah and Allahabad, after which they repaired to the Ganges, which they prepared to cross. The subahdar of Oude, though urgently pressed, never afforded any assistance to the Rohillas; yet, when the Mahrattas retreated, he demanded the payment of the thirty lacs as stipulated.

The subahdar and Warren Hastings, who had now succeeded Car-tier as governor-general, met at Benares in September 1773, and signed a treaty, by which the emperor of Delhi and the Rohillas were sold to the subahdar. When Shah Alum joined the Mahrattas, the English held his conduct a justification for stopping the Bengal tribute. Hastings now went further. The districts of Korah and Allahabad he sold to the subahdar for fifty lacs of rupees ; and for an additional forty lacs, and the expenses of the troops employed, he agreed to assist in the extermination of the innocent and peaceable Rohillas. Upon the subahdar demanding assistance, Colonel Champion, with a brigade, was despatched to join in the invasion, which ended in the total defeat of the Rohillas, and the fall of their general, Hafiz Rahmet Khan. The atrocities of this victory are almost unequalled; but the terms of the treaty were fulfilled, and the conquered country, excepting a small tract, was assigned to the ruler of Oude.

The three commissioners from England, who had been despatched to enforce the new constitution which parliament had framed, arrived on the 19th of October, 1774 ; they, with Hastings and Barwell, were to form the executive. The first subject discussed was the Rohilla war, which the three newly-arrived councillors censured with undisguised severity. They likewise complained that the correspondence of Mr. Middleton, the political agent at Oude, was withheld. They then voted the agent's recall, the withdrawal from the subahdar of the forces, and immediate payment for their services. Suja-ed-Dowla dying at this time, the council insisted that his son and successor should be held to his engagements, deliver the country of the zemindar of Benares to the Company, and augment the pay of the European brigade. Hastings ineffectually opposed these measures, the councillors being supported by the home authority.

Although in other parts the Company had largely increased their territory, but little augmentation appeared in Western India. Bassein and Salsette, commanding the Bombay harbour, were Portuguese settlements until 1750. A dispute among the Mahrattas respecting the succession to the post of Peishwa, presented a favourable opportunity for the interference of the Bombay authorities, who supported the claims of the Ragonat Ras, and stipulated that Bassein and Salsette should be ceded for this assistance. These terms were agreed to, and the English garrisoned both places. An army was now sent to place Poonah, the Mahratta capital, in Ragonat's possession; but orders arrived from the supreme council of Calcutta disapproving the Bombay policy, and commanding the abandonment of Ragonat. Upon

which the English restored Bassein, with some territory in Gujerat, but retained Salsette and its tributary islands. Shortly after this mandate from Calcutta, despatches from the Court of Directors arrived, highly approving the policy of the Bombay Presidency, which naturally tended to increase the existing confusion and jealousy.

At this period the integrity of Warren Hastings was seriously impeached ; charges of speculation and corruption, which he vainly endeavoured to suppress, were brought against him. The most important charge was that made by the Rajah Nuncomar, who proved that his son Goordass and Munny Begum had paid for certain offices they held. The council, upon this evidence, ordered Hastings to refund the money ; but he refused to acknowledge their authority, and returned no reply to their order.

Nuncomar was, with others, indicted for conspiracy ; but the attempt failed. He was afterwards, however, indicted for perjury at the instance of an obscure native, and tried before the Supreme Court by a jury of Englishmen, when he was convicted and hanged. Perjury was not capital by any existing law ; and there now remains no doubt that the law was most shamefully perverted, in order to get rid of a person objectionable to certain official parties.

The death of one of the members of the council gave Hastings a majority ; but he had authorised a Mr. Maclean to convey to the Court of Directors his resignation, which was accepted, and Mr. Wheeler named his successor. General Clavering, being senior member of the council, was empowered to officiate until Mr. Wheeler's arrival. Hastings, upon reconsideration, refused to carry out his resignation, disavowing Mr. Maclean's proceedings, and insisted upon being recognised as governor, threatening an appeal to arms. Eventually, however, the matter was referred to the courts of law, which pronounced for Hastings, who immediately proceeded to reverse all the former acts of council, a step highly disapproved by the Court of Directors ; but to that Hastings paid no attention.

The Supreme Council having, by their interference, involved the authorities of Poonah and the Bengal government, it was proposed, in order to conciliate the Mahrattas, to give up Rajonath. Hastings, however, who recently censured the Bombay policy, now warmly advocated it, and ordered six battalions of sepoys, one company of artillery, and a corps of cavalry, under the command of Colonel Leslie, to act in concert with the Bombay army, entrusted to Colonel Egerton, for the purpose of restoring Rajonath as Peishwa.

The results of these expeditions were disgraceful to a degree.

Egerton was worsted by the Mahrattas, retreated, and eventually entered into a most humiliating treaty for the safety of his forces. Leslie's hesitation and negotiations carried on with different chiefs led to the suspicion of dishonourable motives; and the council finding their orders disregarded, deprived him of his command, and appointed Colonel Goddard in his stead, who advanced into the interior of the Mahratta country, hoping to join the Bengal army, when he learned the disgraceful treaty of Egerton, and refusing to acknowledge it, led his army to Surat, where Rajonat, having escaped from Poonah, joined him.

Goddard, having command of the army, took the field in January 1780, and shortly possessed himself of Dubhoy and Ahmedabad. The Mahrattas, by simulated overtures for peace and prolonged discussions, tried to overreach his diplomacy; but their efforts were futile, for on the morning of April the 3d he surprised both Scindiah and Holkar in their camp, routing their forces without loss on his side.

Sir Eyre Coote, who, by Clavering's death, was appointed a member of the Supreme Council, arrived in Bengal as a treaty was concluded with Rana, a Hindoo prince, whose territory was on the Jumna, between Oude and Scindiah's country. This prince was shortly after invaded by the Mahrattas, whom he could not resist. But a small force, under Captain Popham, was sent to the Rana, and expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud, driving them into their own country. This victory was succeeded by the capture of the fort of Gwalior, believed by the native princes to be impregnable. It was garrisoned by a thousand picked soldiers; nevertheless Popham, on the 3d of August, carried it by escalade, and by this act struck so much terror into the Mahratta ranks that they deserted the surrounding country.

This war occasioned fresh quarrels between Hastings and Francis, who mutually accused each other of falsehood and fraud. Their differences resulted in a duel, in which Francis was wounded; and it being evident that they could no longer act together, Francis returned to England.

The position of the Company in the Carnatic was becoming somewhat critical; the imbecility of the nabob compelling the Madras government to employ British forces to protect the country, they accordingly insisted that he should defray their expenses. The inadequacy of his revenue compelled him to borrow at exorbitant interest; and his embarrassments increased in proportion to the exactions of the lenders. At this period, July 1770, Admiral Sir John Lindsay reached Madras, armed with authority from the home government; and, acting in

direct opposition to the Court of Directors and Madras executive, recognised the nabob as an independent sovereign, and openly espoused his cause.

By virtue of the stipulation entered into between Hyder and the English in 1769, to afford mutual support, he applied for assistance in an insurrection against the peishwa, but was refused. Again, in 1770, when the Mahrattas invaded Mysore, he demanded effectual support, offering three lacs of rupees to defray the expenses. Circumstances determined the English to avoid compliance until compelled; they therefore evaded his demands, while the nabob, being stimulated by the Mahrattas, was anxious to form an alliance with them. The nabob's views were supported by Lindsay, and opposed by the council; which ended in the recall of Lindsay, and the promotion in his stead of Sir Robert Harland, who also supported the alliance between the nabob and the Mahrattas, but met with decided opposition at Madras. A peace was eventually concluded between the Mahrattas and Hyder, unfavourable to the latter, who accordingly vented his anger against the English for their desertion of him.

Little as the authorities were inclined to favour the alliance of the nabob with the Mahrattas, they were not disinclined to support him against the rajah of Tanjore, who having attacked the polygars, or chiefs, of the Marawar districts, was ordered to desist by the nabob from offering violence to his vassals. The rajah was obdurate; when an army, under General Smith at Trichinopoly, was ordered to combine with the Carnatic forces, commanded by Omrah-al-Omrah, the nabob's son, and advance on Tanjore, the capital. This they invested, and made every preparation for an attack, having effected a breach; but at the last moment, to the indignation of the English authorities, Omrah-al-Omrah informed Smith that he had concluded a treaty with the rajah, and hostilities had ceased. Well knowing this arrangement could not be permanent, the English left their forces in the nabob's service, and retained the frontier town of Tanjore.

The nabob instantly demanded English assistance to subdue the very polygars upon whose behalf he had declared war with the rajah of Tanjore; and the government without demur joined in the expedition, which ended in the defeat of the Marawars. When this petty war was concluded, the nabob, upon the pretext that the late treaty had not been maintained, determined to attack Tanjore again; which he did on the 20th of August, 1773, and captured it on the 16th of the following December, taking the rajah and his family prisoners.

The Court of Directors highly disapproved of this step, and sent out

Lord Pigot, with orders to restore him, which he effected despite all opposition ; but was eventually arrested and placed in confinement by the majority of the council, and after eight months died in imprisonment.

The government of Madras, on Pigot's death, was administered by Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Whitehill, and Sir Hector Munro. Rumbold's first measure was to adopt new arrangements in the collection of the revenues of the Northern Circars, which, it was asserted, was for the corrupt gain of himself and his supporters ; this would appear to have been verified, as large sums were brought into Madras which never reached the treasury.

It was agreed, in 1776, with the Nizam, that his brother, Salabat Jing, should retain the Circar of Guntur for life, or so long as the subahdar remained in friendship with the Company. But when it was found that Salabat Jing had enlisted a French force, a negotiation was set on foot, by which, for an annual sum, he ceded Guntur to the Company, and engaged to dismiss the French on receiving an English force, under General Harper, to protect his country. The French passed from Salabat Jing into his brother the Nizam's service, who was jealous of this alliance with the English, and indignant at the refusal of the Madras council to pay the stipulated tribute for the possession of the Northern Circars. The Supreme Council at Calcutta remonstrated against the impolicy of the Madras proceedings, to which Rumbold replied in no measured terms ; and in order further to shew his defiance, granted a lease of Guntur to the nabob of Arcot for ten years. At length the Court of Directors, aroused to a sense of the true state of affairs, dismissed Rumbold and one of his advisers from their service, and two others from their seats in the council ; severely reprimanding Sir Hector Munro, the commander of the forces, for his share in the late proceedings.

Rumbold had, however, been guilty of faults of omission as well as of commission, some of which subsequently proved sources of great calamity. Hyder, who had really great cause of complaint against the Madras government, formed an alliance with the French ; and the governor of Pondicherry furnished him with arms, ammunition, and stores of every description from the French settlement of Mahe on the Malabar coast. Rumbold was informed of this, but took no notice ; and while he treated Hyder with contempt, allowed the military establishment at Madras to fall into miserable inefficiency.

Intelligence being received at Bengal, in July 1778, that war had broken out between England and France, it was determined to capture

the French settlements in India. Chandernagore, Carical, and Masulipatam surrendered at once. Pondicherry capitulated after a vigorous defence, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. The defences and fortifications were then destroyed. The small fort and settlement of Mahe was the sole spot left to the French in India; this place Hyder had previously threatened in the event of its being invaded to revenge upon the Carnatic; but despite this, and the defeats the British forces had formerly sustained in the Mahratta country, the government of Madras persevered, and Mahe was taken on the 19th of March, 1779, by Colonel Braithwaite, who, when ordered to join General Goddard at Surat the following November, destroyed the fort. Before Braithwaite had commenced his march for Surat, the chief of Tellicherry sought this assistance to avert the hostility of Hyder, who was offended in consequence of the former harbouring a Nair chief who had displeased the ruler of Mysore; whereupon Braithwaite moved his forces towards Tellicherry.

The political atmosphere had for some time been getting more and more disturbed; and at length, in November 1799, the Nabob of the Carnatic gave the Madras executive warning that Hyder, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas had united in a determination to expel the English from India. The only heed taken was in the following June, when Col. Baillie, who then commanded the forces protecting Salabat Jung, was ordered to cross the Kistna in the event of disturbances in the Carnatic. On the 21st of July Hyder crossed the frontier with an army of 100,000 men, and upwards of 100 pieces of artillery, well manned; he was counselled by M. Lally, the commander of the French force, a gentleman skilled in his profession, and of high integrity. The English forces comprised 6000 infantry, and 100 cavalry, to which the Nabob's irregular horse and a few pieces of cannon were additions; while the people were disaffected at the miserable and divided government of the Company and the Nabob.

To add to existing perplexities, Munro was reluctant to command, and wished Lord Macleod, who had just arrived, to assume the management; but Macleod declined risking his reputation in executing Munro's plans, doubting their judiciousness. At length Munro, after ordering Baillie to join him at Conjeveram, marched from St. Thomas's Mount, persisting in encumbering himself with heavy artillery, although he had no fortifications to attack, and it was difficult to find cattle to carry his provisions.

Arcot was besieged by Hyder, and Munro felt anxious for a junction with Baillie's force, in order to relieve the place; but on the 31st

of August he learnt that Baillie was stopped by the swelling of a river a few miles north of Trepossore, and the same day that Hyder was moving on Conjeveram, having left Arcot. At Perambaucam, fifteen miles from the main army, Baillie was attacked by Tippoo Saib, Hyder's son, with a very superior force, which was repulsed by the English; but Baillie was so weakened, that, instead of advancing, he urgently requested Munro to push on with the main body to relieve him. Munro, however, sent a detachment under Colonel Fletcher to join Baillie, who, believing further reinforcements would arrive, left his position on the 9th of September, and, despite the vicinity of Tippoo's forces, continued his march during the night. In the morning intelligence was brought into camp that Hyder with all his strength was advancing upon him. What courage and discipline could do, Baillie's gallant band accomplished; and with the slightest assistance from Munro, Hyder would have been defeated. As it was, left to himself, and losing two of his tumbrils by an explosion, Baillie found his forces reduced to 400 men, and at length exhibited a flag of truce. No sooner had they laid down their arms, quarter having been promised upon immediate surrender, than Hyder's troops rushed upon them, and would have murdered the whole, had not M. Lally and the French officers boldly and generously interfered, by which the lives of 200 men were saved. This disaster compelled Munro to retreat upon Madras, which he reached on the 13th of September.

The council now began to regret the corrupt practices and indifference it had previously exhibited; while its thorough destitution of supplies and military appliances had no tendency to diminish the uneasiness of the authorities. But the Governor-General, acting up to the exigencies of the occasion, proposed that fifteen lacs of rupees and a large detachment of European infantry and artillery should be sent to Madras; that Sir Eyre Coote should command the army, and alone expend the money transmitted; and that the governor of Fort St. George should be suspended.

These orders were reluctantly obeyed by the Madras Council. On the 7th of November Sir Eyre Coote took his seat in the Madras Council, and produced the decree deposing the governor, which was supported by the majority. Arcot having been captured, Coote proceeded to protect Vellore and Wandewash, both being closely besieged and gallantly defended. Wandewash was abandoned upon the English approaching, who could not pursue their advantage. The arrival of a French fleet compelled them to march on Pondicherry, where the French inhabitants, hoping to recover their former position in India,

had enlisted troops and collected stores. Coote speedily disarmed the inhabitants, removed the stores, destroyed the boats, and marched on Cuddalore, then threatened by Hyder, whom he endeavoured to draw into an action; failing in which, he moved his army on to Trichinopoly, and on his way unsuccessfully attacked the fortified pagoda of Chillingbram: his failure encouraged Hyder to risk a battle, which terminated, after six hours' desperate fighting, in the complete defeat of the Mysore army.

Coote, being now joined by a body of sepoys from Bengal, marched upon the enemy, who were strongly posted; when Hyder's army nearly suffered a total rout, which he had tact enough to declare a drawn battle, and marched towards Vellore; Coote followed, and once more defeated him, having surprised him in his camp. Hyder's cavalry were nearly all sacrificed in his anxiety to save his guns. After this engagement, Coote returned to Madras, having lost nearly one-third of his forces in his severe engagements with Hyder.

England and Holland being now at war, Lord Macartney, who had just arrived at Madras as governor, resolved on attacking the Dutch settlements in India, and commenced with Pulicat and Sadras, both of which places surrendered on the first summons. He then determined to attack Negapatam; but here Coote's jealousy developed itself; he would neither march himself nor spare any of his troops; upon which Lord Macartney collected the remainder of the forces in the Presidency, and gave the command to Munro, who displayed great energy and ability, and compelled the governor in less than three weeks to surrender. From thence a detachment was sent which took possession of Trincomalee in Ceylon.

The capture of Negapatam had no tendency to allay Coote's feelings; and Lord Macartney experienced great difficulty in maintaining a semblance of good feeling while negotiating with the nabob. But the intelligence of the loss of Chittore, and the consequent exposure of Vellore, effected more than either remonstrance or supplication. Coote took the field, though so ill that he was obliged to be carried in a palanquin, and would not return until an apoplectic fit compelled him to quit the camp.

The Madras detachment occupied Tellicherry after the capture of Mahe, closely besieged by the Nairs, but was relieved by Major Abingdon, who arrived with a force from Bombay. The fortress was shortly afterwards invested by a general of Hyder's, and Major Abingdon applied to Bombay for assistance, upon which he was ordered to evacuate the fort; but upon a second application was supplied with a consider-

able force. Abingdon now resolved to act on the offensive. In the night of the 7th of January, 1782, he made a vigorous sally and attacked the enemy's camp, throwing it into such disorder that they fled in every direction, leaving their wounded leader a prisoner in the hands of the British. After destroying the enemy's works and improving the fortifications of Tellicherry, he marched against and captured Calicut, garrisoning it with English troops.

During the preceding events a secret expedition was planned and fitted out in England for offensive operations against the Cape of Good Hope and in the Indian seas. The designs and destination of this armament were discovered by M. de Suffrein, the French commander, who followed the English with his squadron to the Cape de Verd islands, where, in Praya Bay, he attacked them, but was beaten off. The English, nevertheless, required so much refitting, Suffrein having made the Cape previous to them, that he strengthened and improved its fortifications so as to render the contemplated attack abortive.

Commodore Johnstone, who commanded the English squadron, having captured a number of Dutch East-Indiamen in Saldanha Bay, returned home with his prizes, leaving a portion of his armament to proceed to India with the troops on board. At this period General Meadows and Colonel Fullarton, with the strength of the army, sailed in search of Admiral Hughes on the Coromandel coast, while the remainder, under Colonel Mackenzie, sailed for Bombay. The latter learnt upon his arrival that Madras was in danger; he accordingly joined Abingdon at Calicut, and entering Hyder's territory, was successful in creating a diversion.

M. de Suffrein, having reinforced his fleet at the Isle of France, made for the Coromandel coast; from whence, after an indecisive action with Admiral Hughes, he retreated, and landed an army of 3000 men under M. Bussy at Porto Novo.

These auxiliaries Tippoo hastened to join, he having just destroyed Colonel Braithwaite's force at Tanjore. Braithwaite, whose little band consisted of 100 Europeans, 1500 sepoy, and 300 cavalry, was encamped near the banks of the Coleroon in fancied security. But Tippoo, with 10,000 cavalry, the like amount of infantry, 400 Europeans, and 20 pieces of cannon, surrounded him when least expected. For twenty-six hours Braithwaite fought and repulsed Tippoo; but when M. Lally, with his Europeans, advanced, the sepoy were disheartened, fell into confusion, and victory declared against the English commander, who was made prisoner with the whole of his force.

With the French reinforcement, Tippoo's designs became more

enlarged ; and on the 3d of April, Cuddalore, an excellent military and maritime station for the French, surrendered to him. Had the king's officers deigned to receive orders and advice from the Company's servants, this loss would have been prevented ; and upon several other occasions the like cause was seriously prejudicial to the public service.

Disputes with the civil authorities, and absence of proper supplies, kept Coote in cantonments until the 17th of April. His first object was the protection of Parmacoil ; but reaching Caranjoly, he learned its surrender. He then attempted to surprise Arnes, Hyder's principal depôt ; but Tippoo removed the treasure while Hyder engaged the English with a distant cannonade, and Coote fell back upon Madras.

During his preparations to join the French fleet, and in retaking Negapatam, Hyder amused Coote by pretending to negotiate. And it most fortunately happened, that as Suffrein was making for that place, Sir Edward Hughes fell in with and brought him to action. The engagement was most severe, and victory was declaring against the French, when a sudden shift of wind enabled Suffrein to bear off for Cuddalore, where he quickly repaired his vessels, and again put to sea.

When the news of this action reached Madras, Lord Macartney pressed Sir E. Hughes, as both Negapatam and Trincomalee were threatened, to put to sea and protect them ; but disinclination to receive orders from a Company's servant made the admiral obstinate, and he put to sea when more convenient to himself, on the 20th of August, three weeks after Suffrein had sailed from Cuddalore. The result may be anticipated. Trincomalee had surrendered three days before his arrival. Eager to avenge this loss, he immediately engaged the French fleet with an inferior force, and obtained a victory, but did not know how to profit by it. He disabled one of the French ships, and two others were so crippled that it took them ten days to get into harbour ; but Hughes made no attempt to capture them, and returned to Madras.

The monsoon coming on, Hughes determined to leave the coast of Coromandel and seek shelter in Bombay, notwithstanding Negapatam was attacked, and Bickerton on his way to join him with five sail of the line. Four days after Hughes's departure Bickerton was in the Madras roads, when, ascertaining the admiral's movements, he followed him to Bombay. Sir Eyre Coote at the same time resigned the command of the army to General Stuart, a man as obstinate as himself, but of far inferior ability. Within a short period of his resignation, Coote was again attacked with illness, under which he sank in a few days.

The governments of Bengal and Bombay having declared war against the Mahrattas, Goddard besieged Bassein, and sent Colonel Hartley to secure for the British the revenues of the Concan, and cover the besieging army. Hartley drove the Mahrattas from the Concan, taking a position near the Bhore ghaut, thence he retreated on Doo-gaur before a host of the enemy. On the 10th and 11th of December, an army of 20,000 Mahrattas attacked him; the result proved a complete victory for the British, the Mahratta general being among the slain.

Bassein having surrendered, Goddard advanced on Poonah, whence he soon returned, the Mahrattas following him and ravaging the country as he descended the ghauts. On the Bengal side, Popham had been superseded by Colonel Carnac, whose position was so critical, that he resolved, as a last resource, to attack Scindiah's camp by night. The stratagem succeeded perfectly; the enemy fled in every direction, most of their guns, elephants, and a quantity of ammunition, being left to the conquerors. Colonel Muir, who was Carnac's senior, then took the command; shortly after which Scindiah, whose resources were exhausted, entered into negotiation with him, and a treaty was concluded at Salbye on the 17th of May, 1782.

Reinforcements having been supplied to Colonel Mackenzie at Calicut, he opened the campaign in September, and took several forts; but the capture of Palagatcherry was essential to perfect his success. This was, however, impossible without artillery, which he had been compelled to leave behind, wanting draught cattle; upon which Colonel Macleod, who had been dispatched by Coote to take the command, retired to a camp a few miles distant, until his battering-train should arrive. Through the negligence of the officer who conducted the retreat, the baggage, stores, and ammunition were placed in the rear. This did not escape the enemy, who, when the main body had passed a narrow defile, made a sudden attack, and carried off the provision and greater portion of the ammunition. The sea-coast was now the only retreat the English could make. Tippoo hastened after and overtook them with 20,000 men; but as they retreated they fought until Panrani was occupied by them. Here they with difficulty maintained their ground, and were anticipating a second attack, when Tippoo's army was seen in full retreat, and in a few hours not one of his forces remained. The death of Hyder had reached Tippoo secretly, and caused the sudden movement, leaving the English force at full liberty.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF TIPPoo SAIB AS SULTAN OF MYSORE TO HIS
OVERTHROW AND DEATH AT THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM.

A.D. 1782-1799.

THE enemy in vain endeavoured to keep secret the death of the old monarch. Lord Macartney was not long in ascertaining the nature of the intelligence which had so promptly withdrawn Tippoo from the field; and fully aware of the confusion which invariably arises in all native states on an occurrence of this kind, wished to profit by the opportunity thus presented to him, and urged General Stuart to attack the Mysorean army, which he rightly judged would be easily overthrown in the absence of their leader. Stuart, however, either did not credit the report of Hyder's death, or disliking to expose himself and his troops at a time of year not usually one of action in that country, delayed operations until the season had changed; and it was consequently February in 1783 before he was in motion. Stuart having thus lost this opportunity, withdrew the garrisons from Wandewash and Caranjoly, and blew up both forts; then marching to Valore, he heard that Tippoo was retreating from the Carnatic, and had ordered the evacuation of Arcot.

The necessity of establishing his hereditary authority, and repelling a formidable invasion of the Sikhs, obliged Tippoo to visit the western side of India. The English army, after his sudden departure, divided; the sepoys marching by land to Tellicherry, while the Europeans proceeded by sea to Merjee, where they were joined by General Matthews with a considerable army, who passed the ghauts, took Bidnore and Ananpore, and compelled Mangalore to capitulate.

The treasure found at these places Matthews refused to apply in payment of the arrears due to the army, which Colonel Macleod, Colonel Mackenzie, and Major Shaw quitted, to complain to the authorities at Bombay, who superseded Matthews, and appointed Macleod in his

stead. Returning by sea, these officers fell in with a Mahratta fleet ; and, ignorant of the treaty recently made, an engagement ensued, in which Macleod was wounded and made prisoner, Mackenzie mortally wounded, and Shaw killed.

The army of Matthews being most injudiciously dispersed in small detachments, gave Tippoo an opportunity for concentrating his forces ; suddenly attacking Bidnore, he forced it to capitulate after a gallant resistance. Matthews, who commanded the garrison, previous to surrendering, distributed the treasures in his possession among his soldiers, which Tippoo held to be a breach of the terms of capitulation, and made it a pretext for the imprisonment of Matthews, who was subsequently assassinated ; his companions in arms were likewise subjected to long and rigorous confinement. After this action Tippoo invested Mangalore, a sea-port to which he attached great importance.

The Madras army being inactive, Suffrein landed Bussy with a reinforcement at Cuddalore ; during which time Lord Macartney in vain remonstrated with General Stuart against the impolicy of allowing the French to occupy a post so important. After several weeks, Stuart marched, but with so much reluctance, that he put his men over three miles a day only. In the meantime the fleet, which had been augmented, returned to Madras, and was sent to assist in the recapture of Cuddalore. By the time Stuart arrived at Cuddalore the French had erected several fortified points, which he attacked with partial success, but made no attempt to improve his victory.

Affairs at sea were managed still worse. The English and French fleets engaged off Cuddalore. Suffrein was thoroughly defeated, but remained to repair, while the victorious admiral sailed for Madras, which afforded Suffrein the opportunity of landing men from his fleet to reinforce Bussy, who attacked the English, but unsuccessfully. Bussy, undaunted, prepared for another attack, when intelligence arrived that peace was established between France and England. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon, and Tippoo was invited by Bussy to join in the treaty ; the French soldiers in his service being at the same time recalled. The same messenger that brought intelligence of peace brought orders for General Stuart to appear before the governor and council of Madras, a summons he reluctantly obeyed : it was resolved he should be dismissed the Company's service. To this sentence he refused to submit, and was supported by Sir John Burgoyne ; but Lord Macartney arrested Stuart, and sent him in a few days to England.

These errors and disgraces were retrieved by Colonel Fullarton, who commanded in the southern districts. In the height of a victorious career, Stuart stopped and ordered him to join at Cuddalore ; while marching, he learnt of the armistice and also of Tippoo's demonstration against Mangalore, and without further orders he pushed on to Seringapatam. In his way he captured Palagatcherry and Coimbatore ; but received orders, on the 28th of November, to cease all offensive operations, and evacuate the places he had captured.

Fullarton well knew Tippoo's treacherous nature, and delayed executing the orders he had received ; which foresight was amply verified by his receiving directions, on the 26th of the ensuing January, to renew the war. Tippoo would not listen to peace until the reduction of Mangalore, which he had besieged upwards of twelve months. A force was sent to relieve the place under Macleod, who, instead of doing so, negotiated with Tippoo to be allowed to supply the garrison with provisions : the result of these delays was, that Campbell was obliged to capitulate, marching to Tellicherry with all the honours of war.

A treaty of peace, embracing a mutual restitution of all captured places, was signed on March 11, 1784, and ratified by the Supreme Council at Calcutta during Hastings's absence, who wished subsequently to introduce modifications, which Lord Macartney honourably rejected.

From the uncertain way in which the act of parliament was drawn up which created the Supreme Court, consisting of one chief and three puisne judges, a conflict ensued between it and the council, virtually involving the Company's right to the provinces acquired. The civil jurisdiction of the Supreme Court compassed all claims of the Company against British subjects, and of British subjects against the natives, presuming the parties disputing acquiesced in appealing to its decision. In criminal cases it extended to all British subjects and servants of the Company ; but the act did not define what constituted a British subject, and the judges classed, not only all the subjects of the Company, but even subjects of the native princes over whom the Company exercised any influence, as coming within its jurisdiction. The effects of this interpretation were not long before they manifested themselves. Writs were issued against the Zemindars by individuals for ordinary debts, upon which the defendants were ordered to appear at Calcutta ; if they neglected, they were arrested, or if upon their arrival they were unable to procure bail, they were carried off to prison, where they remained pending the litigation of the suit. It had been the usage in

India, in collecting the revenue, to exercise summary jurisdiction in cases of disputed payments, which power was vested in the provincial councils called Dewannee Adaulut, with which the Supreme Court soon interfered ; and when any summary process was enforced, the defendant was encouraged to take out a writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court, when the judges took bail for the appearance of the parties, and liberated them. More than this, the Company had reserved to the nabob of Bengal the administration of all civil cases. The Supreme Court, however, did not heed this reservation, and disputed its enforcement. Whereupon Mr. Hastings instituted a new court, the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, and placed Sir Elijah Impey at the head of it. The office and emoluments being held during the pleasure of the governor and council, it was presumed that Impey would no longer support the pretensions of the Supreme Court against the Dewannee Adaulut, and would effect a reconciliation between the antagonistic courts. But the House of Commons censured these proceedings ; and Impey was recalled to answer several criminal charges.

Hastings made some important alterations in the finance department. A revenue-board was formed at the Presidency to superintend the collection and lease the revenues to the Zemindars. He then made a tour of the upper provinces ; and, as the government was pressed in its finances, determined to obtain assistance from the rajah of Benares and the nabob of Oude.

The rajah of Benares, Cheyt Sing, paid a tribute upon receiving protection of the Company ; and an addition was demanded, which the rajah paid, stipulating that after the year it was not to be re-demanded. It was, however, again demanded, and remonstrated against ; when an army was sent to enforce it, with 2000*L.* besides for the payment of the troops employed. The same proceeding was repeated the third year, with an additional fine of 10,000*L.*, although the rajah's agent had presented the governor-general with two lacs of rupees. Hastings, having determined on his line of proceeding, upon reaching Benares refused Cheyt Sing an audience, and had him arrested as a defaulter ; when the population broke into the palace, and cut down the larger portion of sepoys and their officers having custody of the rajah. The latter, in the confusion, escaped to the opposite bank of the river. Hastings, who was comparatively wanting both in men and money, escaped to Chunar. Cheyt Sing, when all his offers of submission had been rejected, raised a few troops, who, after encountering a severe defeat from the British troops, disbanded themselves ; and the unfortunate rajah fled to Bundelcund, leaving his wife and treasure in the Bejygur fort, which was soon

taken, and Cheyt Sing formally deposed. A grandson of the late rajah, Bulwant Sing, being declared the ruler of Benares, the tribute was raised to forty lacs, and the administration of the laws was placed under the control of the Company.

Hastings next directed his attention to the nabob of Oude, whose tribute was in arrear 1,400,000*l.*, the payment of which he intended to enforce. Previous, however, to any hostile display, he appointed a fresh resident, named Middleton, at Lucknow, in direct opposition to the wishes of the directory. Hastings instructed this official to proceed in his demands, although knowing the nabob's revenues had been eaten up in the support of the English forces he had been compelled to maintain. Middleton, however, was to look to another quarter for the deficiency. At this period there were resident at Lucknow, in possession of large revenues, two native princesses, or begums, the mothers of the late and present nabobs, to whom Suja-ad-Dowla had bequeathed the larger portion of his treasure. These princesses, it was suggested by the nabob, were far richer than they should be, and were fair objects of plunder, under the plea that they had endeavoured to excite rebellion in favour of Cheyt Sing. They were accordingly stripped of their revenues forthwith, through the instrumentality of the nabob, who, having invested their palaces, crowned his proceedings by putting the chief and confidential attendants in irons, and threatening to keep them without food until the treasures of the princesses were yielded up. By means of this violence half-a-million was extorted, which sum failed to procure the release of the unfortunate captives for some months; indeed, not until it was manifest that the begums would surrender nothing further, were their attendants liberated. Hastings' share in these proceedings was rewarded by a present of 100,000*l.* from the nabob, which he asked the Company's permission to accept, as a reward for his services.

The sums of money thus obtained—whatever may be thought of their source—were undoubtedly the means of saving the Carnatic, and probably of preserving our empire in the East. The sinews of war thus fortunately supplied, enabled the campaign in the Carnatic to be pushed on with renewed vigour, and finally ended in the complete overthrow of all our enemies in that quarter,—a consummation that no doubt soothed the great man's mind during after annoyances and persecutions.

Having thus consolidated the British power in India, and having during the two years of peace which followed the wars in the Carnatic, placed the revenues and general administration of the country in a

sounder and more efficient state, the Governor-General tendered his resignation, and in the early part of 1785 embarked for England. Seldom, if ever, has any man quitted the shores of India so universally admired and beloved as did Warren Hastings. Military men, civilians, and natives, all united by one common consent in regretting the departure of the man who, after a thirty years' residence and a fourteen years' rule, had endeared himself to all sections of the community.

The East India Company having received formal intimation that their charter would expire in three years from the 25th of March 1780, great interest was excited regarding the principle of its renewal. The political events and charges of peculation and oppression laid against the Company's servants in no wise favourably influenced either the public or parliamentary feeling; while Lord North, the minister, held it as the law of the constitution, that acquired territory belonged solely to the crown. This was spiritedly opposed by the Company; and Lord North, whose administration was extinct in 1782, promised an extension of the charter, with this one further condition, that all despatches received by the directors from their servants in India should be open to the inspection of the minister.

The Marquis of Rockingham, a known antagonist to the East India Board, succeeded North; but his death shortly afterwards placed the Earl of Shelburne, since the Marquis of Lansdowne, at the head of affairs. Fox, who was greatly hurt at being passed over, left the cabinet, and joined North in the opposition which defeated the Shelburne administration; and, to the annoyance of George III., brought about the celebrated Coalition Ministry. Fox soon introduced a bill for the better government of India, which proposed vesting the patronage of the directory and proprietary in seven commissioners appointed by the legislature; and also proposed measures for affording a more creditable local government to India. Calumny and interest represented his efforts as a means of personal aggrandisement, the seven commissioners being represented as ready instruments in his hands for ruling India. The House of Commons, whose select committees had made valuable reports upon India, were uninfluenced, and passed the bill by large majorities. Its fate was different in the House of Lords; for there the king, acting most unconstitutionally, authorised Lord Temple to state that he should personally regard every man as his enemy who supported the bill; which was consequently thrown out by a majority of eight, the numbers on division being eighty-seven against seventy-nine.

Shortly after, Pitt, as prime minister, introduced and carried his India bill, and established the Board of Control, composed of six privy councillors chosen by the king; whose powers, as their title implies, authorise them to check and control the most important functions of the Company.

Upon the departure of Hastings, the senior member of Council, Mr. Macpherson undertook the government, which he conducted with great ability, and much to the satisfaction of the directors.

After some delay in the nomination of a successor to Hastings, the Court of Directors appointed Lord Cornwallis to the vacant office; and that nobleman arrived in Calcutta and assumed the reins of government in September 1786, taking at the same time the command of the forces in India.

Promising as were the appearances of the political horizon at this juncture, the new governor-general soon found it as difficult to maintain peace as had his predecessor. The first symptom of approaching troubles was by an act of Tippoo, sultan of Mysore, who on some pretence invaded the dominions of the rajah of Travancore, an ally of the English, and succeeded in introducing a portion of his army within the intrenched lines of the rajah's fortifications. The resolute daring of a small body of Nairs, however, turned the fortune of the day; and Tippoo had the mortification of beholding his numerous troops flying before a mere handful of Hindoo warriors. The sultan himself had some difficulty in escaping with his life, so hotly was he pursued by the resolute band of Nairs.

Tippoo endeavoured to persuade Lord Cornwallis that it was an unauthorised attack of his troops; his lordship, knowing his adversary's character, negotiated treaties with the Nizam and the Mahrattas at Poonah, to control the restlessness of Tippoo, who meanwhile renewed his assault upon the lines of Travancore, which he carried on the 7th of May, 1790, razed them, and desolated the country. This attack was met by the advance of General Meadows with the Madras army on Coimbatore, and thence to the interior of the Mysore country; while General Abercrombie with the Bombay army descended by the Malabar coast on Tippoo's territory. The campaign was terminated in Tippoo's favour, Meadows having ineffectually endeavoured to draw him into a general engagement, which he dexterously avoided, and captured several dépôts well supplied with stores and provisions.

The necessary arrangements having been completed, Cornwallis personally opened the second campaign, and reached the pass of Mooglee before his enemy could offer any resistance. On the 5th of March,

1791, the English arrived before Bangalore. Colonel Floyd on the next morning, with a strong detachment, unexpectedly fell in with Tippoo's army, and rashly ordered an immediate attack; which would probably have been successful, had not a severe wound prevented him from directing the operations. The retreat was covered by Major Gowdie, who with a few guns effectually checked the pursuit. Cornwallis, on the night of the 21st of March, though the Sultan and his army were in sight of the town, attacked and captured Bangalore, when a terrible slaughter ensued, upwards of 1000 of the besieged falling during the storming. The possession of Bangalore did not produce the advantages anticipated; there were scarcely any provisions, stores, or draught cattle; and the Nizam's contingent was worthless. But the governor-general, undaunted, advanced upon Seringapatam, having previously ordered an invasion of Mysore on the Malabar side by the Bombay army. Tippoo was defeated; but the want of supplies and increasing sickness compelled Cornwallis to retreat, with the loss of his battering train and stores. The Mahrattas joined his lordship a few days after this loss, well supplied with draught cattle and provisions; but the season was too advanced for active operations, and the army retreated to Bangalore.

The third campaign having been well prepared for, was opened with spirit, detachments securing the hill-forts which protected the passes into the Mysore country. Amongst the captures was the celebrated Savendroog, which, from its natural position and artificial advantages, appeared impregnable, but was taken by storm on the 21st of December; and Octadroog, a fortress almost as strong, fell a few days later.

A detachment under the command of Captain Little, sent to aid the Mahrattas, obtained great advantages over the enemy; his allies, however, instead of assisting, proved an incumbrance. With 700 men he attacked a strongly-fortified camp of the Mysorean army, consisting of 10,000 men, whom he routed, capturing their guns and stores. After this fell the fortress of Lemoga, opening a portion of Tippoo's territory till then free from the ravages of the war. The Mahrattas, instead of advancing to support General Abercrombie, who reached the top of the ghauts on the Malabar side, made a miserable attempt on Prednore, for the sake of plunder, thus interfering with the plan of the campaign, and causing the fall of Coimbatore before the Mysore army. The capitulation being flagrantly violated, Lord Cornwallis refused to listen to Tippoo's solicitations for peace.

On the 5th of February, 1792, reinforcements from Hyderabad having arrived, the governor-general advanced to lay siege to Seringa-

patam. On the 6th, in the evening, the troops having been dismissed from parade, were ordered to fall in again with their arms and ammunition. By eight all was completed for a surprise on Tippoo's fortified camp, the army advancing in three columns. Tippoo's army, which consisted of 50,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, under his own command, were routed; and their assailants, after storming several batteries, obtained a defensible position before the dawn of morning. At daybreak hostilities were more fiercely renewed, the fortress opening a destructive fire on the redoubts captured by the English, and vigorous attempts were made to recover their lost positions; but Tippoo's soldiery were beaten in every direction, and the battle terminated on the evening of the 7th: 535 men were killed and wounded upon the English side; but the adverse army suffered to the extent of upwards of 4000. General Abercrombie joined Lord Cornwallis nine days after with an augmentation of 2000 Europeans and 4000 native troops.

On the 24th Tippoo yielded to his fate, and most reluctantly signed a treaty, by which he bound himself to give up one-half of his territories to his conquerors, pay three crores and two lacs of rupees as the expenses of the war, and to surrender two of his sons as hostages for the performance of these stipulations.

Tippoo evinced great disinclination to complete his promises, notwithstanding his sons were in the English camp. The independence of the rajah of Coorg was most objectionable to him; and it was not until he found preparations were being made for a renewed attack, that he submitted on the 19th of March, when his hostages delivered in the definitive treaty. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, Lord Cornwallis took possession of all the French settlements in India, the revolution in France having brought on a war with England and that country.

The charter of the East India Company met with but little opposition or discussion when renewed in 1793. At this period Sir John Shore, a civil servant of the Company, was appointed successor to Lord Cornwallis; whose financial and judicial measures, especially the Permanent Settlement, had proved far from advantageous to those whom he really intended to benefit; hence Shaw's appointment, who was well acquainted with the financial administration of India.

The treaty between the English, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam did not provide for the possibility of disagreement among the contracting parties, which soon afterwards occurred. The Mahrattas were desirous of grasping the spoils of the Nizam, and at the same time apprehensive of the increasing power of the English. Their chief Scindia openly

expressed his dissatisfaction, and at the same time made no hesitation in asserting that Tippoo should be strengthened as a necessary opposing power to the English. His death shortly afterwards prevented this formidable combination from taking place; upon which the Nizam, believing the court of Poonah to be in a state of confusion, hastily invaded the Mahratta territory, but was encountered by a body of troops near Kurdla, where an action took place, from which the Nizam and his officers fled, leaving his army to suffer a total rout. The Nizam sheltered himself in the fort of Kurdla for two days; at the end of which time he submitted to his enemies' conditions. The Company refused upon this occasion to allow the British in the Nizam's service to join him; and upon his return he dismissed them, and appointed a French officer to discipline his troops. This gave the English great uneasiness; and not less so from the fact of the attempt of some French officers to escape from Madras, and the desertion of several sepoys from the Madras to the French service.

Sir John Shore, desirous of effecting a reconciliation with Tippoo, immediately the terms of the treaty were fulfilled, delivered up his sons with due honours. But the sultan, as revengeful as proud, declined to meet Shore's advances, treating the officer who accompanied his sons with great coolness, and refusing a second interview with him.

The extravagance and incapacity of the nabob had produced lamentable effects in Oude, to which a disputed accession upon his death added considerably; his brother claiming the throne, asserting the nabob's reputed children to be the offspring of others. The governor-general, until visiting Lucknow, favoured the pretension of young Vizir Ali; but whilst there he obtained such information, that he confirmed the claims of Sadat Ali, the late nabob's brother, who was proclaimed on the 21st of January, 1798.

In the Carnatic, affairs were not more promising than those of Oude. Lord Hobart, governor of Madras, endeavoured to prevail upon the nabob to renounce his authority; but the governor-general refusing to allow any intimidation, all his endeavours on this point failed. But if unsuccessful with the nabob, Lord Hobart proved otherwise with the Dutch; for immediately on receiving the news of the outbreak of war between England and Holland, he took possession of Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, and Amboyna, all Dutch settlements, with scarcely a struggle. Shortly after, he was superseded by Lord Clive as governor of Madras; and Sir John Shore being elevated to the peerage as Lord Teignmouth, sailed for England, having resigned the governor-generalship.

The affairs of India were now placed under the control of Lord Mornington, who assumed the office of governor-general on the 17th of May, 1798. Shortly after his arrival he received the copy of a proclamation, issued by the French governor of the Mauritius, certifying that Tippoo Sultan had sent two officers to propose an offensive and defensive alliance with the French; and soliciting soldiers to drive the English out of Southern India. The document also requested the citizens to enlist, for which Tippoo would pay handsomely. This was at first considered a forgery; but upon its proving genuine, no alternative appeared to be left, and accordingly war was declared against Tippoo.

General Harris, the governor of Madras, could not respond with promptitude to the orders of Lord Mornington, owing to the embarrassed state of the finances of his presidency, as well as to the opposition offered to the war by several of the leading men of the government. Little activity prevailed, therefore, until the arrival of Lord Clive. At this critical period fortune favoured the English in a direction in which they had very little reason to look for it. The French soldiery, whom the Nizam had engaged when he dismissed the English troops, were disbanded, and in such a state of insubordination and dissatisfaction, that their officers gladly entered the English lines for protection; the place of these rebellious troops being again occupied by the British battalions formerly in the Nizam's service.

In November a remonstrance was forwarded by the governor-general to the sultan; and he immediately afterwards proceeded to Madras, where all arrangements were completed for the campaign. Generals Harris and Stuart commanded the armies of the Carnatic and Bombay; and the latter was ordered to join Harris as he advanced on Seringapatam. On the 6th of March General Harris had invaded Tippoo's country, taking a few hill-forts. The Nizam's troops were at this time commanded by the Hon. Col. Arthur Wellesley, subsequently Duke of Wellington, just entering upon his military career. Tippoo gave out reports that the Bombay army was the first contemplated object of his attack; but meanwhile he marched 200 miles in an opposite direction to intercept Col. Montessor at Sedasser, who had three battalions of sepoy under him. Accident frustrated his intentions; for on the evening of the 5th of March the rajah of Coorg, who had been entertaining Montessor and his English officers, conducted them to the heights of Sedasser for the purpose of viewing the Mysore country; when to their astonishment, in the plain below, they discerned Tippoo's encampment. Montessor took every precaution time and place would allow for defence, and sustained Tippoo's attack the next

morning most gallantly. In the afternoon General Stuart arrived and relieved him from his perilous position. Tippoo having exhausted himself in the effort to prevent the junction, his troops became disheartened and fled in every direction, throwing down their muskets, swords, and turbans, and indeed every thing that impeded their flight.

Tippoo neglected several favourable opportunities for attacking the army of the Carnatic; but at length changed his plans, and determined upon engaging at Mallavelly. The plan of attack was, for three hundred picked men, under the command of Tippoo's counsellor, Poor-niah, to charge and break the right wing of the English; upon which Tippoo was to pour his entire cavalry upon the weakened part, and cut through the army, and thus by dividing, destroy it. But Poor-niah's detachment was discovered in time; and the Scotch brigade ordered to receive the attack were strictly enjoined to withhold their fire until the enemy were close upon them. Scarcely had they formed when the three hundred men rushed from the jungle; steadily obeying their orders, the Scotch, with national coolness, waited the word to fire, which Harris timed so judiciously, as to lay forty men and horses on the ground at the first discharge. Harris then advanced his right wing; but Tippoo's soldiers, discouraged by the failure of the first onset, retreated rapidly; of which advantage could not be taken, owing to the want of means for transporting the artillery and stores.

The left wing, under Wellesley, was even more successful. Tippoo's troops, thrown into confusion by the close and steady fire he maintained, were charged at an opportune moment with great slaughter and the loss of six of their standards. The comparative losses in this battle were, on the English side, sixty-six men killed, wounded, and missing; while Tippoo suffered to the extent of two thousand.

Harris now prepared to cross the Cavary, near Soosilly, if practicable, and attack Seringapatam on the west side, in order to facilitate the junction of the Bombay army, and obtain the requisite supply of grain expected through the western passes. This movement, unexpected by Tippoo, filled him with alarm. On the 5th of April the English army were before Seringapatam. In the evening Colonels Shaw and Wellesley were ordered to attack a watercourse and tope, or clump of trees, forming an outpost of the enemy; through some confusion, owing to the darkness of the night, Wellesley was unsuccessful, barely escaping with life; and by some mischance was too late the next morning to take the command for a renewed assault upon the post, which was then carried in twenty minutes.

The siege steadily advanced, several breaches having been made,

until the day of assault, the 4th of May. At one o'clock in the day, the usual Indian hour of repose, Syed Goffhar, Tippoo's best general, sent word to the sultan that an attack was about to be made; but Tippoo's faith in astrological predictions overweighing the general's warning, he refused to listen to the message; and while Syed was deliberating upon the answer, he was killed by a cannon-shot. At half-past one General Baird stepped from the trenches, sword in hand, and gave the orders to advance. In seven minutes the English colours were planted and floating at the summit of the breach. The storming divisions, as they ascended, wheeled to the right and left, fighting along the northern and southern ramparts, every inch of which was bravely defended by the Mysoreans. Thousands fell; and the slaughter terminated only when the two storming parties met on the eastern rampart. Tippoo's palace alone remained to be captured, the surrender of which was withheld in consequence of the uncertainty of its master's fate. He had fallen in the thickest and hottest of the fight, shot in three places by musket-balls. It was late in the evening before Tippoo's body was discovered; and on the ensuing day it was placed in the tomb of Hyder Ali, the highest military honours being paid to the deceased sultan. Tippoo's family were immediately taken under the protection of the English, and treated with every respect due to their exalted station.

Thus fell one of the most cruel and implacable enemies the British had ever encountered in India. His love of war appeared to have its origin in the misery and ruin it carried in its train. An enemy to the human race, he seemed to take especial pleasure in exercising his ferocity upon such English prisoners as fell into his power. Death by the sword was considered a fortunate termination to their existence, even when safety had been guaranteed by capitulation; and many were the cold-blooded atrocities revealed when his death unloosed the tongues of his oppressed people.

His name signifies a tiger; and so attached was Tippoo to these savage animals, types of his own ferocious character, that he kept numbers of them about his palace, and often made them his executioners. One of his favourite toys is still to be seen, though sadly disarranged, in the East India Company's museum in Leadenhall-street. It consists of the figure of a tiger in the act of tearing a European to pieces; on turning a handle some mechanism in the inside moves the jaws and limbs of the animal, and at the same time emits sounds intended to represent the growls of the tiger mingled with the groans of the dying man.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE MYSOREAN KINGDOM TO THE
TERMINATION OF THE FIRST MAHRATTA CAMPAIGN.

A.D. 1799-1806.

THE death of the tyrant Tippoo was followed by the occupation of the numerous strongholds of the Mysorean country, which at once fell into the possession of the British commander.

Colonel Wellesley was appointed governor of Mysore, and assumed charge of Seringapatam, much to the annoyance of General Baird, who, as his senior in years and service, had calculated on the post. How far the relationship of the young commander to the governor-general may have exercised an influence in this arrangement is little to the purpose, since it afforded Wellesley an opportunity for displaying those administrative and military talents which were at a future period destined so greatly to distinguish him. He succeeded most completely in restoring order and security throughout his government, and earned for himself at once the approval of his superiors and the respect and attachment of the natives of the country.

The governor-general, in the distribution of the late sultan's territory, determined that his family should be no participators in it; he nevertheless apportioned them an extremely liberal annuity, with a residence in the fort of Vellore. That part of Mysore approximating to the former capital was created a principality for the Hindoo rajahs who had been deposed by Hyder Ali. The Nizam had several rich districts, whilst the English kept Seringapatam and the mountain-passes and forts. A small portion was set apart for the Mahrattas as allies, although their forces had not joined during the war.

Lord Mornington being now comparatively unfettered, directed an expedition against the Isle of France, which had for years been the rendezvous of several buccaneering vessels, the captains of which had

openly carried on attacks upon British commerce. The island being deemed also a very favourable point for assembling an enemy's fleet, its tenure was held to be indispensable. Colonel Wellesley was accordingly commanded to prepare an armament for the capture of the place; and Admiral Rainier, who commanded in the Indian Ocean, was ordered to Trincomalee to co-operate in the attack. This order the admiral refused to execute, or join in such an expedition without instructions from home. Whatever the admiral's motives, the results were most disastrous; for these privateers continued during our subsequent wars to levy tribute upon the commerce of the Indian seas with impunity.

Being foiled in this, the governor-general projected an attack on Batavia with the forces at Ceylon; but orders from home directed him to send a body of troops into Egypt to expel the French; and thus, for a time, the attack upon the Dutch settlement was delayed. The troops at Ceylon were accordingly dispatched to Bombay, and joined by some native infantry in readiness for foreign service. The combined body was commanded by Baird, and sent by the Red Sea to Egypt; but the French had capitulated before its arrival, and it therefore took no share in the honours of the campaign.

The Nizam being unable to protect himself without the British contingent in his service, and the governor-general apprehensive that the Mahrattas would invade his country, arrangements were entered into between them, that certain districts should be assigned to the English for the maintenance of his auxiliaries. This was rendered necessary by the inconsistencies and jealousy of the Nizam's court, some portions of whom endeavoured to persuade him to dismiss these forces and rely upon his own enlistments. The acquisition of new territory was in opposition to the act under which the Company held their authority; but the prudence of the policy pursued prevented any objection to this infringement. Indeed, the court of Hyderabad presented such a scene of corruption, imbecility, and profligacy, that, had the Nizam surrendered all his power and dominion, little opposition would have been offered, even by the greatest opponents to the East India Company.

During and indeed for some time previous to the war with Tippoo, Shah Zeman, the Afghan sovereign, had threatened an invasion of India, which enterprise Tippoo urged him to undertake, persuading him that the attempt would be joined by all the Mahomedans in India. Tippoo's advice so well reconciled itself to Shah Zeman's wishes, that he invaded the Punjab in 1795; but a rebellion at home compelled him, in less than a fortnight, to recross the Indus. His

second attempt was in January 1797, when he advanced to Lahore, and, by mediation, made a successful impression upon the Sikhs and their chieftains. These people were originally a quiet, inoffensive sect, having a mixed creed of Mahomedan and Hindoo tenets, but had become a warlike and independent people, owing to the cruel persecutions inflicted upon them by the emperors of Delhi. The efforts of Shah Zeman to conciliate the Sikhs were, however, opposed by the Mahomedan priests following his army, and the licentiousness of the army itself, which he could not suppress; despite these, however, he continued to hold the Punjab, and prepared for an attack upon Delhi. The occupation of Lahore by the Afghans produced a sensation throughout India. The weakness of the Mahrattas, and the incapacity of the nabob's government, predisposed the populace to revolt; and the Rohilla chiefs, ready to avenge the harshness suffered at the hands of Warren Hastings, were soon in arms. It required but the farther advance of Shah Zeman to have matured these elements of discord, which would probably have gone far to have annihilated the power of the British in India.

His brother, Prince Mohammed, having headed a rebellion, Shah Zeman was again compelled to return, in the summer of 1797, threatening another and early invasion. He returned to Lahore in the ensuing year; but the Persians attacking his dominions, he was forced to quit India, in order to protect his own territory. This presenting an extremely favourable opportunity, the governor-general sent an embassy to the shah of Persia, and negotiated an offensive and defensive alliance, which, however, was of little use, for Shah Zeman, in 1801, was dethroned and imprisoned by his brother.

The affairs of Oude, under Lord Teignmouth's arrangement, had proved most unsatisfactory. The nabob being irregular in the payment of his subsidies, his army harassed the people much more effectually than it could protect them against an enemy; whilst his civil government was a mass of corruption. These circumstances induced the Marquis of Wellesley, formerly Lord Mornington, to correct the abuses existing in Oude; to which he was also prompted by the irruption of Shah Zeman, the effect of whose occupation of Lahore was not lost sight of.

Another circumstance determined a prompt line of action. Vizir Ali, after his deposition, was permitted by Sir John Shore to reside at Benares; but this place being considered too close to his former sovereignty, it was determined to remove him to Calcutta: to this he objected. On the 14th of January, 1799, he called on, and com-

plained in very indiscreet language to the resident, Mr. Cherry ; while the latter was remonstrating with him, the vizir started from the ground and struck him with his sword, upon which his companions rushed on and murdered the unfortunate gentleman. Four other Englishmen were similarly butchered ; but a fifth so effectually defended himself, that assistance arrived, upon which Ali and his fellow-assassins fled from the spot. Vizir Ali immediately collected a body of adventurers, who speedily deserted him upon some slight reverses. He then sought the protection of a Rajpoot chieftain, who surrendered him to the British.

Colonel Scott was now despatched to the nabob of Oude, with instructions authorising him to demand the immediate dismissal of the nabob's native troops, and their replacement by a British army, retaining such as were acquainted with the mode of collecting the taxes. The nabob delayed as long as possible, when he declared his desire to resign the sovereignty ; which the governor-general hesitated upon, unless made in favour of the Company. It soon became apparent that delay was his object ; upon which Wellesley adopted measures that forced compliance ; and, upon the nabob asserting his inability to defray the expenses of the English troops, the transfer of the civil and military government of his country was demanded, his court and family being provided for by the Company ; while he was also informed that so much territory as would afford a revenue to defray the subsidy agreed upon with Lord Teignmouth must be yielded absolutely to the English.

Every delay that his ingenuity could devise he adopted, until he heard that troops were actually advancing upon him, when he reluctantly consented. Wellesley proceeded with the same promptitude with which he had commenced. On the day the treaty was signed, he issued a commission for the provisional government of the country, nominating the Hon. Mr. Henry Wellesley the head of the commission.

These proceedings were unpalatable to the Court of Directors, and Wellesley's policy it was rumoured was to secure family appointments ; that of Mr. H. Wellesley was particularly censured, as he did not belong to the class of Company's servants to which, by act of parliament, such appointments were confined. The Board of Directors thereupon ordered his immediate removal ; but the Board of Control refused to sanction it, remarking that the appointment was temporary, and hence not within the restrictions. Pending these dissensions, Mr. Wellesley concluded a treaty with the nabob of Furruckabad, having similar

stipulations to those of Oude ; but Rajah Rajwunt Sing refusing to acknowledge the treaty, his two fortresses Pridgeghur and Sansu were besieged and captured. There were also some refractory Zemindars, who had gained by the misrule in the Doab, whom it was necessary to coerce ; which being accomplished, and having thus established tranquillity, Mr. Wellesley voluntarily resigned his commission.

The East India government, never wasting opportunities nor wanting pretexts, now discovered that Surat was shamefully misgoverned. This, and the non-payment of the tribute, formed a good justification for annexing it to the Company's territories ; which plea was further strengthened by the constant difficulties arising out of the right of succession. The nabob of Surat, like many other vassals of the Delhi empire, when strong enough, became virtually independent, and rendered his succession hereditary. But disputes having arisen respecting the inheritance, the British interfered and exercised their authority. A subsequent dispute upon the same subject, in 1789, afforded a further opportunity for the Company, and the nabob was treated similarly to the ruler of Oude, being compelled to surrender the civil and military government of his dominions to the English, receiving in lieu a pension, and with it protection. But the chout, or tribute, he had agreed to pay to the Mahrattas was not so easily settled. The Guicowar prince declared his readiness to relinquish his portion of the tribute to the Company, but the Peishwa was not so yielding.

In Tanjore like circumstances produced similar results. The late rajah, Zuljajee, on his death-bed, had appointed his adopted son Sarbojee his successor ; but the English government decreed in favour of Zuljajee's brother, Amar Sing. Sarbojee was compelled to fly to Madras in consequence of Amar's tyranny, and was subsequently declared rajah on the condition that he would cede the civil and military government of his kingdom to the English.

The position of the nabob of Arcot had caused great inconveniences between his government and that of Madras. His revenues were nearly all absorbed or mortgaged, and consequently fell into arrears. After the capture of Seringapatam records of treacherous correspondence were discovered amongst the sultan's papers, involving the late nabob Walajah, as well as the present, Omdah-al-Omrab, with Tippoo. Omdah died while preparations were being made for taking possession of the civil and military administration of the Carnatic. He was succeeded by his reputed son, Ali Hassein, with whom Lord Clive personally negotiated, and received his assent to the proposed terms, which he, however, subsequently rejected ; upon which his lordship deposed him,

and gave the throne to his cousin, Azim-ed-Dowlah. Ali remonstrated, and expressed his willingness to abide by Clive's previous decision ; both alike were disregarded, and death soon after terminating his career, as well as that of the rajah of Tanjore, the governments of the latter country and of the Carnatic were established without further difficulty.

Lord Wellesley was equally desirous of maintaining the same relations with the Mahrattas, their troops being little better than banditti, living rather on plunder than pay, while the maintenance of such forces hourly jeopardised the peace of India. On the other hand, an auxiliary disciplined army would protect the native princes from their continual apprehensions of insurrection, and restrain their habits of rapine and extortion. Negotiations were commenced with the Peishwa, who was legally the Mahratta sovereign, though only in name, for both Holkar and Scindia, who held their feudatories by military tenure, rejected his supremacy ; the latter indeed so controlled the Peishwa Bajee Rao, that Lord Wellesley imagined he would readily accept the offer of British troops to rid himself of this insolent chief. Fortune seemed to favour the governor-general's intentions. Holkar's family, who had for nearly a century been acknowledged in the northern states, having established their virtual independence, and an extent of country scarcely inferior to that of the Peishwa, were at discord upon the right of succession, which afforded Scindia an excuse for interfering, who declared Cashee Rao sovereign, and put Mulhar Rao, his brother, to death, retaining a posthumous son of the latter for the fidelity of his uncle. Jesswunt Rao, an illegitimate son of the late Holkar, escaped from Scindia, and shortly appeared at the head of a body of adventurers ; but was defeated near Indore, on the 14th of October, 1801, losing his artillery and baggage.

In the ensuing year he again appeared with a better-disciplined and more numerous army, and marched against the united forces of the Peishwa and Scindia near Poonah. After a severe engagement, Scindia's cavalry gave way, and a decisive victory was obtained by Holkar. The Peishwa left his palace with an intention of taking part in the engagement, but being alarmed, he retreated to wait the result ; upon ascertaining it, he fled to the fort of Senginh, previously sending to Colonel Close, the British resident, the outlines of a treaty, binding himself to maintain six battalions of sepoy, and yield twenty-five lacs of rupees of his revenue for their maintenance. The day following his victory Holkar requested an interview with the resident. Colonel Close at once proceeded to his tent, where he found him suffering from a spear-wound in the body, and a sabre-cut on the head. He expressed

great anxiety for the mediation of the resident, with a view of arranging matters with the Peishwa and Scindia. Holkar's propositions had no effect upon the Peishwa's fear, who fled in an English ship to Bassein.

The Guicowar having previously declared his readiness to yield his share of the chout levied on Surat, further to secure the British alliance, yielded the Chourassy district. His death, in September 1800, produced great disturbances; for his son was perfectly imbecile, and unfit to control the intrigues of the court of Baroda. These intrigues speedily brought on a war between the late prime minister Nowje Apajee and an illegitimate brother of the deceased Guicowar; but the English siding with the minister, and furnishing troops, victory declared in his favour. Nowjee being unfettered, pursued his economical reforms by dismissing the Arab mercenaries; but this body refused to disband, demanding enormous arrears; afterwards mutinying, they seized Baroda and imprisoned the Guicowar. The English immediately invested Baroda, which surrendered in ten days. Contrary to capitulation, many of the mutineers joined the rebel Kanhojee; but were pursued, and ultimately, with the latter, driven from Gujerat.

Bajee Rao's flight to Bassein, Holkar treated as an abdication, and with other Mahratta chiefs proclaimed Amrut Rao Peishwa; upon which the most violent excesses commenced: the ministers of the late prince were tortured to reveal his treasures, and every presumed wealthy person in Poonah was seized, and terrified into the delivery of his property. When these atrocities began, Colonel Close proceeded to Bassein, and concluded a treaty with Bajee Rao, by which the Peishwa agreed to accept an English force, providing for its subsistence, to exclude from his territories Europeans of whatsoever country hostile to the English, to relinquish his claims on Surat, and submit all points between him and the Guicowar to the arbitration of the English.

This treaty was no sooner executed than Bajee Rao began intriguing with Scindia and Raghajee Bhouslay, rajah of Berar, to frustrate the execution of it, in which these chiefs willingly assisted, as its operation would have overthrown the influence they possessed in the Mahratta states. The governor-general promptly restored the Peishwa, and Amrut Rao, subsequent to his deposition having deserved it, was awarded a liberal pension and a residence at Benares.

The governor-general, after restoring Bajee Rao, endeavoured to obtain the acknowledgment of the Bassein treaty by the Mahratta chieftains; Raghajee Bhouslay, however, offered every opposition, and endeavoured to unite Scindia and Holkar to defeat the English policy, which end they fancied might be attained by procrastination. But General

Wellesley, who was invested with the joint powers of political agent and commander of the army of the Deccan, felt little inclined to submit to evasions, and without circumlocution insisted that the troops of Raghajee should retire to Boxar, and Scindia's to Hindostan. This proposition admitted of no escape, and greatly disconcerted the Mahratta princes; being thus forced to determine at once, they refused, which was of course regarded as a declaration of war.

Scindia had a numerous army in the northern Mahrattas, disciplined and officered by several French officers, against whom General Lake was directed to act, while General Wellesley and Colonel Stephenson commanded in the Deccan. Wellesley's first operation was against the reputed impregnable fort of Ahmednuggar, which withstood his attack but four days. He then pursued the Mahrattas, who avoided an engagement; but being determined to bring them to a decisive action, on the 21st of September, 1803, he marched in one direction, ordering Stephenson to take another, so that their forces might again unite on the 24th, when he fancied the Mahrattas would, from his apparently small army, be drawn into action. But, on the 23d, intelligence reached him that the Mahrattas, fifty thousand strong, with a hundred pieces of artillery, were encamped close at hand; he at once decided to attack them, without waiting for Stephenson's re-inforcement, although his force was only four thousand five hundred men strong. This engagement was the celebrated battle of Assaye, and began with a terrible discharge of canister, grape, and round shot from the Mahrattas, which told with fearful effect upon the English ranks, which were entirely destitute of artillery; nevertheless, the English troops undauntedly advanced, when a body of Mahratta horse charged the 74th. A counter-charge of the 19th Light Dragoons and 4th Madras horse was ordered, and executed with such irresistible effect, that the enemy's advanced line fell back upon the rear, and the British and native infantry rushing upon them with impetuosity, drove both into the Juah. As the enemy attempted to re-form on the opposite side of the river, the British cavalry again dashed amongst them, and completely sealed the fate of the Mahrattas, ninety-eight pieces of cannon being captured. The loss was severe on the British side, one-third of the troops being wounded or killed. Stephenson did not join until the evening of the 24th, when he pursued the fugitives, but unsuccessfully; he, however, reduced the city of Burhampore and the fort of Asseeghur, while a portion of the Gujerat forces took Baroach and other fortresses.

During these proceedings, General Lake, who held powers in Hin-

doostan similar to those of Wellesley in the Deccan, advanced from Cawnpore against Scindia's northern army, under M. Perron. The



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campaign opened with the storming and capture of Alijurh ; but, as a set-off, Shekoabad was surprised by some Mahratta cavalry, commanded by a French officer, and the garrison compelled to capitulate, the detachment Lake sent to their relief arriving too late.

Information reaching M. Perron that Scindia intended superseding him, he addressed a letter to General Lake, requesting permission to pass, with his family, property, and officers of his suite, through the Company's territories to Lucknow, which was immediately conceded by the governor-general.

After capturing Alijurh, Lake advanced upon Delhi, where his advanced guard suddenly encountered a destructive cannonade, M. Louis Bourquin, next in command to Perron, having cleverly ambuscaded his guns in long grass. The Mahratta position was too strong to draw them from it. Lake therefore commanded the cavalry to retire, which the enemy mistook for a retreat, and rushed after them. The cavalry

retired in close order, until it reached the advancing column, when opening from the centre, the British infantry passed to the front. The battalions advanced under a destructive fire from the enemy's guns until within a hundred yards, when they fired a volley, and charged with the bayonet. Scindia's infantry abandoned their guns and fled. The English broke into open columns of companies, and the cavalry charging through them, the slaughter was dreadful. After this victory Delhi was taken immediate possession of, and Shah Alum delivered from Mahratta captivity.

Lake then marched against Agra, which was a prey to the greatest anarchy. Before the war the garrison was commanded by English officers, who were confined upon the outbreak of hostilities, by their own men. Seven battalions of Scindia's infantry encamped upon the glaxis; but the garrison were afraid to admit them lest they should plunder the treasury, which they wished to keep for themselves. These battalions were defeated by Lake with the loss of twenty-six guns; after which the garrison liberated their officers and capitulated, being allowed to retire with their private property.

The forces sent by Scindia from the Deccan, reinforced by the remnants of Bourquin's army, were General Lake's next pursuit: he came up with them on the 1st of November at sunrise, and fancying they were in retreat, sent his cavalry to turn them. But the Mahrattas occupied a strong position, with seventy-five pieces of cannon chained together, to resist cavalry, in their front. The cavalry were forced back, and the infantry and guns came forward. In the attack Scindia's cavalry proved most cowardly; but the battalions disciplined by the French fought with desperate determination; refusing to surrender, they died with their weapons in their hands. This battle of Laswarree destroyed Scindia's power in Northern India; at the same time Kut-tack and Bundelcund were subdued.

The rapidity with which the enemy moved in the Deccan harassed Wellesley much; but at length, on the 20th of November, he routed them at Argoam, and there captured Gawelgush, which led to proposals for peace. The rajah of Berar was the first to capitulate, yielding a large amount of territory to the English and their allies, and all claims against the Nizam; agreeing also that no European should be admitted into his dominions unless permitted by the British; accredited ministers were to reside at the respective courts, the rajah receiving a resident at Nagpore. Scindia succumbed to similar terms, but was compelled to sacrifice much more territory and power than his ally.