

himself odious to the Indian population; but the Moslem chiefs, who wielded the military power, hailed the appearance of a sovereign that had renounced the scandalous negligence of his ancestors, and identified himself with them upon this important subject. Having commanded also for a long time the troops in the Deccan, the main theatre of war, he found himself at the head of a better disciplined army, and had acquired more military skill, than any other of the princes.

This state of things, however painful and alarming, might have been of long duration, had not a sudden and severe illness seized the emperor. He continued insensible during several days, and no hopes were entertained of his recovery. Dara, by his direction, immediately assumed the government, and administered it as if he were already on the throne. In particular, he showed a very jealous feeling towards his brothers, prohibiting all communication with them, seizing their papers, and sending into exile all the omrahs attached to their interest. Thus he precipitated, and in some measure justified, the hostile measures to which they were of themselves but too much disposed. Notwithstanding every precaution, they obtained information of their father's illness, and were even led to suspect that he was already dead. They immediately entered upon a line of conduct, professedly prompted, not by ambition, but by regard for their personal safety. Sujah, in Bengal, first put his troops in motion; and soon after Morad, in Guzerat, communicated to Aurengzebe the recent events, inviting him to unite in counteracting the obvious designs of their relative; in which views that ambitious prince readily concurred.

Meantime Shah Jehan, beyond all expectation, obtained a complete recovery, and Dara, in the most dutiful manner, resigned back into his father's hands the reins of empire. This intelligence was instantly conveyed to Sujah, and a hope expressed that the measures which he had taken, solely in anticipation of the emperor's death, would be discontinued. But he had gone too far; the flame of ambition was kindled in his breast; he affected disbelief of the statement, and even treated as forgeries

the letters which the sovereign wrote to him with his own hand. Being met, however, on the banks of the Ganges by Solimân, the son of Dara, a youth of distinguished talents, he was totally defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in the fortress of Monghir, where he was closely invested. Meanwhile the expedition from the south assumed a more formidable character.

Aurengzebe lost no time in obeying the invitation of his brother, and hastened to join him with all the forces he was able to collect. But, conscious that he viewed Morad also as a rival, and was likely to excite in his mind a similar feeling, he used every false and flattering expression which could inspire with confidence his naturally open and unsuspecting heart. He professed to consider him as alone fitted for the throne of Hindostan, to which he was called by the desire of the people, and as one to whose elevation it would be his pride to contribute, though his own wish was only to find some tranquil retirement, where he might devote the rest of his days to religious contemplation. Perhaps there was not another individual in Hindostan, knowing the parties, who could have been deceived by such language; but so great was the vanity and credulity of Morad, that Aurengzebe knew he might confidently use it. The two princes, with their armies, met on the banks of the Nerbudda, crossed that river, and totally defeated Jeswunt Singh, the Rajpoot chief, who, in the service of the emperor, commanded a numerous body of cavalry.

Shah Jehan learned these events with the deepest dismay. He saw the formidable character of the rebellion, and dreaded that, whatever the issue might be, he himself could scarcely fail to be crushed. He therefore used all his power to support his destined heir, and even expressed an ardent wish to take the field along with him, though he was unfortunately persuaded to give up his intention. Orders were sent to Solimân to grant favourable terms to Sujah, and to hasten against the more dangerous enemy; and Dara was strongly advised to await his arrival with a large reinforcement. That prince accordingly placed his army, consisting of 100,000 horse, in a strong position along the banks of

the Chumbul, which commanded the approach to Agra, and covered his camp with a powerful line of intrenchments. When the confederates advanced, and saw his force thus posted, they felt considerable embarrassment. Morad, with characteristic ardour, proposed to attempt forcing the lines; but this undertaking appeared too hazardous to the cautious prudence of Aurengzebe. Having obtained information of a pass through the mountains, by which the enemy's position might be turned, and leaving only the appearance of a camp to deceive his adversary, he effected his object, and marched upon Agra. The imperial lieutenant had then only the alternative of abandoning that capital or of giving battle, and his ardent spirit impelled him to prefer the latter. This engagement, which decided the fate of the Mogul empire, is related by historians in a manner very confused, and seemingly much darkened by oriental exaggeration. It is asserted that, after various changes of fortune on either side, the whole of both armies fled from the field, leaving only a thousand horse under Dara, and a hundred under Aurengzebe; and that, when the latter had given up all hope, a retrograde movement by his brother's elephant, and the circumstance of that commander being induced to dismount, struck dismay into his troops, and caused his total defeat. The following may perhaps be considered as the real events which marked this important scene. The two principal divisions were commanded by Morad and Aurengzebe; and the former, opposed to Dara, was attacked with such impetuosity, that, notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions his line was broken, he himself wounded, and his life in danger. His ally, meantime, after a very obstinate struggle, completely defeated and put to flight the force with which he had to contend; then, wheeling round, came to the aid of the other wing, restored the battle, and gained a complete victory.

The confederate armies advanced upon Agra, where Morad being, most conveniently for Aurengzebe, confined with his wounds, the entire command devolved upon himself. His first care was to send an emissary to corrupt the troops of Solimán, in

which he easily succeeded, or rather they corrupted themselves by following the usual Asiatic system of going over to the prosperous party. His next anxiety was to obtain possession of his father's person. This was a measure both delicate and difficult, for the fortified palace in which Shah Jehan resided was capable of withstanding a long siege, which, pressed by a son against his parent, a monarch so popular and highly respected, would have placed him in a very odious position. It was most desirable, therefore, to effect his purpose by stratagem; but he had to deal with one versant in all the wiles of policy, and in all the forms of human deceit. Determining, however, to make the trial, he sent a messenger to the emperor, expressing deep regret at the situation in which he found himself, assuring him that he still retained all the affection of a son, and the loyalty of a subject. Shah Jehan gave very small credit to these professions, yet he resolved to temporize, and sent his favourite daughter, Jehanara, to visit her brothers, and endeavour to ascertain how affairs really stood. She went first to Morad, who, knowing her to be entirely devoted to the interests of Dara, received her with very slender courtesy. The offended princess returned to her palanquin, and was hastening out of the camp when she met Aurengzebe, who saluted her with the utmost kindness and respect, complained of her having held so little communication with him, and prevailed upon her to enter his tent. He there professed the deepest remorse for the conduct into which he had been hurried, and his anxiety by any means to make reparation. He even expressed a willingness to espouse the cause of Dara, were it not that it already appeared quite desperate. Jehanara was thus induced to lay open all the resources of that prince, and to name the chiefs who remained still attached to him, disclosing to her brother many most important state-secrets, of which he afterwards fully availed himself. He then declared that he was entirely satisfied, promising to second all her views, and added, that in two days the emperor would see at his feet his repentant son.

Jehanara now hastened to her father with this joyful intelli-

gence. But the monarch did not place full reliance on these professions; yet, believing that Aurengzebe really intended to pay him a visit, he determined to take advantage of the opportunity to secure his person. He was not aware that he was playing the game of treachery with one who possessed skill superior to his own. This other sent an humble message, representing that the guilty are always timid,—that being scarcely able to conceive how crimes such as his could be forgiven, he could in no way be reassured, unless his son Mohammed were allowed previously, with a small guard, to enter the palace. Shah Jehan was so bent on his object, and so convinced of the sincerity with which the proposal was made, that he hesitated not to agree to it. The youth entered, and being cordially received, stationed his party in a convenient situation. But his eager eye soon discovered a large body of troops occupying a very suspicious position. He went to the emperor and stated the apprehension to which this circumstance could not fail to give rise, observing, that unless these men were removed, he must immediately inform his father, who would then probably renounce his intended visit. The old man, still credulous, and determined to make every sacrifice rather than fail in his object, consented that the soldiers should quit the palace, thus rendering Mohammed and his party its real masters. Then indeed it was announced that Aurengzebe had mounted his horse and was approaching with his retinue. The monarch seated himself on his throne in the highest exultation, expecting to see the complete accomplishment of his schemes and hopes. He soon learned, however, that his son, instead of entering the presence, had proceeded to pay his devotions at the tomb of Akbar. Considering this as a decided slight to himself, he indignantly asked Mohammed, “What means Aurengzebe by this behaviour?” The other deliberately answered, “My father never intended to visit the emperor.”—“Then why are you here?”—“To take charge of the citadel.” Shah Jehan saw at once the abyss into which he had plunged himself, and burst into a torrent of fruitless invective and self-reproach, which induced his grandson to withdraw. On sober

reflection he sent again for the youth, and, painting the miseries of his condition, urged the most pressing entreaties that the prince would restore to him his liberty, promising in reward even the empire of India, which his influence with the army and people would be sufficient to secure. Mohammed appeared to hesitate for a moment, but then, hastening out of the apartment, turned a deaf ear to every subsequent solicitation.

Aurengzebe had now only Morad to dispose of, and from that quarter he had not much to apprehend, though this prince, having recovered of his wounds, had repaired to Agra, and resumed the command of the army. His brother received him with the warmest congratulations, saluted him emperor, and declared all his wishes to be now fulfilled, since he had succeeded in raising so deserving a ruler to the throne of his ancestors. For himself he wished only to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, on which he was intent as the commencement of a life to be entirely devoted to religion. The other, after some affected opposition, gave his consent, thinking himself too happy that his relative should thus voluntarily retire. This farce having been successfully acted, the ruin of Morad was secretly prepared; and the design soon became so obvious, that even his credulous spirit could no longer be beguiled. His friends assured him that the preparations for the visit to Mecca were sufficient to acquire the dominion of India; that by ample largesses Aurengzebe was gaining the affections of the soldiery; and, in short, that no time was to be lost in securing his own safety. Being at last undeceived, he determined to employ against his brother his own weapons of treachery. He invited him to a splendid banquet, where everything was prepared for his death; but the penetrating eye of the guest discerning something suspicious, he pretended a sudden illness, and hastily withdrew, without exciting any suspicion of the motive. On the contrary, Morad soon after accepted his invitation to an entertainment, in which the finest musicians, and the most beautiful damsels that India could afford, were studiously assembled. The host, laying aside his austerity, invited to gaiety and indulgence this voluptuous

prince, who yielded to the seduction, and, after revelling in luxury, fell asleep in the tent. He then sent in some of his most unscrupulous partisans, who proceeded to bind their victim. The prince awoke, made violent efforts to extricate himself, calling for his sword, which had been taken away; when his brother, lifting a curtain, exclaimed,—“He has no choice but death or submission; despatch him if he resists.” Morad, after venting loud reproaches, yielded to his fate, and was immediately conveyed a prisoner to Agra.

Aurengzebe, having thus overcome every obstacle, considered it now time “to exalt the imperial umbrella over his head.” He felt, however, considerable difficulty in taking a step so inconsistent with all his professions, and especially with that of his being entirely devoted to religious retirement and abstraction. It was contrived that his friends should come forward to urge upon him the important duty of sacrificing his ease and pious resolutions for the public good, and of submitting to this painful necessity. In due time he allowed himself to be persuaded, though he adhered so far to his former character as to suppress all the pomp with which the ceremony of coronation was usually attended. But the shouts of the people reached the ears of the captive monarch, who felt assured that something fatal to himself had been determined. He asked Jehanara to go and inquire; yet immediately recalled her, lest she should see the head of Dara exposed to public view. She, however, soon learned and communicated to him the real fact. The unfortunate sovereign rose, walked through the room in silence, then fixing his eyes on the figure of a crown suspended over his head, said,—“Take away that bauble;—yet stay, this would be owning the right of Aurengzebe.” After standing long involved in thought, he said,—“The new emperor, Jehanara, has prematurely mounted the throne. He should have added the murder of a father to the other crimes which have raised him so high.” It was now announced that Mohammed wished to be admitted, that he might state the reasons which had induced the victor to mount the throne; but the de-

graded ruler indignantly replied,—“Fathers have been deposed by their sons ; but it was reserved for Aurengzebe to insult the misfortunes of a parent. What motives but his ambition has the rebel for assuming the empire? To listen to his excuses would be to acknowledge the justice of his conduct.”

Aurengzebe, smarting under remorse for the step to which his bold ambition had irresistibly impelled him, and having indeed very little to say in his own defence, did not press the unwelcome explanation. He had now reached the summit of his wishes, having deceived and vanquished one of the ablest monarchs of the East. He did not therefore push his triumph any farther, and maintained his father during the rest of his life, in strict confinement indeed, but honoured and respected.

## CHAPTER IX.

## AURENGZEBE—DECLINE OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY.

Aurengzebe opposed by his Brothers, Dara and Sujah—Defeat of Sujah—Capture and Death of Dara—Defection of the Prince Mohammed, who is obliged to surrender—Death of Sujah—Aurengzebe's Treatment of Shah Jehan—His Administration—Defects of Mogul Government—Anecdotes furnished by Bernier—Danger of Persian War—Fakir Insurrection—Disturbance in Cabul—Conquest of the Deccan—Rise of the Mahratta Power—Exploits of Sevajee—His Death and Character—Sambajee's Reign and Death—Character of the Mahratta Armies—Bigotry of Aurengzebe—His Death and Character—Shah Allum—The Selks—Their Progress checked—Character and Death of Shah Allum—Contests for the Empire—The Syeds—Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadut Khan—Invasion by Nadir Shah—Sack of Delhi—Distracted State of the Empire—Invasion by the Afghans—Contest between them and the Mahrattas—Battle of Panniput—The Mogul Dynasty reduced to entire insignificance.

AURENGZEBE was seated on the throne of India; but his position could not be considered secure while his brothers Dara and Sujah lived, and were at the head of powerful armies. The former, from his brilliant qualities, and his designation to the empire by Shah Jehan, inspired the greatest apprehension; and against him the first efforts of the new sovereign were directed. Having withdrawn into Lahore, Dara had collected a host more numerous than that of his adversary, composed, however, chiefly of new levies, whom he was afraid to bring into the field against his brother's veteran forces. He therefore retired beyond the Indus; but retreat in these circumstances, and with such troops, was not less disastrous than actual defeat. His ranks gradually melted away, and he arrived at Tatta with only a small body of faithful adherents.

It would now have been the policy of Aurengzebe to pursue Dara without intermission till he had completed his destruction; but he was necessarily checked by the intelligence that his brother Sujah, with a large force, was advancing from Bengal. He found this rival very strongly posted near Allahabad; but, trusting to the valour and hardihood of his own troops, he

resolved to attack him. Early in the day, however, the Rajpoot bands, who had accompanied him only through compulsion, fled from the field, and even began to assail his rear; so that the Mogul warriors, left alone, were soon very hard pressed. The elephant on which Aurengzebe rode received a severe shock, and fell on its knees, whereupon the emperor drew one foot out of the stirrup, preparing to alight; but, as in an Indian battle the presence of the monarch on his war-elephant is the rallying-point round which the army fights, Jumla, the vizier, called out, "You are descending from your throne." The prince felt the truth and importance of the remark, resumed his seat, and even ordered the feet of the animal to be chained to the spot. Thus, cased indeed in strong armour, he remained exposed to the darts and arrows of the enemy. His men, encouraged by the gallant example of their chief, rallied, and making the most desperate efforts, caused their opponents to give way. Sujah, finding his elephant disabled, committed the error which his rival had avoided, and mounted a horse. The view of the royal quadruped, moving into the rear without a rider, spread general dismay, which ended in a total rout; and the prince found present safety only by throwing himself into the strong fortress of Monghir.

Aurengzebe was again obliged to allow some respite to a vanquished adversary; for Dara, after reaching Tatta, recrossed the Indus, and proceeded through the Great Desert into the province of Guzerat. There he prevailed upon the governor, whose daughter had been married to Morad, to espouse his cause; and having raised a considerable army, he advanced into Rajpootana, and in the neighbourhood of Ajmere, its capital, intrenched himself in a position of extraordinary strength. The conqueror, on hastening thither, saw with dismay the commanding ground on which his brother had encamped. He endeavoured, by presenting his men in order of battle, and even by studied insults, to provoke the proud Dara to come forth and fight; but the prince had the prudence to decline these challenges. The emperor, however, always fertile in stratagem, devised a new scheme. Having in

his camp the two chiefs who had been mainly instrumental in gaining over the army of the young Solimân, he caused them to write a letter to the father, assuring him that they had been induced only by imperious circumstances to forsake his cause, which they were anxious again to embrace; and that if he would leave open a certain gate at a particular hour, they, with all their followers, would enter and place themselves under his command. In vain did the oldest and most prudent counsellors warn Dara of the danger to which this step would expose him, and of the wiles of Aurengzebe. Rash, credulous, and inaccessible to advice, he allowed himself to be dazzled by the prospect of an accession to his force, which would have given him a complete superiority. The gate was opened at the appointed time; the chiefs rushed in, and were soon followed by the whole imperial army. Undeceived too late, he still attempted a gallant, though vain resistance, but being totally routed, was obliged to flee with a very small remnant of his troops. He bent his way to the capital of Guzerat, hoping there to find an asylum; but the governor refused him admittance. A band of Mahrattas, his sole remaining troops, seeing his fortunes lost, took the opportunity to plunder the camp, leaving nothing except what was concealed in the tents of the women. Dara was then compelled to undertake, without any preparation, a march across the Desert, in a plight still more miserable than that in which the same disastrous journey had been performed by his ancestor Humaïoon. Amid the horrors of fatigue and thirst, beneath a burning sun, a number of his faithful followers successively lay down and expired. At the head of a few survivors he reached Tatta, and might thence have pushed on into Persia, where he would probably have been well received; but at this crisis Nadira Bana, his favourite wife, was at the point of death, and he could not endure the thought of leaving this beloved object to die among strangers. He sought the hospitality of Jihon Khan, a neighbouring ruler,—another rash or unfortunate act. This was a violent and bloody chief, who, after being twice condemned to death by Shah Jehan, had been pardoned at the prince's interces-

sion. Dara had indeed the melancholy satisfaction of paying the last duties to his sultana; but, on attempting to depart, found himself surrounded by a body of troops, who delivered him to Khan Jehan, the imperial general, then in close pursuit of him. When at length he saw his fate inevitable, he assumed a demeanour of majestic fortitude, and maintained during the whole journey a calm dignity, soothing his grief by verses composed by himself on his own eventful history. He was led through Delhi miserably mounted and almost in rags. But Aurengzebe had miscalculated the effect of this exhibition; for the multitude, when they beheld their once noble and gallant ruler led to death under circumstances so fearfully changed, and beside him his son, a spirited and graceful boy, over whom so dark a destiny impended, were seized with the deepest sympathy, and melted into tears, mingled with curses against the tyrant. Jihon, the betrayer, was killed on his way home, while the capital seemed on the eve of insurrection. The emperor felt that he must hasten to close the tragedy. Assassins were accordingly introduced in the night, beneath whose blows his unfortunate brother fell after a desperate resistance; and, through the address of the monarch, the commotion in the city quickly subsided.

Aurengzebe had now only to dispose of Sujah, who, under favour of this diversion, had rallied his broken forces. But as little apprehension was felt in that quarter, it was thought enough to detach against him Prince Mohammed and Jumla the vizier. This expedition, however, received a striking interest from a very unexpected and moving incident. The young warrior had been early betrothed to a daughter of Sujah, for whom he had conceived a strong attachment; and though in the late tumult of events he had forgotten the first impression, a letter which the princess, in concert with her father, now wrote to him, led to a revival of all his tenderness. He determined to quit the army, and espouse the cause of his uncle; nor does it seem improbable that he cherished some secret intention of imitating the example of Aurengzebe himself, by fighting his way to the empire. Being

highly elated with the part he performed in the late revolution, and the offer made to him by his grandfather, he had often been heard to boast that it was he who placed the crown on his parent's head. He fondly flattered himself that the army would follow his example, and, when combined with that of Sujah, would compose a force so overwhelming as to defy all resistance. He embarked on the Ganges, as if upon a party of pleasure, and returned not. The soldiers, on discovering his intention, were at first greatly agitated; but the prudence and vigour of Jumla preserved their attachment to their master, and prevented any desertion. Sujah received his illustrious relative with the highest distinction; and, the nuptials having been celebrated with great pomp, he led out his men and offered battle. Mohammed placed himself in the foremost line, and when he saw the flower of the opposing cavalry bear down upon him, vainly imagined that they came to join his standard. But their fierce onset soon undeceived him. Both he and his kinsman behaved with the greatest valour; but the effeminate troops of Bengal could not withstand the veterans led by Jumla, who gained a complete victory. The situation of the prince was now deeply distressing, and the arts of his father rendered it desperate. Aurengzebe wrote a letter, addressed to him as if in answer to one from himself, treating of a plan for deserting the cause of his father-in-law. It was so arranged that this epistle should fall into the hands of Sujah, who thereupon conceived suspicions which the most solemn protestations could not remove. No violence was indeed offered to him; but he was informed that he and his wife must depart from Bengal. All India being now under the sway of the relentless emperor, the youth had no resource but to throw himself upon the mercy of one who never trusted those that had once deceived him. Mohammed was immediately arrested, and sent to the strong fortress of Gwalior, where he pined away the remainder of his life, which terminated in seven years. Sujah having fled into Arracan, was betrayed by the rajah, and he with all his family perished. Solimân, the son of Dara, was taken prisoner among the Himalayah

mountains, whither he had fled for refuge; and thus Aurengzebe was left without a rival.

Shah Jehan survived for eight years the loss of empire; and it may be mentioned, to the credit of his ambitious son, and as some palliation of his crimes, that he treated his captive with all the respect and delicacy which were compatible with the condition of being dethroned and immured. He even tolerated the violent sallies of pride and indignation to which his unfortunate parent gave vent. Aurengzebe sent to solicit the daughter of Dara in marriage for his son Akbar, hoping by this connexion to strengthen his family interest with the nobles. But both Shah Jehan himself and his household received this proposal with the deepest resentment. The former returned for answer, that the insolence of the usurper was equal to his guilt; and the young princess herself kept a concealed dagger, declaring that she would rather die a hundred times than give her hand to the son of her father's murderer. All this was reported to the ruling sovereign, who quietly desisted from his solicitation. At another time he made a request for some of the imperial jewels, which were deemed necessary to adorn his throne. The Shah replied, that the hammers were ready to pound them into dust, if he should ever attempt to enforce such a demand. The other then exclaimed, "Let him keep his jewels, nay, let him command all those of Aurengzebe." The old monarch was so much affected by this moderation, that he sent a number of them, accompanied with a letter, in which he said,—“Take these, which I am destined to use no more. Wear them with dignity, and by your own renown make some amends to your family for their misfortunes.” The emperor burst into tears, which, on this occasion, appeared to be sincere. In short, by habitual respect and forbearance, and by occasionally asking advice, he succeeded, not indeed in reconciling the fallen sovereign to his fate, but in reviving a certain measure of friendly intercourse. On receiving intelligence that his father's end was approaching, he did not, it is true, venture into his presence, but sent his own son Shah Allum, who, however, arrived too late. The master of Hindostan

then exhibited every mark of undissembled grief, and hastened to effect a reconciliation with his sister Jehanara, who had hitherto remained devotedly attached to her unfortunate parent.

Aurengzebe continued for many years to occupy the throne of the Mogul dominion, which, under him, attained to its greatest extent and its highest glory. After he had added to it the kingdoms of the Deccan, it included nearly the whole peninsula of India, with the neighbouring regions of Cabul and Assam,—territories, the population and wealth of which probably exceeded those of the Roman empire during its most flourishing period. The revenues amounted to thirty-two millions sterling, which, though inferior to the immense income of one or two modern European states, was then probably unexampled. His internal administration seems to have been decidedly superior to that of his immediate predecessors. Amid the somewhat ostentatious display and matchless splendour of his court, his personal conduct remained pure and even austere; he neither allowed to himself, nor permitted in his palace, any species of disorder or licentiousness. Early in the morning he was seated in the hall of justice, accessible to the meanest of his subjects, administering the law with the strictest impartiality, redressing their wrongs, and even relieving their sufferings by his bounty. India, therefore, under his long reign, apparently enjoyed all the happiness of which a country is susceptible in a state of subjection to the despotic power of a foreign prince. Indeed, were we to place implicit reliance in the Mohammedan historians, and in the English writers who copy their narratives, we should imagine the period from the accession of Akbar to the death of Aurengzebe to have been in the East an age of gold, an era of felicity almost unparalleled in the history of mankind. It cannot indeed be denied, that during all this time the central regions enjoyed a considerable measure of peace and prosperity; for the civil wars, though frequent and sometimes tragical, were usually decided in a single battle, and were not accompanied with extensive desolation. On looking narrowly into the subject, however, we shall find reason to suspect that the

picture is too flattering, and that the empire throughout this period groaned under many of the evils incident to arbitrary rule. The very fact that at the time when Britain succeeded to this vast inheritance, the class of cultivators were all sunk into such abject poverty, that it was scarcely possible to discover by what tenure the land had been originally held, seems to invalidate the testimony of those historical eulogists.

It was during the reign of Aurengzebe that Bernier, an intelligent and reflecting traveller, spent some years in India, and applied himself with diligence to investigate the state of the Mogul government and empire. The description he gives is that of a country going to ruin, rather than of one flourishing under a just and impartial government. He observes, that supposing the sovereign inclined to enforce justice, he might perhaps succeed within his own immediate circle, in Delhi, Agra, and the close vicinity of these capitals; but in the provinces and remote districts the people had no adequate protection from the rapacity of the governors, who ruled with arbitrary power, and whom he characterizes as "men fit for ruining a world." This was confirmed by the mean garb, and the anxiety to assume the semblance of poverty, which prevailed even among those whom other circumstances proved to be possessed of exorbitant wealth. The people could appeal to no court of justice, no administrators of the law, no independent tribunals. The monarch himself could call to his service no men endowed with honourable principles, inspired with feelings of genuine loyalty, or identifying their glory with that of their prince. These functionaries were generally "men of nothing, slaves, ignorant and brutal, raised from the dust, and retaining always the quality and temper of beggars." The only object of those intrusted with any power was to amass wealth during the short and precarious tenure of their possession, regardless if afterwards the whole state should fall into ruin.

Even as to the feelings of justice and regard to the rights of their subjects, which are said to have characterized this dynasty, Bernier mentions several particulars, which, agreeing in a remark-

able manner with those reported by Hawkins and Roe, tend to cast great doubt upon the panegyrics of native writers. Anecdotes, even of a somewhat familiar description, may illustrate the tone of manners at this oriental court. A young man laid before Shah Jehan a complaint, that his mother, a banian, was possessed of wealth, amounting to two hundred thousand rupees, who yet, on account of alleged ill conduct, withheld from him all participation. The emperor, tempted by hearing of so large a fortune, sent for the lady, and commanded her, in open assembly, to give to her son fifty thousand rupees, and to pay to himself a hundred thousand; at the same time desiring her to withdraw. The woman, however, by loud clamour, again procured admittance, and coolly said:—"May it please your majesty, my son has certainly some claim to the goods of his father; but I would gladly know what relation your majesty bears to the merchant, my deceased husband, that you make yourself his heir." This idea appeared to Shah Jehan so droll, that he desired her to depart, and no exaction should be made. Such an incident may prove an accessible temper, and a degree of good humour on the part of the sovereign, but gives a very low idea of the general character of that justice which oriental writers are pleased to ascribe to him.

The other anecdote is of a still more odd description. There were in Delhi a class of females called Kencheny, who, though of somewhat doubtful reputation, were not altogether abandoned, and were allowed to contribute to the amusement of this very gay court. A French physician, named Bernard, then resident at Delhi, endeavoured to obtain a young damsel of this class as his mistress; but her mother, probably from motives of prudence, opposed the connexion. The medical man, however, having gone in the evening to wait upon the Emperor Jehangire, and being about to receive a present in return for a cure which he had effected in the seraglio, pointed to the Kencheny, who happened to be among the multitude paying her court to the prince, and besought, in place of any other gift, that she might be be-

stowed upon him. His majesty burst into a fit of laughter, and called out, "Lay her on his shoulders, and let him carry her away."—"So said, so done." The young lady was immediately given up to him, and Bernard departed laden with this unlawful booty.

Bernier was among the first to dispel the impression which prevailed in Europe of the mighty and unconquerable armies engaged in Mogul warfare. Even the numbers had been greatly exaggerated. The only efficient department was the cavalry, of which the portion immediately attached to the monarch's residence did not exceed 35,000 or 40,000, nor was it supposed that the whole under his command could much exceed 200,000. The infantry, including the artillery stationed at the capital, might amount to 15,000. The innumerable hosts of foot-soldiers, said to compose the mass of the army, consisted chiefly of servants, victuallers, foragers, and others, who followed in its train, conveying tents, and supplying provisions, cattle, and everything wanted for the men and officers. This attendance was so numerous that, when the imperial troops marched, all Delhi and Agra might be described as proceeding along with them; and, indeed, these cities could be considered as little more than standing encampments; while the actual camps, on the other hand, with their streets of tents and regular markets, might be viewed as moving cities. Still lower was Bernier's estimate of the quality of these warriors. Often, it is true, they fought with great bravery; but, being destitute of all discipline, they were frequently struck with panic, and then became altogether incapable of command. He was persuaded that a force of 20,000 or 25,000 men, led by a Condé or a Turenne, would easily trample all these barbarians under foot,—an anticipation amply verified by subsequent events in the annals of British India.

The foreign history of this reign was chiefly distinguished by the danger which threatened the new sovereign of being involved in war with Abbas, king of Persia, the most powerful and warlike prince in Asia. Dow, following the native historians, represents

this rupture between these two mighty potentates to have arisen from the error of a secretary, who addressed a letter, "From the emperor of the world to the master of Persia." On receiving the epistle thus directed, Abbas, it is said, rejected all explanation and apology, and instantly prepared for war. Such a mistake seems not very probable, much less that a monarch so distinguished for talent and policy, and now of mature age, should have engaged in so formidable a contest on a ground so trivial. Possibly he might use it as a pretext; and, seeing the throne of India filled by a prince not yet firmly seated, and rendered odious by the steps which had led to his elevation, might conceive the hope of making this important addition to his dominions. Many circumstances conspired to favour his expectations. Of the great omrahs at the court of Delhi a number were of Iranian extraction; many also, of Patan or Afghan origin, looked back with regret to the period when princes of their nation sat on the imperial throne. Aurengzebe had room to suspect that Abbas was seeking to open a communication with the Persian chiefs in his service, and was even attempting to seduce the vizier, who was of that descent. He felt himself in a very delicate situation; for this body was so numerous and powerful, that to drive them into open hostility might have rendered his position still more critical. The minister and the other nobles, however, strenuously denied the charge; and the whole affair was amicably adjusted. The emperor, notwithstanding, continued to suffer the utmost anxiety till he was relieved by the intelligence that Abbas, in consequence of a neglected illness, had expired in his camp on the frontier. Sefi, his grandson and successor, looking forward with uneasiness to the scenes of disorder which usually follow a vacancy in an eastern throne, had no inclination to embarrass himself farther by a foreign war, and readily concluded a treaty.

We must not omit to mention a ridiculous incident, by which Aurengzebe was exposed to great danger. An old female devotee, called Bistamia, in the Rajpoot territory of Marwar, having, by her bounty, collected around her a number of fakirs and other

Hindoo sectaries, formed them at length into a sort of army, with which she defeated the rajah and some inferior officers. Having at length assembled a force amounting to 20,000, she marched upon the imperial city. Superstitious terror paved the way for her victories; for it was believed that she prepared a mess, composed of the most horrid ingredients, which rendered her followers on the day of battle invisible, and consequently irresistible. Having made their way victoriously almost to the gates of Agra, they looked on themselves as masters of the empire, and proclaimed their leader Queen of India. The emperor, seriously alarmed on finding even his own troops struck with awe, was convinced that it would be vain to contend against such a host with mere human weapons. Having, by his Moslem zeal, acquired a holy character in the eyes of his soldiers, he wrote sacred sentences on pieces of paper, and causing them to be stuck on the points of spears, which he placed in front of the battalions, he assured his men that they would protect them against the necromantic influences of their fanatical adversaries. Their fears being thus dispelled, the superiority of their arms soon enabled them completely to route the fakir host, which was almost entirely cut to pieces.

The reign of this great monarch was again disturbed by an insurrection in Cabul, where he soon reduced the open country, though he wisely desisted from the attempt to deprive the inhabitants of their independence. But the grand object of his ambition was to effect the final subjugation of the Deccan kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapore, which, although their force had indeed been broken by repeated victories gained by his predecessors, and even by himself previous to his accession, still retained a considerable share of power.

Various occurrences and dissensions prevented this expedition from being carried into effect till the year 1686, the twenty-eighth of Aurengzebe, when the whole imperial force marched by three directions into the Deccan. Operations were begun by Shah Allum, the heir-apparent, who laid siege to Golconda. The king

solicited peace on very humble terms, which the invader granted, that he might turn his whole force against Bejapore. This kingdom made a more obstinate resistance ; but afterwards the troops being induced by treachery to desert, the city was closely invested, and at length compelled by famine to capitulate. Secunder Adil Shah, the last of a long line of powerful princes, became a captive in the hands of the emperor. The victor forthwith employed his arms to complete the conquest of Golconda ; when his son Shah Allum, by remonstrating against this breach of faith, incurred his resentment, and was thrown into prison. That city, after a siege of seven months, was taken by treachery ; and the death of its king, Abou Houssein, after being treated with the utmost indignity, terminated another powerful race of monarchs.

But an event which influenced the whole reign of Aurengzebe is still to be mentioned. This was the rise of the Mahratta power, which, from small beginnings, was one day to subvert the proud fabric of the Mogul empire, and even dispute with Britain the supremacy of Hindostan. The north-western part of peninsular India composes the territory of Maharashtra, which, according to Mr. Grant Duff, includes a surface of 102,000 square miles, and a population of about six millions. It is traversed by branches of the Ghauts and Vyndhia mountains, and comprises a large portion of the provinces of Malwa, Candeish, Aurungabad, and Bejapore. The whole bears a very different aspect from the extensive plains of the Deccan and of Hindostan Proper. It is elevated, rugged, diversified with bleak table-lands, and broken by numerous streams and torrents. Being throughout unfit for the movements of heavy cavalry, in which the strength of the Mogul armies consisted, it could be reduced only to very imperfect subjection. All the hills and fastnesses were occupied by petty chieftains, who paid a mere outward homage to the imperial throne or the kingdom of Bejapore. Amid the constant wars, however, of the Mohammedan nations with one another, and the disputed successions of the great empire, opportunities were afforded to a leader of daring and comprehensive mind to erect them into an independ-

ent community. Such a person was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta dynasty.

This hero, though he began with slender resources, was by no means of ignoble descent. His great-grandfather, Babjee Bhonslay, was a son of the Rana of Oodipoor, whose blood is considered the highest and purest in all Hindostan; but his mother was a woman of inferior caste, and the stain thus incurred induced him to quit his native country, and seek employment and distinction in other courts. Having risen to eminence in the service of a rajah in the territory of Candeish, he procured a zemindary near Poonah, then only a village, but which the prosperity of his family raised afterwards into a great capital. His son Malojee acquired celebrity under a Mahratta chief, whose daughter he obtained in marriage for his son Shahjee. This last having quarrelled with his father-in-law, entered the army of the King of Bejapore, and was employed in Tanjore and the Carnatic. While serving in this quarter, he left his son Sevajee at Poonah with his mother, under the tuition of Dadajee Konedeo, who seems to have bestowed very great pains in training the future warrior. He initiated him, not indeed in letters, which are despised by those mountaineers, but in military exercises, in national legends and poetry, and in a deep veneration for the Hindoo faith and observances. At the age of seventeen, the pupil was impelled by his daring spirit to a warlike enterprise; he collected a band of Mawulees, natives of the neighbouring glens, and commenced that ambiguous profession of a warrior and a robber, which is generally pursued by the half-civilized tribes of Asia. Heavy complaints were lodged with Dadajee on account of these exploits, against which he felt himself bound to make the most solemn remonstrances; but he is alleged, at the same time, to have secretly encouraged the youth to persevere in his pursuits, for which he conceived him eminently qualified,—foreseeing, probably, in some degree, the greatness to which such an adventurous life would conduct him.

Sevajee accordingly followed his aspiring course; and obtaining possession of the almost inaccessible castle of Torna, gave the

first alarm to the King of Bejapore, whom, however, he conciliated by the promise of an increased tribute. As he continued to seize or erect fort after fort, the king not only redoubled his remonstrances, but also appealed to Shahjee, the father of the marauder, whom he first threatened and then imprisoned, disregarding all his protestations, that he neither knew nor approved of his son's proceedings. The youth was distressed at the disaster in which he had involved his parent; yet, very unwilling to effect his release by a change of system, he bethought himself of an application to Shah Jehan, whose vassal he professed himself, and by whose powerful intercession the deliverance of Shahjee was in fact obtained. When Aurengzebe came to make war against Bejapore, Sevajee continued to represent-himself as an ally of the Mogul; and hence, as even his neutrality was of importance at so eventful a period, he was allowed to retain unmolested all his possessions. But as soon as he saw these two great monarchies fully occupied in their sanguinary contest, he hesitated not to seize plunder and territory from either as opportunity offered. At length Aurengzebe suspended the contest, that he might prosecute those ambitious schemes which effected his elevation to the throne of Hindostan, during the progress of which he had of course no leisure to resent the conduct of the young freebooter. This rising chief, however, had to encounter the undivided hostility of the court of Bejapore, which had long considered him as a rebel, and now exerted its entire force to accomplish his destruction; and he boldly determined to face the storm with the combined power of arms and stratagem.

The army of Bejapore, under the command of Afzool or Abdul Khan, a leader of distinction, advanced against this restless insurgent, in full confidence of speedily subduing him. Sevajee, finding it necessary to ply all his arts, gave intimation that he had resolved to submit, but dreaded to place himself in the power of an enemy so justly offended. He therefore prevailed upon his adversary to arrange a meeting, to which each party should come with one attendant only. In contemplation of this interview, he

secretly filled the woods in front of his castle with armed men, put on a complete suit of chain-armour under his cotton robe, a steel cap on his head, and concealed in his clothes a dagger, with other deadly weapons. He had soon the satisfaction to discover Afzool Khan approaching with an escort of 1500 men, whom he left at some distance, and repaired to the appointed spot with a single follower. Sevajee meantime had performed the most solemn religious ceremonies, and besought his mother's blessing, like one going forth on some deed of glorious peril. He then proceeded to the place apparently unarmed, and looking frequently back as if afraid to advance. At length he stepped forward, embraced Afzool after the Indian fashion, and at the same moment struck him through the body. The Bejapore chief instantly drew his sword, and aimed a blow at the head of his treacherous assailant; but it was intercepted by the helmet beneath his turban; and the next stab laid the khan lifeless on the ground. The Mahratta troops, warned by the sounding of a horn, started from their ambuscade, and soon put to flight the surprised and terrified escort. Asiatic armies can only be rallied round the person of their commander, and on his fall lose all their courage. The enemy's soldiers having dispersed, Sevajee was left at full liberty to carry on his operations, and overrunning a great extent of country, he pushed his inroads to the very gates of the hostile capital. He took occasion in particular to possess himself of the Concan, called by the ancients the Pirate Coast, and became master of its key, the strong fortress of Panalla, which, by enabling him to equip a fleet, greatly augmented his means both of conquest and plunder. The King of Bejapore recruiting his forces, sent repeated expeditions against this rebel chief, which reduced him indeed to great extremities; but he always extricated himself, and at last concluded a peace that left in his possession an extensive range of mountain-territory, with an army of 50,000 foot and 7000 horse.

Aurengzebe meantime, by civil war and treason, had attained the undisturbed possession of the Mogul throne; and he now re-

solved to make himself complete master of India. For this purpose it was necessary to put down the rising power of Sevajee, which was assuming so formidable an attitude. He despatched on this service a well-appointed army under Shaista Khan, an omrah high in his confidence. The new general carried on the campaign for some time with great success, reduced many forts, including Poonah, the original seat of the military adventurer, who in this extremity had recourse to one of his bold exploits. Having selected a small band of resolute soldiers, he obtained admittance, favoured, as was suspected, by the jealousy of a Mogul chief, into the residence of Shaista. The assailants with pick-axes forced their way into the cook-room, whence they rushed into the interior of the house with such fury that the omrah had scarcely time to leap out at a window; in effecting which he was wounded, and had one of his fingers cut off. His son was killed; and he himself was at once so intimidated by this disaster, and filled with such a degree of jealousy of his own officers, that he solicited his recall; after which the military operations against the Mahrattas for some time languished.

This interval was improved by their active chief for the accomplishment of one of his most adventurous undertakings,—the plundering of Surat, at that time the chief emporium of India, and perhaps the richest city in the world. Confident in its greatness and wealth, the citizens seem to have rested secure, having only surrounded it with a slight earthen wall, incapable of even retarding the intrepid bands of Sevajee. That leader, according to some authors, went in disguise three days through the town, marking the fittest objects for attack and plunder. He then formed two camps at once, before Bassein and Chaul, and seemed solely occupied in pressing the sieges of these important places, when suddenly he ordered the main body of his troops to withdraw from the former, leaving only small parties, who were instructed to keep up lights, noise, and every appearance of a large army. The Mahratta force thus presented itself quite unexpectedly, and entered Surat without resistance, the governor retiring into the fort, while

the English and Dutch remained within their factories ; so that the victorious army for three days ranged through this vast city, busying themselves in the appropriation of every valuable article on which they could lay their hands. The booty in treasure, jewels, and other precious commodities, was valued at a million sterling.

Aurengzebe, more and more exasperated at being thus baffled by a petty chieftain, determined to make the most vigorous efforts to crush him ; and with this view he sent a formidable army under the Mirza Rajah, a gallant officer, who had been accustomed to make war in a mountainous country. The Mahratta was quite unable to face this new commander in the open field ; and castle after castle being reduced, he was soon driven to a more perilous extremity than ever. At length Poorundur, his main place of strength, in which he had lodged his family and treasure, was closely invested, without any hope of his being able to relieve it. He then gave up his cause as desperate ; and on receiving the pledged faith of the Rajah, that he should find at Delhi safety and an honourable reception, surrendered himself to the Mogul. He seems to have gone to court with the expectation of being treated as an omrah of the first class, and was therefore deeply mortified when he found himself received by the emperor with studied contempt, and consigned to quite a secondary rank. If we may believe some respectable historians, the daughter of Aurengzebe, seeing the young stranger from behind a curtain, became enamoured of him,—of which Sevajee being apprized, he made overtures for her hand, which were rejected by the monarch with the deepest indignation. More diligent inquirers regard this tender interlude as altogether apocryphal ; but at all events, the discomfited chief saw himself a closely-watched and unhonoured captive, in the hands of one whose wiles were as deep as his own. All his invention, therefore, was on the rack to effect his escape. Having lulled the suspicions of his keepers by counterfeiting madness, he contrived to have himself and his son deposited in two large baskets that had been employed for carrying sweetmeats, and was

conveyed to a spot outside the city. Here, mounting in disguise a miserable horse, he travelled onward without suspicion to Muttra, and thence to Benares and Juggernaut, taking this occasion to visit these holy seats of pilgrimage. From the latter he went round by Hyderabad, and at length found himself amid his native hills, with his devoted and gallant followers rallying around him.

Sevajee at once resumed his predatory and victorious career, which placed him in a state of avowed warfare with the Mogul; but Aurengzebe, disgusted, perhaps, with the manner in which he had been overreached, and occupied with the arms of Persia and the insurrection of the Patans, did not for a long time direct his attention to this marauder, who pillaged merely a wild district of his dominions. The Mahratta prince accordingly extended his ravages almost undisturbed along the western coast; he again plundered Surat, and on a third occasion, though he did not enter, he levied a large contribution. In the sack of Rajapore, he robbed the English factory of 10,000 pagodas, which, however, were afterwards repaid. Singurh, a hill-fort, deemed next to impregnable, had been wrested from him by famine during his late disasters; but a thousand of his daring Mawulees, mounting at the highest point by a ladder of ropes, carried the place sword in hand. Immediately on his return he had assumed the titles of royalty and caused coins to be struck bearing his name. He now determined to satisfy his pride and dazzle his followers by a formal coronation, modelled upon that of the Mogul, in which the weighing against gold, and other childish ceremonies, were not omitted. Gifts to an immense value, bestowed on Brahmins, gave lustre to this as well as to several other political festivals.

In the year after his coronation, Sevajee was seized with an illness which confined him eight months; but, upon recovering, he renewed his warlike operations on a more extended scale than ever. Golconda, almost at the opposite side of the peninsula, and considered far beyond his reach, saw itself suddenly surrounded by upwards of 12,000 Mahratta horse, who rushed to the assault so suddenly as to leave no time to put the city in any posture of

defence. An immense ransom was paid to save it from plunder; and the assailant having entered at the head of a large body of followers, held an audience on quite an equal footing with its great and potent sovereign. He even appears, without abating any part of his claim for ransom, to have formed an alliance for common defence against the Mogul. He penetrated next year across the territories of Bejapore into the Carnatic, which afforded an entirely new scene of conquest. He made himself master of Gingee, Vellore, and other strong places, in the name of the King of Golconda, but carefully garrisoned them with his own troops; then pushed his victories to the neighbourhood of Madras on the one side, and of Seringapatam on the other. After his return he alarmed and had nearly obtained possession of Bombay; but having to encounter Dilleer Khan, the imperial general, to whom Sambajee, his son, with the usual treachery of Indian princes, had deserted, he sustained a defeat, and was obliged to retreat to Rayree, his capital. Afterwards, being reconciled to the runaway, he set out, and making an immense circuit, seized near Burhanpoor a large convoy bringing treasure to the enemy's army. He returned rapidly and safely to his metropolis; but the extreme fatigue of this journey, joined to what he had endured in so many other expeditions, caused an inflammation in the lungs, which terminated his life on the 5th April 1680, at the age of fifty-three. On receiving the tidings, Aurengzebe is said to have shown extraordinary marks of exultation; having at the same time the magnanimity to bear witness to the great talents by which, while he himself had been employed in subverting all the ancient kingdoms of India, Sevajee had been able, in defiance of numerous and well-appointed armies, to erect a new one on a broad and firm basis.

The character of Sevajee has been variously drawn; though the delineations appear to us, on the whole, somewhat too favourable. He certainly presented a complete example of a character not uncommon in the East or in barbarous countries, but seldom brought into view in our happier forms of society; in which the

monarch, general, partisan, bandit, and even the expert thief, are blended in nearly equal proportions, and each part is performed with equal success, according to the scene on which it is acted. In all these capacities Sevajee showed himself what we should call an excessively clever fellow; and the history of his tricks and surprises, repeated and exaggerated for the sake of amusement, has rendered his name highly popular among the Hindoos. Yet there seems nothing, either in his objects or in his mode of pursuing them, which can entitle him to be ranked as a great man, actuated by high or enlarged views of policy. In regard to his moral qualities, again, it seems difficult to ascribe any merit to the man who scrupled at nothing whatever by which he could compass his ambitious designs; for if he had the principles of faith or honour, it is obvious that they were never allowed to interfere with any important interest. Not to have been addicted to wanton cruelty is, indeed, in an eastern warrior, a subject of praise; yet blood was never spared by him if the shedding of it could serve a purpose. Perhaps, had he ever attained the peaceable possession of an extensive kingdom, he might have atoned for the evils which his predatory warfare inflicted, by a beneficent and protecting system; but for this he had scarcely an opportunity. At the same time his habits were simple and temperate; he mingled frankly and familiarly with his followers; and, without guard or precaution, felt himself among them always in perfect safety. He was strictly observant of the rites of the Hindoo religion, professing in its cause the most fervent zeal; nor would we hastily pronounce this attachment to have been purely political, though it proved one of the chief instruments of his aggrandizement. He proclaimed himself its champion against the bigoted enmity, degenerating at last into persecuting zeal, manifested by Aurengzebe.

The Mahratta cause was placed in imminent peril by the premature decease of its founder. Sambajee, according to the usual fate of an Indian prince, opened his career by contending with a brother for the sovereignty. He was next invaded by a large

Mogul force; but, showing himself not an unworthy descendant of his father, compelled it to retire with great loss. Aurengzebe, however, soon afterwards pushed all his armies into the Deccan, with the view of making a final conquest of the south of India. He commenced, as we have already related, with the entire reduction of the kingdoms of Bejapore and Golconda, which had so long braved his power. He then turned his whole array towards the Mahrattas, and began to practise against them their own arts. Having learned from one of his spies that Sambajee, in the pursuit of the irregular pleasures to which he was addicted, had set out almost unattended, he sent a detachment of soldiers who surprised and made him prisoner. The emperor, according to his usual ungenerous conduct, ordered the captive to be immediately put to death, and is alleged even to have feasted his eyes on the sufferings which that unfortunate prince bore with unshaken fortitude. The final downfall of the Mahratta cause was now fully anticipated; but Rama, a brother of the deceased, hastened to the Carnatic, and concentrated his troops round the almost impregnable fortress of Gingee, the reduction of which, interrupted by desultory warfare, occupied the imperial army several years. Meantime the people, throughout their native mountains, were mustering their irregular bands, with which they poured down, not only upon the newly-conquered countries of Golconda and Bejapore, but even upon the old territories of Candeish, Malwa, and Berar.

The Mahratta army, which was destined for more than a century to exercise great influence over the fortunes of India, was, like that of the Mogul, composed chiefly of cavalry, but very differently organized. The latter, cased in strong defensive armour, rode heavy and powerful steeds, while the chiefs, mounted on elephants, were enclosed in a species of fortification. Such squadrons, when acting on the vast plains of Hindostan Proper, or even on the wide and level table-lands of the Deccan, bore down all opposition. But Maharashtra is a region of hills neither so lofty nor so rugged as to obstruct altogether the movement of horse, yet not affording ground on which the enormous masses of

heavy cavalry could make their impetuous charge. The inhabitants, therefore, raised a force suited to their country and to their own habits, composed of small, swift, active horses, with riders lightly dressed and equipped, fitted for march rather than for battle; to sweep over a wide extent of territory, and return without allowing an enemy to overtake them. They were intermixed with infantry, armed partly with matchlocks, partly with arrows; but the favourite national weapon is the spear, with a short sword and shield. An annual campaign was regularly opened at the termination of the north-west monsoon, and announced by the hoisting of the *ghoonda* or royal standard. In forming a camp, the flag of the prince or general is first displayed, whence the bazaar or range of shops extends in a parallel line from front to rear. Along these, on each side, the chiefs raise their ensigns, around which their followers, with their horses and cattle, crowd in masses. The army sets forth without any provision except what can be contained in two cotton bags or pouches thrown over the front of each rider's saddle. They march onward, trusting to supply all their wants on their route, either by forcible seizure, or by means of the numerous brinjarries, or merchants, who resort to a Hindoo encampment as a market for their commodities. Although plunder is indispensable, it is not pursued by lawless violence, nor does each individual trooper appropriate to himself what falls into his hands. It is extorted from the rich according to a regular system, and the produce is thrown into the public stock. Liberal pay is allowed to the soldier, not indeed always very regularly distributed, but he is indulged in great freedom while suing for its liquidation. In these excursions the troops not only load themselves with booty, but add much to their numbers; for men of an adventurous spirit, who have no tie to home, if they can only provide a horse, are easily induced to join the ranks of this roving army. Thus the Mahratta force, without any decisive victory, swelled as it proceeded; and even amid successive defeats, while losing battle after battle, and castle after castle, they continued to overspread the extensive provinces of Candeish,

Malwa, and Berar, and to occupy a large portion of Central India.

The latter years of Aurengzebe, though they were not marked by any serious reverse, and though his power continued on the whole unbroken, were yet rendered gloomy by the disappointment of several important enterprises, and by the many omens of decline which thickened around his empire. His bigotry, always increasing, impelled him at length to the most violent measures for extirpating the Hindoo religion. The superb temples of Muttra and Benares were rased to the ground, and mosques erected on their site. The pagoda of Ahmedabad, one of the most splendid of the national structures, was desecrated by killing a cow within its walls. These outrages, viewed by the superstitious people with the deepest horror, did not indeed excite them to direct rebellion; but still they spread throughout the empire a universal detestation of the Mogul yoke, and an eager disposition to rally round any standard whether erected by a chief or a government. To them may be ascribed in a great measure the rapid progress of the Mahratta state, and the successful resistance of the petty Rajpoot principalities. The days of Aurengzebe were also more and more imbittered by the disposition which his children showed to follow his example. Mohammed, his eldest son, had already died in prison,—the punishment of rebellion. During a dangerous illness, under which he suffered at an early period of his reign, Shah Allum, the second, had too clearly shown how intently his mind was fixed on the succession; and though he had done nothing absolutely undutiful, or which would have justified his disgrace, the intercourse between him and his father was ever after marked by suspicion and distrust. Akbar, another son, distinguished by the high rank of his mother, was guilty of open insurrection, and joined successively the hostile standards of the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots. Two others, Azim and Kaum Buksh, were near him in his last illness; and he foresaw too clearly that his death would be the signal for dreadful conflicts, to be terminated only by the blood of all his male descendants ex-

cept one. Amid these troubles and gloomy presentiments the fatal term at length arrived; he expired in his camp on the 21st February 1707, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and in the forty-ninth of his reign.

Historians have found much difficulty in forming a correct estimate of the character of this extraordinary monarch. His crimes, written in deep and legible characters, cannot be concealed, while the general tenor of his life was marked by many virtues. In the administration of justice he was assiduous and impartial; he was liable to fits neither of passion nor caprice; his charities were almost unbounded, and he usually showed much concern for the welfare of his people. Surrounded by the most ample means of licentious indulgence, of which the example had been set by the greatest of his predecessors, the habits of his private life were pure and even austere. Our opinion of his character must be materially affected by the degree of credit which we attach to that religious profession which he maintained through life with so much apparent zeal. It is exposed to much suspicion, from the manifest exaggeration with which it was sometimes exhibited, and still more from its having been made an instrument of ambition, and even of crimes. Yet there seems reason to believe that, as in the case of Cromwell, whom in many respects he resembled, there may have been, beneath a good deal of interested and hypocritical pretension, a fund of sincerity. This conclusion seems strengthened by his persecution of the Hindoo religion, the imprudence of which, in a worldly point of view, was too manifest to have escaped a prince of his penetration, and, however blameable in itself, must, in the professor of a creed essentially intolerant, admit of some palliation. There seems reason to believe, that amid the greatest aberrations his moral feelings remained strong; that though the tempest of ambition, when it arose, swept all before it, the deeds to which it prompted him were afterwards a subject of painful remorse. The blood of his kindred which he had shed seems never to have been effaced from his mind; so that, seated on the greatest throne of the world, and possessed of

every quality which could support and adorn it, Aurengzebe was miserable. Several letters have been preserved, written to his sons in the prospect of death, which are apparently genuine, and give a striking picture of the emotions felt at the approach of that awful hour when the earthly greatness which he had purchased at so dreadful a price was about to disappear. He says,—“Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my limbs. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight.—I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet regarding my actions fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain.—My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized.—The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons.—I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast.—Odiaporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but everything has its appointed time.—I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you.—No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.”

On the death of Aurengzebe, the struggle for empire immediately commenced; yet it was neither so obstinate nor so bloody as had been anticipated. Shah Allum, the eldest son, and whose cause was embraced by the more powerful party, was of a temper peculiarly mild and amiable: he made the most liberal offers to

his brothers, proposing to grant them the government of some of the finest provinces; but ambition and evil advisers urged them on to try the fortune of battle. They were vanquished: one of them was killed in the field, the other put an end to his own life; and Shah Allum, by painful steps, but without guilt, ascended the throne.

The chief aim of this monarch seems to have been to restore peace to the empire, even at the cost of resigning some of the pretensions advanced by its rulers during the long period of progressive prosperity. He effected an accommodation with the Rajpoots, on terms which required from those haughty chiefs little more than the shadow of submission. The Mahrattas, during the latter part of the reign of Aurengzebe, had offered to cease their depredations on condition of receiving the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue of the districts which were exposed to their inroads; but that proud sovereign, though unable to repel them, indignantly rejected the idea of listening to proposals made by the leaders of a predatory horde. Shah Allum, however, finding that the empire did not afford the means of subduing these plunderers, determined, wisely perhaps, to accede to their terms, and thereby to deliver several of his finest provinces from so dreadful a scourge. On other occasions, when circumstances were more favourable, he showed himself not destitute either of enterprise or military skill. These qualities he had occasion to display against a new enemy, who about this time rose into political importance.

The Sikhs or Seiks made their first appearance during the reign of Baber simply as a religious sect. Nannuk, the founder, is said to have been an amiable and intelligent man, of a mild and philosophic temper, who, seeing with pain the violent dissensions between the votaries of the Hindoo and Mohammedan creeds, formed a scheme by means of which he hoped to effect a reconciliation. Borrowing some of the leading ceremonies of each, he endeavoured to inculcate the grand principles of a superintending Providence and a future retribution acknowledged by both. The numbers of the Seiks rapidly multiplied, being swelled by acces-

sions from other sects; but they still conducted themselves as peaceable citizens, and, under the philosophic reigns of Akbar and his immediate successors, suffered not the slightest molestation. It was the persecuting bigotry of Aurengzebe which converted them into mortal enemies. He caused their chief or patriarch, Tej Bahadur, to be seized, brought to the fort of Gwalior, and there put to death. This furious proceeding changed entirely the character of the people; and Gooroo Govind, son to the murdered prelate, devoted his whole life to the task of vengeance. He succeeded in inspiring all his followers with the same sentiments; and, having armed and mounted them, he changed peaceful fakirs into daring troopers and fierce marauders. Being obliged, however, with these newly-levied bands, to encounter Aurengzebe in the plenitude of his zeal and power, he was unable to make an effectual resistance. His troops were scattered; his two sons were taken and put to death; he himself became a hopeless exile; and, overpowered by so many calamities, died bereft of reason. But the spirit of the association did not sink; on the contrary, under the pressure of wrong and suffering, it became more savage and resolute than ever. After lurking for many years amid the hills and fastnesses on the rude border of the Himalayah, they were encouraged by the death of Aurengzebe again to approach the northern provinces. They were now led by Banda, a follower of the late chief, who assumed also the name of Gooroo Govind; and their devastations are represented to have been truly dreadful, inspired by an imbibed feeling of revenge, and an entire disregard of humanity. Banda had occupied Sirhind, when he learned that the emperor with his whole force was advancing against him; he then fell back upon Daber, a hill-fort situated among the steep slopes of Himalayah, on an elevated summit which could be approached only by craggy rocks and ravines. According to the account of Eradut Khan, who appears to have been present, his majesty regarded the position as so strong that he wished to decline the attack, and proposed rather to remain inactive, and, by appearing afraid of the enemy, to allure them into the open field. The

Ahan Khanan or general, however, was animated with a more daring spirit; and having obtained permission to advance with a party to reconnoitre, he immediately began to attack and drive the enemy from the heights surrounding the fortress. This success roused the military ardour of the whole army, who instantly rushed forward in great numbers to join in the assault; and their imperial leader, with mingled anger and satisfaction, saw his troops, in defiance of his injunction, carrying all before them. They had driven the enemy into the central fort, which, relying chiefly on the strength of its approaches, was not calculated for any serious resistance; but darkness now fell, and the commander contented himself with closing all the avenues, and keeping strict watch through the night. In the morning, however, he was disappointed to find that, by a narrow path which had eluded his notice, the Seik chieftain had effected his escape, and was retreating into the wildest recesses of the Himalayah. His progress, notwithstanding, was checked for the present, though the sect retained their power unbroken, and were destined at a later period to act a conspicuous part on the theatre of India.

Shah Allum, according to the account of Eradut Khan, who enjoyed his intimate confidence, appears to have been one of the most accomplished and amiable princes that ever swayed the sceptre of India. His liberality, though censured by some as extreme, was always exerted towards the most deserving objects. He was strongly attached to the Moslem faith, and deeply versant in its theology, which he studied, however, in a liberal manner, making himself acquainted with the opinions of all sects, and even of freethinkers, to a degree that somewhat scandalized the more rigid doctors. Instead of the dark jealousy which had usually reigned between the members of the Mogul family, he had seventeen sons, grandsons, and nephews, constantly seated at his table, who showed no disposition to abuse this kind confidence. Though he did not possess the full energy suited to the trying circumstances of his government, his moderation and the general respect

in which he was held might probably have averted the calamities which impended over this great empire; but unhappily, after a reign of five years, he was seized with a violent illness, and died in his camp at Lahore in the year 1712.

He left four sons, who, notwithstanding their peaceful conduct during his life, immediately began to contend with one another for the empire. The cause of Moiz-ud-Dien, the eldest, was espoused by Zulfikar Khan, one of the most powerful of the omrahs, who succeeded in defeating and putting to death the three others, and placing the crown on the head of this prince, who assumed the name of Jehander Shah. The new monarch, however, was found wholly incapable of supporting, even with an appearance of decency, the exalted rank to which he had been elevated. Neglecting altogether the business of the state, he abandoned himself to dissoluteness, and was even seen strolling in the vicinity of Delhi in the company of mean and abandoned females. In a government of so little vigour, there were not wanting bold spirits to avail themselves of the opportunity which the weak character and bad administration of the emperor had created. Two brothers, Abdoolla and Hussein, who boasted the high rank of Syuds, or descendants of the Prophet, undertook to recommend a successor, in whose name they might rule Hindostan. They nominated Feroxsere, the offspring of Azim Ooshaun, who was the favourite son of Shah Allum. An army was soon raised, and though Zulfikar bravely defended the unworthy object whom he had placed on the throne, he was, after a short struggle, entirely overthrown, and both he and his master put to death.

The Syuds having thus elevated their candidate to power, considered him as their vassal, and proceeded to administer the empire at their pleasure. They discovered no want of vigour in the conduct of affairs. Banda, the Seik prince, having descended to the plains bordering on the Indus, was defeated, taken, and put to death with the most cruel tortures. The great omrahs, however, soon began to murmur at the supremacy of these chiefs. Even the emperor himself felt their yoke burdensome; and

favourites were also found who exhorted him to submit no longer to this thralldom, but to assume real power in his own person. Thus his reign of seven years was spent in a continued series of intrigues, the issue of which was that the Syuds completely prevailed, put Feroksere to death, and looked around for another high-born pageant on whom to confer the semblance of sovereignty. They chose first a great-grandson of Aurengzebe by his rebellious son Akbar; but in five months he died of consumption. Next his brother Ruffeh-ul-Dowlah was named to succeed, but he survived his elevation only three months. The Syuds then placed on the throne Rooshun Aktur, a grandson of Shah Allum, under the name of Mohammed Shah.

This prince, like Feroksere, paid at first implicit deference to the two individuals who had raised him to the empire; but he also soon listened to other counsellors, who exhorted him to emancipate himself from their tyrannical sway. He was at length induced to join in a regular conspiracy formed for that purpose. A misunderstanding had arisen between the two brothers and the Nizam-ul-Mulk, a powerful chieftain who held the government of Malwa, and refused to resign it at their mandate. It was arranged that the emperor and Hussein should set out together, and subdue this refractory commander. A plot for the assassination of the Syud was however matured, the three conspirators cast lots which of them should do the deed, and it fell upon one whose name was Hyder. Approaching the palanquin in which Hussein was seated, as if to present a petition, the murderer stabbed him so dexterously that he died in a few moments. He had only time to show his suspicion of the motive by calling out, "Kill the emperor!" and his nephew, at the head of a few resolute soldiers, made a desperate effort to fulfil this dying injunction; but precautions had been taken against the attempt. Mohammed then marched upon Delhi, where the remaining Syud, determining to make a stand, set up a new monarch and collected an army; but he was defeated and taken prisoner. The victor made his triumphal entry into the capital, as if he had just begun to reign.

But he was no sooner in full possession of sovereign power, than he displayed that incapacity which seemed to be now inherent in the Mogul race. He had two able and not unfaithful ministers, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadut Khan; but, disgusted with their grave and severe manners, he resigned himself to youthful advisers, who were easily found within the precincts of a court. Those two chiefs, irritated at finding themselves thus overlooked, withdrew, and endeavoured to establish a separate authority in other quarters; the Nizam in the Deccan, where he has transmitted his name and title to a race of princes still nominally independent; and Saadut in Oude, where a branch of his family likewise continues to reign. In this crisis the Mahrattas, who had been continually extending the range of their incursions, began openly to contend for the empire. After overrunning the greater part of Malwa and Guzerat, they pushed forward to the very gates of Agra, and struck terror into the imperial capital. Saadut Khan, who alone seemed to retain any regard for the honour and safety of the state, marched down from Oude, and gave them so great an overthrow as would have completely broken their power, had he been permitted to follow it up; but the weak emperor desired operations to be suspended till his favourite minister should have collected troops, and marched forth to take the chief command. Saadut then retired in disgust; after which the enemy rallied, made a fresh incursion as far as Delhi, plundered the environs of that capital, and returned laden with booty to Malwa. But, as if this combination of imbecility with intestine war were not enough, an assault from abroad, of the most formidable character, burst upon the sinking fabric of the Mogul empire.

Persia had been recently exposed to the most violent revolutions. The Afghans, a warlike race inhabiting the mountainous region which separates that country from India, took advantage of the weakness into which the once-powerful dynasty of the Sophis had sunk. They marched into its territory, defeated its troops, and laid close siege to Ispahan. Having reduced that capital, they put to death Hussein, the reigning sovereign, with

all his family except one son, named Thamas. This young prince sought refuge among the pastoral tribes who occupy those elevated plains which extend over a great part of the Persian empire. These hardy and warlike shepherds, animated with loyal and patriotic feelings, warmly espoused the cause of this last branch of their royal house, and assembled round him in numbers, which became every day more formidable. Among these volunteers a young chief, named Nadir, but who on this occasion assumed the title of Thamas Kouli Khan, or the noble slave of Thamas, soon distinguished himself by such zeal and ability as raised him to be their leader. After having gained successive victories, he at length retook Ispahan, and drove the invaders completely out of the empire. In the course of so many successes, the troops contracted a stronger attachment to Nadir than to him for whom they had taken up arms; and this bold chief, finding himself within reach of the supreme power, placed the prince under restraint, allowing him the mere epithet and shadow of royalty. He afterwards put out his eyes, and seized the kingdom in his own person, under his original name of *Nadir Shah*.

The new monarch was not content to be master of Persia; but, confident in the bravery and affection of his followers, he resolved to carry his conquests into the neighbouring countries. He invaded the territory of the Afghans themselves, and having reduced Cabul and Candahar, at length approached the frontier of India. He professed to have no intention or wish to penetrate into that region,—for which historians in general give him credit; but we should hesitate in ascribing to the daring usurper so much moderation. At all events, sufficient grounds or pretences were not long wanting. A number of his countrymen who had fled from him found an asylum in Hindostan. An ambassador and his escort, whom he sent to demand that these fugitives should be delivered up, were murdered by the inhabitants of Jellalabad; and Mohammed, under the advice of his arrogant and imprudent courtiers, refused to grant satisfaction for this outrage. The

Persian prince advanced, burning for revenge, and, probably not without some secret anticipation of ulterior objects, marched with such rapidity, by way of Peshawur and Lahore, that he was within four days' march of Delhi before the supine emperor was aware of his approach. The latter then hastily mustered his troops, and obtained the able assistance of Saadut Khan; but that officer, not duly aware of the high talent and valour opposed to him, committed the fatal error of quitting his intrenchments, and hazarding an engagement in the field with the veteran forces of Nadir. The effeminate pomp of an Indian host was quite unfit to contend with the rude valour of these pastoral bands; hence the imperial army was totally routed, and their commander taken. A series of transactions now followed, which are not very distinctly related by historians. Saadut, it is said, negotiated a treaty, by which the other agreed to evacuate the empire on the payment of a subsidy of two crores of rupees (two millions sterling). The Persian seemed so entirely satisfied with this arrangement, that the emperor and the Nizam-ul-Mulk hesitated not to visit him, and thus put themselves within the grasp of the invader. Then, however, as is reported, the captive general, disappointed at finding that the office of vizier, which he claimed as the reward of this service, was to be conferred on the nizam, disclosed to the enemy the secret of the unbounded wealth contained in the palace and capital of India, and for which two crores of rupees were a most inadequate ransom. We should require fuller evidence before we could believe such treachery in one whose conduct had hitherto been so honourable; nor was it likely that the riches of Delhi were so little known as to be confined to the honour and fidelity of a single chief. May we not suppose, with greater probability, that the terms of the treaty were discussed by Nadir, and his friendly professions made, solely to induce the emperor and the nizam to commit the almost incredible imprudence of placing themselves in his power. Certain it is, that having thus obtained possession of their persons, he marched forward and made himself master of the metropolis.

Nadir seems to have entered it with the intention of acting moderately, and of protecting the inhabitants from outrage. For two days the strictest discipline was observed; but unfortunately, in the course of the second night, a rumour was spread of his death, when the Hindoos, emboldened to a vain resistance, killed a number of his troops. Their commander, whose fierce spirit had been with difficulty restrained, roused to the utmost fury by this outrage, issued orders for a general massacre in every house or lane where the body of a murdered Persian could be found. Till mid-day the streets of Delhi streamed with blood; after which the conqueror suffered himself to be appeased,—and so complete a control did he exercise over his rude followers, that at his mandate the sword was immediately sheathed. The imperial repositories were now ransacked, and found to contain specie, rich robes, and, above all, jewels to an almost incredible value. The Mogul emperors, since the first accession of their dynasty, had been indefatigable in the collection of these objects from every quarter, by presents, purchase, or forfeiture; and the store had been continually augmented without suffering any alienation, or being exposed to foreign plunder. The invaders continued during thirty-five days to extract, by threats, torture, and every severity, the hidden treasures of that splendid capital. Historians hesitate not to estimate the spoil carried off by the Iranian monarch and his officers at thirty-two millions sterling, of which at least one-half was in diamonds and other jewels.

Nadir made no attempt to retain India, though it lay prostrate at his feet. He had probably the sagacity to perceive that so vast a country and Persia were incapable of being united into one kingdom. He contented himself with exacting the cession of Cabul, Candahar, and all the provinces west of the Indus; then, seating Mohammed anew on the Mogul throne, he gave him some salutary advices, and departed without leaving a soldier or retaining a fortified post in Hindostan. Yet the empire, already greatly sunk, lost by this discomfiture the little remnant of respect which it had hitherto commanded. In Rohileund, a hilly district closel

contiguous to the capital, some refugee chiefs of the Afghan race, with the brave inhabitants of the country itself, formed an independent state, which defied the imperial power. They were, it is true, obliged to give way before the united force of the vizier and the Nabob of Oude; but they held themselves in readiness to take advantage of those convulsions to which the successors of Akbar were constantly becoming more and more exposed.

The western nations had learned the route to Delhi, and were not likely to forget it. Nadir, eight years after leaving India, was assassinated in his tent at Meshed, in Khorasan; whereupon the dominion which had been formed by him, and kept together by his prudence and vigour, fell quickly to pieces. Ahmed Abdalla, one of his officers, an Afghan by birth, being joined by a part of the army, hastened home, and forthwith proclaimed himself king of his native land, and, amid the distractions that followed the death of his master, succeeded without difficulty in making good his claim. Finding himself thus seated in the undisturbed possession of a strong country, with a brave population, which had often given conquerors to Hindostan, he could not resist the temptation of following the footsteps of Nadir. In 1747 he passed the Indus, plundered the city of Sirhind, and defeated the vizier, who fell in the engagement; but being disconcerted by some unexpected obstacles, and particularly by the explosion of a magazine, he did not then push his conquests any further.

Soon after this expedition the emperor died, and was succeeded by his son, Ahmed Shah, during whose short reign, as if foreign enemies had not been sufficient, the court was perpetually distracted by intestine dissension. The sovereign and his vizier were now almost in regular opposition. Ahmed being oppressed by one of these officers, Suffder Jung, employed against him Ghazee-ud-Dien, grandson to Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had died at the age of 104. This young man, holding the rank of Ameer-ul-Omrah, made considerable efforts to retrieve the affairs of the empire. He compelled the vizier, who had even set up another

monarch, to relinquish his station. He undertook an expedition against the Jauts, a wild tribe inhabiting the hilly tracts in the most western provinces, and who, amid the general anarchy, had shaken off the yoke. But, while thus employed, he excited the jealousy of his master the emperor, who, adopting the views of a new favourite, concerted with the enemy a plan for his destruction. Aided, however, by the Mahratta chief Holkar Mulhar, he completely baffled these designs, obtained possession of his master's person, put out his eyes, and raised to the throne a son of Jehander Shah, under the empty but imposing title of Aulungire the Second.

The empire was now in a most distracted condition; there was scarcely a power so insignificant as not to think itself sufficiently strong to trample on it. The Afghans had completely conquered the provinces of Moultan and Lahore; the Seiks, in the same quarter, daily augmented their numbers and strength; the Jauts and Rohillas continued their predatory inroads; while the Mahrattas extended their incursions, in the course of which they had even passed the Jumna, and obtained an important settlement in Rohilcund. Ghazee-ud-Dien precipitated the disaster by a rash attempt at conquest, to which his power was wholly inadequate. An Afghan lady having been intrusted by Ahmed Abdalla with the government of Lahore, the vizier, under pretence of negotiating a marriage with her daughter, seized her person, and brought her a prisoner to Delhi. At this outrage the indignation of the barbarian king knew no bounds. He hastened at the head of a vast army, and made an unresisted entrance into the capital, which was given up to a sack almost as dreadful as it had suffered from Nadir. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The emperor besought the invader not to leave him without protection against his own vizier, who had raised him indeed to nominal power, but treated him as a mere pageant, while he himself exercised all the real authority. Ahmed accordingly made some arrangements for this purpose, placing Aulungire under the guardianship of a Rohilla chief; but these measures, after his departure, proved

wholly insufficient. Ghazee-ud-Dien (for so, to prevent confusion, we shall continue to call him, though he now chose to entitle himself Umad-ul-Mulk), having formed an alliance with the Mahrattas, easily obtained possession both of the capital and the sovereign. That unfortunate prince at first pretended a reconciliation, but being soon after detected in a correspondence with the adverse party, was assassinated, and his body thrown into the Jumna. Yet Ghazee-ud-Dien himself, unable to withstand the numerous enemies who surrounded him, was at no distant period obliged to seek refuge in a castle belonging to the Jauts.

Without attempting to thread further this labyrinth of treason, we may observe generally, that the Mogul throne had now almost ceased to retain any degree of weight or importance. The contest for the empire of India lay entirely between the Afghans and the Mahrattas ; and the latter, taking advantage of the absence of their rivals, determined upon a grand attempt to secure complete possession of Hindostan. Bringing up from the Deccan an immense body of cavalry, and being aided by the Seiks, they overran not only the metropolitan provinces of Agra and Delhi, but also those of Moulton and Lahore, and drove the Afghans beyond the Indus. Ahmed Abdalla, however, was not of a character tamely to allow these fine countries to be wrested from his kingdom. He soon crossed the river with a formidable army, and was joined by many chiefs who were exasperated at the incursion of the Mahrattas. These plunderers at first retreated, and allowed him to occupy Delhi ; but immediately intrenched themselves in a strong camp, which he did not venture to attack. Pressed, however, by want of provisions, they imprudently came out and gave battle, when they experienced a total defeat ; their army of 80,000 men being almost entirely destroyed, and Duttah Sindia, their general, killed. Another body under Holkar was surprised near Secundra, and so completely worsted, that he himself fled naked with a handful of followers.

The Mahrattas, though humbled by this disaster, were not discouraged ; and they resolved to make the most extraordinary exer-

tions for retrieving their fortunes. Before the close of the year, they had assembled a force of 140,000 men, commanded by Sewdasheo Rao, called the Bhow, nephew to their peishwa or supreme prince; and that chief, being joined by the vizier and the Jant leaders, advanced upon Delhi. The deep stream of the Jumna, swelled by the rains, separated the armies; but, though it could not be forded, the daring spirit of Abdalla impelled him to plunge into its waters, and swim across with his whole army. This achievement, which was almost without example, struck dismay into the host of the Mahrattas. Though triple the number of their antagonists, they did not venture to face them in the open field, but shut themselves up in an intrenched camp at Panniput, on a spot where the fate of the empire has been repeatedly decided. Ahmed for some time merely hovered round them and cut off their supplies; at length he ventured on an attempt to carry their position, but was obliged to retire without any important success. Encouraged by this result, and distressed as formerly by the want of provisions, his active foe determined again to risk a battle in the open plain. Placing their artillery in front, they advanced with that impetuosity by which they were accustomed to carry all before them. The Afghan commander caused his troops to hold themselves in reserve till the enemy had nearly come up;—then gave the signal for a general charge. The light horse of the mountains were never able to resist, even for a short interval, the heavy cavalry of the more northern nations. On the first onset a complete rout took place; their host was so scattered in every direction that only a remnant reached the Deccan; while 22,000 prisoners, 50,000 horses, with an immense booty, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

It was now easy for the victorious Abdalla to seat himself on the vacant throne of the Mogul; but he seems not to have felt any ambition for this high dignity. Perhaps he was sensible that, amid such a general agitation throughout Hindostan, and with so many nations in arms, such an acquisition was too distant from the centre of his dominions to be retained with advantage.

Contenting himself with the provinces west of the Indus, he quitted in a few months the seat of government, leaving there Alee Gohur, eldest son of Aulumgire II., in possession of the empty but still venerated title of Great Mogul, to be the tool or the captive of the first daring warrior who should seize the capital. Having traced the decline of this mighty empire to so low an ebb, we shall now pause till we have marked the progress of that new power from a distant continent, which has seated herself on its ruins, and obtained a complete supremacy over all the states of India.

## CHAPTER X.

## BRITISH CONQUEST OF THE CARNATIC.

First Territorial Acquisitions—War between France and England—Early Settlements of the French—Their Establishment at Pondicherry—Enterprises of Labourdonnais—He takes Madras—Superseded by Dupleix—Pondicherry besieged—Conclusion of Peace—English Expedition to Tanjore—Contests for the Sovereignties of Southern India—The French interpose—Gain a complete Victory—They are expelled by Nazir Jung—The English join him—His Death—Succession and Death of Mirzapha Jung—Salabat Jung—Exploits of Clive—Advantages over the French—Their Influence in the Deccan—Form a Confederacy against the English—Siege of Trichinopoly—Acquisitions of the French—Recall of Dupleix—Treaty concluded—The Collieries—War of 1756—Lally takes the Command—Reduces Fort St. David—Siege of Madras—Raised—French defeated at Wandewash—Siege of Pondicherry—Its Surrender—Cruel Treatment of Lally in France.

THE voyages of the English, related in a former part of this work,\* were personal adventures, undertaken with a mingled view to discovery, commerce, and piracy, rather than to any fixed scheme of conquest or dominion. Their forts accordingly were erected as depositories for goods, or to supply commercial facilities, but not with any aim at territorial possession. It was not till 1689 that their views seem to have extended to the latter object. In the instructions issued to their agents during that year, they intimate that the increase of their revenue was henceforth to occupy as much attention as their merchandise; that they wished to be "a nation in India;" and they quote with unmerited applause the conduct of the Dutch, who, they assert, in the advices sent to their governors, wrote ten paragraphs concerning tribute for one relative to trade. The means of gratifying this disposition were as yet very limited; as certain small portions of territory around Bombay and Madras comprised the whole extent of their Indian sovereignty. They held themselves ready, however, to purchase every city or district which the native princes could, by any motive, be prevailed upon to alienate; and in this way they acquired Tegenapatam on the Coromandel coast, which they garrisoned, and

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\* Chapter V.

gave it the name of Fort St. David. Nine years after, they made a more important acquisition. Azim Ooshaun, whom his father, Aurengzebe, had nominated Viceroy of Bengal, but who, contemplating a struggle for the succession to the empire, and standing in need of treasure to forward his schemes, was induced, in 1698, to sell to the Company the zemindarships of the towns and districts of Chutanutty, Govindpore, and *Calcutta*,—the last destined soon to become the capital of British India. Here they began, though not without due circumspection, to erect Fort William, which, in 1707, was made the seat of a presidency.

The superior skill of Europeans in medicine, which had first enabled them to obtain a footing in Bengal, now afforded an opportunity of greatly extending their influence. In 1715, under the reign of the Emperor Feroksere, the residents sent two factors, with an Armenian merchant, on a commercial mission to Delhi. The principal object was defeated, in a manner similar to that of Roe and others, by the intrigues of the omrahs, and of Jaffier Khan, governor of Bengal. But his majesty happening to labour under a severe illness, which the ignorance of the native physicians rendered them unable to treat with success, was completely cured by a medical gentleman, named Hamilton, who accompanied the embassy. For this signal service he not only received large presents, but obtained the valuable grant of three villages in the vicinity of Madras, with liberty to purchase in Bengal thirty-seven additional townships; an arrangement which would have secured a territory extending ten miles upwards from *Calcutta*. The emperor conferred also the still more important privilege of introducing their goods and conveying them through the province without duty or search. But the acquisition of these districts was frustrated by the hostility of the nabob, who by private threats deterred the owners from consenting to the purchase. Still, the permission of free trade, though limited to foreign exports and imports, proved of the greatest importance, and soon rendered *Calcutta* a very flourishing settlement.

A considerable time now elapsed without any farther change in the territorial relations of the Company. They complain of the extravagance of their servants, which involved them in debt to the native shroffs and merchants; but this evil seems to have been in a good measure remedied. Having establishments supported at a moderate expense, which enabled them to carry on trade with security and advantage, they gradually extended their operations till the annual sales amounted to the considerable sum of about two millions sterling; whence they were enabled to pay a dividend of seven or eight per cent. on their capital. Perhaps it would have been fortunate had this state of things remained unaltered; but the war which broke out in 1744 between the French and British produced an entire change in the position of the Company, both in regard to its internal management, and relatively to the powers of Europe and of India. To understand this, we must look back for a moment to the first establishments formed by the French in the eastern world.

That people, though they had suffered themselves to be far outstripped in the progress of maritime greatness by the English and Dutch, had yet at an early period displayed a spirit of enterprise. Even in 1503 an expedition had been fitted out by some merchants of Rouen; which, however, experienced a complete failure, in consequence probably of the imperfect nautical skill then possessed by their mariners. Attempts, though on a small scale, and generally unsuccessful, were made early in the next century; but it was not till 1642 that a considerable company was at length established. Unluckily that body directed their main attention to the formation of a settlement on Madagascar, a large and fruitful island, which it was easy to describe as affording ample scope for cultivation and commerce. But it yielded no commodity suited to the markets of Europe; its inhabitants, too, were numerous and ferocious, and soon became formidable to a power which attempted to take possession of their territory. The settlers were involved in a harassing warfare, and with difficulty maintained, at certain points on the coast, a few wooden tenements

dignified with the title of forts, which involved them in expense without yielding any profit.

The first real establishment of a French East India Company took place in 1664, under the auspices of Colbert, who, prompted by the aspiring genius of his master, Louis XIV., devoted himself indefatigably to the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. He proceeded upon the principles of that age, which was by no means enlightened in respect to the sound doctrines of political economy; and hence, exclusive grants, exorbitant privileges, and the removal of competition, were the expedients by which it was then attempted to make any branch of industry flourish. Such was Colbert's system, when he submitted to the king the plan of an East India Company, to carry on trade with a capital of 15,000,000 livres (£625,000), and supported by the most extravagant encouragements. They received an exclusive charter for fifty years; they were exempted from all taxes; and the government came under the singular obligation of reimbursing them for all the losses which they might sustain in the course of the first ten years,—a stipulation which actually subjected the state to the payment of a large sum. The funds supplied by individuals not being equal to the amount of the proposed capital, limited as it was, three millions were advanced out of the treasury; while the nobles, and all the opulent classes connected with the court, were induced to follow the example.

The management of the Company was neither judicious nor fortunate. They began by endeavouring to turn Madagascar to some account, and sent thither a large colony, most of whom perished under the influence of climate, fatigue, and the hostility of the natives. The survivors were afterwards employed in occupying the islands of Cerne and Mascarenhas, which at a later period, under the names of Mauritius and Bourbon, rose to some degree of prosperity. After the failure of the attempt at Madagascar they sent vessels to India, and formed settlements on different points of its coast. In 1668 they established their principal factory at Surat, under the direction of Caron, one of

their countrymen, who had spent most of his life in the service of Holland. The prospects at first appeared rather promising; but, being involved in dispute with the native powers, and finding the trade ultimately unprosperous, they thought fit to take their departure very suddenly, leaving their debts unpaid,—an omission which of course precluded their return. Attempts were afterwards made to secure a position at Trincomalee in Ceylon, and at St. Thomas on the Coromandel coast; but both were defeated by the jealousy of the Dutch. Their affairs, therefore, would have become desperate, had not M. Martin, an officer possessed of talent and patriotism, collected the scattered adventurers and fixed them at Pondicherry; where, by judicious and conciliatory conduct, he gained the attachment of the inhabitants, opened an advantageous trade, and soon raised the settlement to a very prosperous condition.

When the French and English first came into mutual collision, the former had no station of much consequence on the continent of India except that just named; but it was of very considerable importance, being well fortified, and having some extent of territory attached to it. They had smaller factories at Mahé and Carical, as well as at Chandernagore in Bengal. In 1744 hostilities broke out between the two nations, which were carried on in Europe with great animosity. The French Company appear to have been rather desirous that the war should not extend to the Indian Seas; but their naval officers, on the contrary, were fired by hopes of glory from an attack on the English settlements in that quarter, before they could be placed in a posture of defence. Labourdonnais, a person of great talent and most indefatigable activity, who had raised himself through all the ranks of the navy, was now governor of Mauritius and Bourbon; and these islands, by his exertions, almost without assistance from home, had become very flourishing. Happening to be in France when the war was in preparation, he made proposals, both to the Company and the ministry, for an attack upon the enemy's establishments. The former were altogether averse to his scheme;

but the government unknown to them sanctioned it, and even engaged to furnish two ships, which however were afterwards withheld. The adventurer returned to his command with the most resolute determination to prosecute his design, though possessed of very slender resources. With this view he detained the vessels which happened to touch there, and employed them in the expedition; he brought the sailors, many of whom had never fired a gun, into regular training; and he supplied by various inventions the defective means of equipment. In June 1746, he arrived at Pondicherry, after a slight action with an English naval force on the coast. Here, too, he had to overcome certain obstacles raised by Dupleix, before he was permitted to sail with his squadron to attack Madras.

This city was not only the capital of the English possessions, but one of the chief settlements at that time formed by the Europeans in India. It comprised within its district a population of not less than 250,000, of whom, however, only 300 were from this quarter of the globe, including 200 soldiers. These lived in Fort St. George, surrounded merely by a slender wall, with four ill-constructed bastions and batteries; and hence, it is obvious, they had very small means of defence, and did not, in the use of them, display any heroism. After sustaining a bombardment of five days, in which two or three houses were demolished, and four or five men killed, they capitulated on the 10th September 1746. They obtained, indeed, the singular condition, that Labourdonnais, after having regularly occupied the place and taken possession of the Company's magazines and warehouses, should, within a stipulated period, and on payment of a fixed ransom, restore Madras to the English. That officer, having made this important acquisition without the loss of a single man, returned to Pondicherry.

But there he did not meet with such a reception as he merited. Dupleix, an aspiring and ambitious man, who could not brook any rival in power, thwarted all his schemes, and exposed him to repeated mortifications, till at length he gave up the contest, and sailed for France. There, too on the representations of his supe-

rior officer, he was treated in a manner altogether unworthy of his long and faithful services, being thrown into the Bastile, whence he was not liberated till the end of three years, soon after which he died.

Dupleix, who was thus left in the supreme command of affairs in India, was a very extraordinary character. From his father, who had been a farmer-general and a director of the East India Company, he inherited an immense fortune, which he was taught to employ in the pursuits of commerce. Being sent out originally as first member of the council at Pondicherry, and afterwards as superintendent at Chandernagore, he at once, by his public measures, rendered this last settlement extremely prosperous, and by an extensive trade largely augmented his private wealth. His talents and success recommended him to the important station of Governor of Pondicherry. Although, from feelings of jealousy, he had quarrelled with Labourdonnais, and succeeded in removing him, yet his mind was enthusiastically and intensely devoted to the same system of policy. Neither Cæsar nor Alexander ever formed more magnificent schemes of conquest than this mercantile ruler of French India. His first object was to follow up the advantage gained over the English, and thoroughly to root out that rival nation from the coast of Coromandel. Labourdonnais had, as already mentioned, stipulated on certain conditions to restore Madras, after a temporary occupation of it; and as a man of honour he was resolved to make good his engagement,—a design wholly foreign to the grasping ambition of Dupleix. Unable otherwise to accomplish his object, he made such arrangements as to delay the period of surrender till the departure of that officer, and then contrived to draw forth from the citizens of Pondicherry a remonstrance against giving up a place the possession of which was so important to their security. In pretended compliance with this request, Madras was not only retained, but exposed to a species of plunder, while the governor and principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to the French settlement.

This step was forthwith followed by an expedition on his part for the reduction of Fort St. David, while his confidence was greatly heightened by an event which forms a memorable era in the annals of Indian warfare. The Nabob of Arcot, having espoused the English cause, had sent his son with 10,000 men, to endeavour to retake Madras on their behalf. The French had only 1200 soldiers to defend the city, with which force they hesitated not to attack the numerous army of the nabob; when, by their superior discipline and the expert management of their artillery, they gained a complete and decisive victory. The superiority of even a handful of Europeans over the tumultuary bands which compose an Asiatic host had long ago been proved by the Portuguese; but the example of their success was nearly forgotten; and both French and British had been accustomed to view the Mogul as a powerful and mighty monarch, whom it was vain with their slender means to think of resisting. The spell was again broken; and the settlers of either nation learned a lesson which they failed not soon to reduce to practice with the most extensive and terrible effect.

The present object of Dupleix was simply the reduction of Fort St. David, against which he led a force of 1700 men, mostly European; while the English had only 200 of their own troops, with a body of undisciplined natives. As the French, however, were advancing in full confidence, the nabob's army surprised them by a sudden attack, and obliged them to retreat with some loss. A detachment was afterwards sent by sea to attempt the surprise of Cuddalore, a town immediately contiguous to Fort St. David, but a heavy gale springing up obliged them to return. He then employed all his address to gain over the nabob; being particularly careful to impress on that prince a lofty idea of his own power, trusting to the maxim regularly acted upon by Indian grandees, of studying only immediate advantage, and espousing always the side which they believe to be the strongest. His highness being informed of the arrival of a great additional force, was led to credit the pretensions of the French; and, deserting-

our countrymen, of whom he had been the sworn and active ally, concluded a treaty with their enemies, which was cemented by a visit from his son, who was received with all that ostentatious pomp in which eastern rulers delight.

Dupleix now vigorously resumed his enterprise. He crossed the river, and took up a strong position in front of Fort St. David, when a fleet under Admiral Griffin, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, was seen to enter the road. The French again retreated, and the English received some further recruits. At length, in January 1748, Major Lawrence, an experienced officer, assumed the command; after which the two nations remained for some time so equally matched that neither ventured upon any serious movement. The governor of Pondicherry indeed undertook a midnight attack upon Cuddalore; but his approach being discovered, his men were repulsed with considerable loss.

The face of Indian affairs was soon entirely changed by the arrival of an English expedition of nine ships of war, having on board 1400 men, who, with those already in the country, formed the largest European army ever seen in that part of India. The British were then completely in a condition to undertake offensive operations; and they determined to strike a blow at the main strength of the enemy by besieging Pondicherry. As the French had no force which could oppose them in the field, the siege was undertaken with the fairest prospect of success. It was not, however, carried on with due promptitude and vigour. A long delay was incurred in reducing a small fort two miles distant from the city; and when the trenches were at length opened before the place itself, they were not found to be sufficiently near for the artillery to fire with effect; and before this error was amended, the rainy season had set in, sickness spread among the troops, and it was deemed necessary to desist from the attempt. The French felt extraordinary exultation at this repulse, which they boasted of as a splendid victory; but before they could derive any advantage from it, tidings arrived that peace had been con-

cluded in Europe, of which one of the conditions was the relinquishment of Madras. Hence the two nations were placed exactly in the same position as before the war.

But this treaty, instead of restoring tranquillity to India, served only to give a wider range to warlike operations in that quarter of the world; for the two parties, having each a large disposable force, began to look round for some object on which it might be advantageously employed. The events of the preceding war had disclosed the weakness of the native governments, and left room to hope for the establishment of a wide dominion over this rich and beautiful region.

The English made the first movement. A prince of Tanjore named Sahuje, who had been dethroned by a brother, craved their aid to reinstate him, and offered in return the fortress and district of Devicottah, advantageously situated on the banks of the Coleroon. In 1749, they undertook an expedition against that stronghold; but, disappointed by want of concert between the fleet and the army, and receiving no aid from the natives, they returned without having even attempted its reduction. Mortified by this failure, they proceeded a second time against the place, the ships now conveying the soldiers to the mouth of the river, whence they ascended in boats to the town. After considerable difficulties, and a severe contest, in which Lieutenant Clive, afterwards so eminent in Indian history, distinguished himself by daring valour, they obtained possession of the fort. Its capture was immediately followed up with a treaty, by which its occupation was secured to the English, who, in return, abandoned the cause of the prince for whom they had taken arms. They stipulated even to keep him in confinement, and thereby render him incapable of troubling his rival, provided he received a pension of £400 a-year. This arrangement, it need not be remarked, was far from being honourable to our countrymen, who seem, however, to have been altogether deceived in their expectations of co-operation from the people of Tanjore.

The French, meantime, were playing a much higher game, and

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openly aspiring to a direct ascendancy in Southern India. We despair of conducting our readers in a satisfactory manner through the dark maze of Carnatic intrigue, or the barbarous names and uninteresting characters who were employed in it. It may be premised, that whenever an Indian prince dies, no respect is paid to the principle of primogeniture, or to any fixed law of succession. His sons, grandsons, nephews, or even more distant relations, advance claims to the sovereignty, which they forthwith endeavour to support by an appeal to arms. The dissensions of the Deccan arose upon the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who may be remembered as acting a part in Mogul history, and of Sadatullah, nabob of the Carnatic. Both these offices, originally subordinate appointments under the Emperor of Delhi, had, in the decline of that dynasty, become gradually independent. For these, instead of Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-Dien, the rightful or at least actual possessors, there appeared Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Saheb, who aspired, the former to be Soubahdar of the Deccan, the latter to be Nabob of the Carnatic. Having united their interests, they had assembled an army of 40,000 men, and eagerly courted the aid of Dupleix. This ambitious governor conceived that, by filling the two great thrones of the south of India, to which exploit he judged his forces adequate, he should become the undisputed master of that extensive country; and therefore he sent D'Auteuil with 2300 men, of whom 400 were Europeans, to join the allied troops. The combined armies then marched to attack Anwar-ud-Dien, the reigning nabob, who, with 20,000 followers, was encamped at Amboor, a strong post guarding one of the principal passes into the Carnatic. He had thrown across the ravine an intrenchment defended by cannon, served by a small band of Europeans; when D'Auteuil, ambitious to display the valour of his countrymen and their high discipline, offered with only his few French soldiers to storm the lines. The Indian chiefs closed with the proposal; though the undertaking proved somewhat more formidable than had been anticipated. The artillery of the enemy, being strong and well-directed, repulsed two successive

attacks; but the assailants, animated by the consciousness that they were fighting in the view of three armies, rushed on a third time, and carried the fortifications. They then pushed forward against the main body, where the nabob, mounted on an elephant, with his standard displayed, and surrounded by his chosen cavalry, was loudly encouraging the troops. But almost immediately a ball fired by a Caffre soldier went through his heart, and he dropt to the ground dead. A total rout instantly ensued; the camp, a very ample booty, sixty elephants, with all the artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the victors. The princes forthwith resolved to march upon Arcot, which surrendered without resistance.

Mohammed Ali, son to the fallen nabob, and heir of his throne, fled to Trichinopoly, a very strong city, the possession of which gave him still a hold upon the Carnatic. Dupleix pressed in the most urgent manner upon the confederate generals that they should not lose a moment, but hasten to the attack of the fortress, which was probably in a very imperfect state of defence. The Indian princes, however, chose rather to begin by marching into Arcot and Pondicherry, where they made a display of their pomp as soubahdar and nabob; and when they at last took the field, it was to proceed, not, as he had recommended, against Trichinopoly, but against the more remote and unimportant city of Tanjore. This decision, however, proceeded from a secret motive; their treasury being completely exhausted, they felt the necessity of securing a supply by extorting from the rajah some heavy arrears of tribute. The town bordering on the delta of the Coleroon and the Cavery, was wealthy and splendid, adorned with a pagoda which eclipses in magnitude all other structures in the south of India. From the opulent ruler of this state they demanded the payments due to the Mogul, and claimed by them as his representatives. Had they even prosecuted this demand with vigour and promptitude, they might probably have brought it to a speedy issue; but they suffered themselves to be amused by the rajah, who sometimes negotiated, and at other times fought, till at

length they succeeded in bursting open one of his gates, whereby he was intimidated into an agreement to pay about £900,000. He reluctantly consented to advance the first instalment; but by sending first a quantity of gold and silver plate, then a lot of old coins, and lastly a quantity of jewels, he contrived to spin out the time till tidings arrived of the appearance of a new actor on the scene, who was destined entirely to change the aspect of affairs.

Ghazee-ud-Dien, the eldest son of the Nizam, had attached himself to the Mogul court, at which we have seen him act a conspicuous part. Nazir Jung, the second son, had therefore succeeded to the soubahdary, of which he took upon him the full dignity and titles. He was summoned, however, on a peculiar emergency, to join the imperial standard, and had already reached the Nerbudda when he learned the successful usurpations of Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Saheb. He then retraced his steps; and, under the assumed authority of the imperial court, assembled all its adherents and his own to join in the suppression of this daring rebellion: he enlisted also 30,000 Mahrattas to act as light cavalry. Although he moved with the slow and encumbered pomp of an eastern army, he at length arrived on the Carnatic frontier with a force which Orme supposes not to have fallen short of 300,000 men. It then behoved the allies to put themselves on their defence, and Dupleix backed them with all his resources. Having learned their pecuniary difficulties, he gave them a loan of £50,000, while he increased the French contingent to 2000 men. The English meantime, though they had viewed with jealousy and alarm the late progress of their rivals, were very slow to embark in actual warfare. They had supported the cause of Mohammed Ali only by sending very small detachments to Trichinopoly and Tanjore; but when Nazir Jung arrived with so great an army, invested with the full authority of the Mogul, Major Lawrence no longer hesitated to march and join him with a corps of 600 men. This reinforcement was not necessary to secure that prince's triumph. The French troops were brave, but under bad management; a mutiny arose among the officers, thirteen of whom in one day resigned

their commands. At this untoward event D'Auteuil, losing all presence of mind, determined immediately to march with his division to Pondicherry. The cause of the confederates was then altogether desperate. Chunda Saheb sought safety in the French settlement, while Mirzapha Jung surrendered at discretion, and was immediately thrown into irons.

Dupleix, notwithstanding this complete fall from the proud position which he had so lately reached, did not lose courage. He attempted a negotiation with Nazir Jung; and though the mission sent for this purpose failed, it was learned that, as the prince was of a weak and voluptuous character, some warlike chiefs of Afghan extraction, who held the principal commands in his army, had entered into a conspiracy to dethrone him. The French governor formed a connexion with these malcontents, and likewise endeavoured to give effect to their intrigues by a military movement. D'Auteuil again took the field, surprised during the night a quarter of the Mogul camp, while the troops were buried in slumber and the fumes of opium, and committed great havoc. Another detachment sent by sea reduced Masulipatam, long the chief emporium of this part of India, and began to fortify it. Meantime Major Lawrence, disgusted with repeated irregularities in the conduct of his Indian allies, who refused to be at all guided by his advice, withdrew the English troops from the service of the soubahdar, affording thereby full scope for the operations of the French commandant. That officer having sent a body of men, who defeated the nabob and obliged him to flee to Arcot, despatched a force into the interior to attack Gingee, the most powerful stronghold in all the Carnatic. In a midnight assault they stormed successively the three fortified mountains which constituted the strength of that important place, and carried it with the loss of only twenty men.

Nazir Jung, roused by this loss from his voluptuous supineness, at length took the field with an army which, notwithstanding some reductions, still exceeded 100,000 men,—a movement desired by the conspirators as extremely favourable to the execution of their

scheme. Time, however, passed on without any decisive event; and the soubahdar, tired of a dull contest, which kept him from his favourite enjoyments, made such advantageous overtures that Dupleix entered into a negotiation. The latter, notwithstanding, imitating the wiles of Indian policy, still kept his communications open with the rebellious omrahs; and it has been said that the treaty with Nazir Jung was actually signed, though not communicated to Latouche, who had succeeded to the command of the French troops, when that officer was summoned by the Afghan insurgents to co-operate in the execution of their seditious design. Latouche accordingly advanced, and at four next morning attacked that part of the camp where the soubahdar commanded in person. The conflict was sharp, the Indian cavalry fighting with great bravery; but the discipline of the French, and the rapidity with which their cannon was served, enabled them gradually to penetrate into the heart of the hostile encampment. Nazir Jung, not destitute of personal valour, indignantly saw his troops giving way, before a handful of Europeans; and being told that a large corps, under the direction of the confederate chiefs and their adherents, were not joining in the action, he rode up and began to reproach them bitterly for their cowardice. Cudapah, the leader whom he first addressed, made an insulting reply, and then discharged a carbine, by which two balls were lodged in the heart of Nazir Jung, who fell dead on the spot. For an Indian army to pass from one prince to his assassin and enemy is only the work of a moment. Mirzapha Jung was taken out of irons, led forth, and universally acknowledged Soubahdar of the Deccan, a region superior in magnitude to any European kingdom.

This revolution had the effect of completely establishing the influence of the French in Southern India. Mirzapha, reposing entire confidence in Dupleix, visited him at Pondicherry, and was there installed with the greatest pomp in the throne of the Deccan. This officer, in return, was created governor under the Mogul, and collector of the revenue in all the countries south of the Kistna, a territory little inferior in extent to France; considerable districts

round each of the three towns of Pondicherry, Carical, and Masulipatam, were also ceded in perpetuity. But the victorious parties found themselves in that anxious and difficult position which inevitably arises from the alliance of those who own no law human or divine. The Patan chiefs made most enormous demands,—to which, according to the maxims of oriental treason, they seemed entitled. Yet the fulfilment of these, and of others which would have followed, must have reduced Mirzapha Jung nearly to a cipher. Dupleix strongly represented to them the necessity of accepting much lower terms; and probably, from feeling themselves to be in his power, they appeared at the moment cordially to acquiesce. When, however, Mirzapha left Pondicherry, and advanced into the interior of the Deccan, he learned that the defiles in his front were occupied by those very traitors assembled in arms to dispute his passage. The prince, ambitious to display his valour, marched and began the attack before his European allies came up, in consequence of which he suffered some loss. Afterwards, with their aid, he had the prospect of a complete victory, when he engaged in single combat with the Nabob of Canoul, by whom he was pierced through the head with a javelin, and instantly expired. Bussy, the French minister, was at first in the deepest consternation, imagining the influence of his countrymen in Indian affairs would now be terminated, when he recollected that three brothers of the deceased monarch were prisoners in the camp. Obtaining the concurrence of the principal native leaders, he raised to the throne Salabat Jung, the eldest, in preference to the infant son of the fallen soubahdar. The new sovereign, feeling himself indebted to these foreigners for his elevation, espoused their interests with an ardour equal to that of his predecessor.

The English for some time contemplated with singular apathy this extensive aggrandizement of their rivals. Major Lawrence, who seems to have been no politician, having formerly, by his desertion of Nazir Jung, lost all influence in the Indian councils, now, in the most critical period of French ascendancy, left the East and returned home on private business. At length the

subjects of Louis began to assume a deportment so lofty as convinced the British of their danger, should this ambitious enemy continue masters of the south of India. They despatched, therefore, a body of troops under Captain Cope to defend Trichinopoly, the only strong position which their ally, Mohammed Ali, still retained in the Carnatic; but this officer lost a great part of his men in an unfortunate attempt upon Madura. Captain Gingen was then sent from Fort St. David with a larger detachment; but neither did they gain any earnest of that glory which their countrymen were afterwards to earn in Indian warfare. Having encountered the enemy near the fort of Volconda, they were instantly seized with a panic, and while the natives stood their ground, they fled; thus rendering themselves an object of derision even to their undisciplined allies. They fought better on two subsequent occasions; but at length, without attempting to master their antagonists in the field, they hastened to throw themselves into Trichinopoly.

The English afterwards sent another detachment, which raised the European part of the garrison to 600 men; but as Chunda Saheb, then Nabob of Arcot, and his auxiliaries, were besieging it with a force greatly superior, there was much reason to fear that, without some effort, this last barrier against French dominion must ultimately fall. A new character, however, at this crisis, began to act a brilliant part on the scene. Mr. Clive, the son of a gentleman of small property in Shropshire, had gone out in a civil capacity; but his violent and turbulent conduct had displeased his superiors, and made him be considered as an intractable youth. On the breaking out of the war he obtained leave to enter the army as an ensign, and soon showed himself better qualified for this active profession, where indeed he distinguished himself so much as to be employed in several confidential situations. He proposed to make a diversion in favour of Trichinopoly, by an attack on Arcot, the nabob's capital. Having obtained 500 men, of whom only 200 were Europeans, and partly made up by volunteers from the civil service, he proceeded on this daring expedition.

He approached Arcot; and the garrison of the fort, merely on witnessing the intrepidity with which his people advanced amid a tempest of thunder and rain, were seized with a panic, and evacuated the city. He did not allow them to recover from their consternation, but pursued and obliged them to retreat from one point to another.

The object of this enterprise was forthwith realized, as a large body of the besiegers of Trichinopoly were drawn away to attempt the delivery of Arcot. Troops were brought to the amount of 4000, reinforced by 2000 from Vellore. According to his bold policy, Clive endeavoured to intimidate them by an attack on the city, in which these forces were stationed,—an imprudent step; for the most undisciplined hordes, fighting under the cover which streets and buildings afford, are a match for the bravest warriors. The natives from the houses poured down a destructive fire, and obliged the English commander to retreat with a loss which he could very ill spare. He had then a hard task, to defend with 300 men fortifications a mile in circuit, consisting only of a feeble wall, and a ditch fordable in many places. He had thus full scope for the splendid military talents with which he was endowed. Lieutenant Innis, sent with a reinforcement from Madras, was intercepted and obliged to return; but Morari Rao, now at the head of a body of 6000 Mahrattas, who had deserted the nabob's cause when it appeared desperate, was animated by the valour of his ally, and promised his support. At length, on the morning of the 14th of November, the great Mussulman festival, and a day deemed peculiarly auspicious for warlike achievements, the enemy made a general assault. They rushed on with a species of madness, and when one detachment was driven back, another instantly followed. Clive was obliged to stand to the guns himself, and assist in firing them. But the assailants were at length repulsed, and finally raised the siege; and the young soldier, being thus left master of the field, scoured the country in different directions, took possession of several important posts, and then returned to Madras.

Meantime the force defending Trichinopoly was receiving continual accessions. Major Lawrence, having arrived from Britain with a large reinforcement, set out himself for that city with 400 Europeans and 1100 sepoys. Mohammed Ali allured into his service Morari Rao, and by liberal promises even induced the Regent of Mysore to come to his assistance; and these together formed a corps of 20,000 men. By such additions the English and their friends became decidedly superior to their opponents, whom they determined without hesitation to attack in the open field. The French and their confederates no sooner discovered this intention than they retreated, and took up a position in the fortified pagoda of Seringham, strongly situated in an island formed by the branches of the Coleroon and the Cavery. Here, however, they were closely pressed by the combined armies; while the adherents of Chunda Saheb, considering his cause as desperate, deserted in large bands. That unfortunate prince at length delivered himself up to the King of Tanjore, under a promise of protection, which was basely violated, and he was immediately put to death. The French troops also capitulated, and were conveyed prisoners of war to Fort St. David and Trichinopoly.

The highest satisfaction was now felt by the British, who considered themselves complete masters of the Carnatic. But at Pondicherry this loss spread the deepest consternation, relieved only by the secret joy of those who viewed with disgust the haughty conduct of Dupleix, and exulted in the failure of his ambitious schemes. Yet at this very time he was acting a splendid part on a greater scale. His agent, Bussy, having, in the manner above related, placed Salabat Jung on the throne of the Deccan, after assisting to inflict punishment on the murderer of his predecessor, marched along with the prince to Golconda and Aurangabad, where he assumed the government with every circumstance of oriental pomp. His pretensions, however, were not sanctioned by the Mogul court, who conferred the sovereignty on Ghazee-ud-Dien, the legitimate claimant, as eldest son to Nizam-

ul-Mulk. At the same time, the country was harassed by the attacks of a numerous Mahratta force; so that Salabat Jung could hope to maintain his power only by French aid, and therefore made Bussy the chief director of his councils.

Dupleix, not content with these advantages, was indefatigable in his efforts to restore the French ascendancy in the Carnatic; and the continual fluctuation in the plans and alliances of Indian potentates afforded him the means sooner than could have been expected. With such persons, when in distress and applying for aid, it is the invariable practice to promise whatever is asked; but when their deliverance is effected to perform as little as possible. After the complete triumph of the British arms and those of Mohammed Ali, Major Lawrence was astounded by the intelligence that this prince had stipulated, as the price of the assistance which he obtained from the Mysorean chief, the surrender to him of Trichinopoly and its territory; and the fulfilment of this engagement was now imperiously demanded. On being interrogated, he at once admitted the promise, which he imputed to the necessity of circumstances, but strenuously abjured the slightest intention of adhering to it. He affected even to believe it impossible that his ally could have seriously expected the execution of so unreasonable a contract; and he undertook to induce him to rest satisfied with the present cession of Madura, and the illusory hope of obtaining Trichinopoly at some future period. After much negotiation, and seeing that he could gain nothing more, the other feigned to appear contented. Yet Major Lawrence, clearly perceiving the regent's secret resentment, advised the Company either honourably to deliver up the city, or resolutely to seize his person and that of Morari Rao, and thereby prevent the hostile machinations which might easily be foreseen. The Directors followed neither of these counsels; and the disappointed chief continued to meditate on plans of vengeance. The commanders of several districts were encouraged, by the knowledge of his present disposition, to make head against Mohammed Ali,—among whom was the Governor of Gingee, the strongest of all the fortresses; and the

English, in attempting to reduce it, were repulsed by the French. Dupleix sent a large body of troops, which entered the territory of Fort St. David, and at the same time captured a detachment of Swiss proceeding thither by sea from Madras. Lawrence then marching out, encountered him at Bahoor, about two miles from the city; and his men charging furiously with the bayonet, broke the centre of the enemy, who instantly throwing down their arms, fled in such confusion that, had not the native cavalry occupied themselves in securing the plunder, the rout would have been complete. This advantage was followed up by Captain Clive with the reduction, under considerable difficulties, of the forts of Cove-long and Chingleput; after which the state of his health obliging him to return home, deprived the army of his important services.

The Mysorean general, after beginning to negotiate with the French, had been induced to pause by the intelligence of the victory gained by the English; but, learning that it had not been followed by any decisive results, he concluded the treaty in conjunction with Morari Rao, who had also been much dissatisfied with his share of the booty. Dupleix likewise drew over Mortiz Ali, the governor of Vellore, by holding out to him the hope of being himself raised to the dignity of nabob; and then the French troops, in conjunction with the native forces, laid close siege to Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence was stunned by the unexpected intelligence that, through the negligence of the commander, this important place did not contain provisions for more than fifteen days. He was therefore obliged to hasten instantly with his whole army to its relief. The men suffered considerably by a rapid march in the midst of the hot season; but they succeeded without opposition in entering the city. The major was then able to open a communication with the southern districts for a supply of necessaries, and obtained some assistance from the Rajah of Tanjore, whose alliance, however, like that of all Indian princes, wavered with every variation of fortune. It became impossible in this scarcity to supply the inhabitants of so great a city as Trichinopoly, who, to the number of 400,000, were compelled to

quit the place, and seek temporary shelter elsewhere; and the immense circuit of its walls was occupied only by the 2000 men composing the garrison. The provisioning of this important fortress now became the principal object of contest, the entire strength of both sides being drawn around it; and the French, with an immensely superior force, placed themselves in such positions as enabled them to intercept completely the entrance of convoys from the south. The brave Lawrence twice attacked, and, though with very inferior numbers, drove them from their posts, and opened the way for his supplies. On no former occasion, indeed, had the valour of the English troops, and their superiority to those of the enemy, been more signally displayed. The garrison, however, had nearly, by their own supineness, forfeited the benefit of all these exertions. One morning at three o'clock, the guard having fallen fast asleep, the French advanced to the assault, applied their scaling-ladders, made themselves masters of a battery, and were advancing into the city, when several of the soldiers happening to fall into a deep pit, their cries alarmed their companions, some of whom fired their muskets. The assailants thus conceiving themselves to be discovered, made a general discharge, beat their drums, and advanced with shouts of *Vive le Roi*. Happily a considerable body of British was quartered near the spot, who were immediately led on by Lieutenant Harrison to such an advantageous position, and directed with so much judgment, that the foremost of the storming-party were soon cut down, the ladders carried off or broken, and all of the enemy who had entered, to the number of 360, were made prisoners. Thus the enterprise, at first so promising, caused to them a loss greater than any sustained by their arms during the course of this memorable siege. Soon afterwards, however, an English detachment, being sent out to escort a convoy of provisions, was attacked by a corps of 18,000 natives and 400 Europeans. An inexperienced officer, who had the command, drew up his men in small parties at wide intervals. Suddenly Morari Rao and Innis Khan, with 12,000 Mysorean horse, advanced with

loud shouts at full gallop and charged this ill-constructed line. Our countrymen had scarcely time to fire one volley, when they found their ranks broken by the enemy's cavalry. Deserted by the sepoy, they were left, only 180 in number, without any hope of escape; upon which they determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The whole were either killed or taken, including a company of grenadiers, who had acted a prominent part in all the late victories.

Amid these gallant exploits, the siege of Trichinopoly was protracted a year and a half, during which neither the French nor their numerous allies obtained any decisive advantage. Mr. Mill considers the object as very unworthy of such strenuous efforts; yet it ought to be remembered that the Company were deciding on that spot the destiny of the Carnatic, and perhaps the very existence of their establishment in India. To have yielded in such circumstances might have realized the views of Dupleix, whose boast it had been that he would reduce Madras to a fishing-village.

Important events were meantime taking place at the court of the Deccan, where we left Bussy with his followers dictating or directing every movement. This influence indeed he seemed entitled to expect, both from the generosity and prudence of Salabat Jung, who had been raised by the French to his present lofty station, and by them alone was maintained in it against the Mah-rattas, and Ghazee-ud-Dien, whom the Mogul had authorized to expel him. The latter, however, as he was approaching with a prodigious army, died suddenly, not without suspicion, perhaps unjust, of having been poisoned by the adherents of his rival. Salabat being thus relieved from apprehension, the great men around him, viewing with much indignation the thralldom of their master to a handful of strangers, urged him to adopt measures for extricating himself from this humiliating situation; and at their suggestion he took certain steps, which were favoured by a temporary absence of Bussy. The pay of the troops was withheld, and on plausible pretexts they were broken into detach-

ments and sent into different quarters. The foreigner, however, on his return, immediately reassembled them; and his own force, aided by the alarm of a Mahratta invasion, enabled him completely to dictate terms to the soubahdar. He procured the dismissal of the hostile ministers; and, taking advantage of the accumulated arrears of pay, demanded and obtained, as a security against future deficiencies, the cession of an extensive range of country on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, including the Northern Circars. This, in addition to former acquisitions, gave to the French a territory 600 miles in extent, reaching from Medapilly to the pagoda of Juggernaut, and yielding a revenue of £855,000.

The heads of the two European presidencies, being urged by instructions from home to endeavour to bring their differences to a termination, opened a negotiation for peace. They began with the farce of examining the titles by which each held their respective possessions from the native powers, and particularly the Mogul; but the English alleging, seemingly with some reason, that the documents produced by the French were forged, proposed to reject this mode of decision altogether, and proceed at once to the only effectual plan of treating,—that, namely, which had a reference to the actual strength of each party. Upon this ground some mutual propositions were made, but were found too inconsistent to afford any hope of agreement.

Meantime this Indian contest had given rise to warm discussions between the two governments in Europe. France had never favoured the system of encroachment followed by her viceroy; and this aversion was greatly strengthened by the warm remonstrances of the English cabinet, who began to fit out a somewhat formidable expedition for the East. After some discussion, it was agreed that commissioners from each state should be sent, with full powers to adjust the differences, rather upon equitable principles satisfactory to both parties, than from any consideration of their comparative strength and acquisitions. When Godheu, the French envoy, arrived at Pondicherry to supersede Dupleix,

considerable anxiety was felt as to the manner in which the tidings would be received by that haughty ruler. He had assumed the most lofty bearing, invested himself with the dress and ensigns of a Mogul viceroy, and had often obliged the officers whom he admitted to audience to fall down on their knees before him. His whole soul, too, was understood to be absorbed in the magnificent project of making his country supreme in India. But he was too sound a politician not to perceive that all resistance was now vain; and yielding with a good grace, he was well treated, and sent home with honour and respect. The Company indeed gave him a cold reception, and refused to repay nearly £400,000 which he had expended out of his private fortune and credit in extending their dominion. All the historians inveigh bitterly against this treatment; yet it is impossible not to remark, that the ambitious and warlike policy of this governor, in furtherance of which he lavished immense treasures, was in direct opposition to the system which the merchants, wisely we think, were anxious to pursue. They thought themselves not at all obliged to him for spending such sums in the attempt to make them masters of vast provinces against their will; and, therefore, they did not hold their association bound to replace advances which, although made on their account, were made not only without, but even contrary to their instructions. The government, when appealed to, sanctioned the conduct of the Company, though at the same time they gave to Dupleix a strange and iniquitous compensation, by granting letters of protection against any prosecution which might be raised by his creditors.

The French commissioner, and Mr. Saunders, the English governor, immediately proceeded to arrange a treaty, with a view at once to the protection of the native states against encroachment, and the equitable adjustment of the points in dispute between the two European powers. It was stipulated by the very first article, that all the cessions obtained from the Moors (as the people of the country were then called) should be restored by both parties, with the exception only of certain maritime stations, to be retained

for the security of trade; and these were to be so selected, that the two nations should in each particular district of the coast be nearly on a footing of equality. The terms of this arrangement were in general very favourable to the British. The portions of territory which they were obliged to renounce were comparatively small, and their ally, Mohammed Ali, was left undisputed ruler of the Carnatic; while the French resigned the immense possessions which they had acquired in Orissa and the Northern Circars.

But this compact, which was expected to have adjusted all differences between the two countries, scarcely produced a suspension of hostilities. The English, having secured Mohammed Ali, their candidate, as Nabob of the Carnatic, considered themselves bound, and perhaps felt inclined, to support him against the numerous enemies by whom he was still surrounded. The Regent of Mysore declared himself determined not to recede from his pretensions to Trichinopoly, which rendered it necessary to maintain troops for the defence of that fortress. The enemy, however, were considered so little formidable, that Captain Kilpatrick, who commanded in the place, learning that the regent was forming a plan for its attack, sent a message, that if he chose to come, he himself would throw open the gates and meet him. The Company also agreed to send another corps to establish the rajah's authority and collect the revenue in the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely. This promised to be an easy and profitable task, in which some share of the proceeds would probably fall into their own hands; but they were very much disappointed in both respects. These countries are occupied by an almost savage race, called the Col-leries, who, in their habits of robbery and predatory warfare, can scarcely be surpassed. They have their abode in the heart of dense and inaccessible forests, whence they issue to plunder the cattle of the surrounding districts, and boast of their dexterity in performing these thefts, as if they were the most heroic exploits. Their chief ambition is to enrich their family and tribe, for which they brave death with the utmost intrepidity. Two brothers, who

had stolen a vast number of horses, were apprehended and brought before Major Lawrence, who ordered them to be hanged. One of them offered, if leave were given him, to go and bring back, within two days, the stolen animals, while his brother should remain as a hostage. His request was granted; but the time having elapsed, the prisoner was sent for and examined, when he very composedly expressed his astonishment that they should have been so silly as to imagine his brother would think of restoring so many valuable prizes, which were sufficient to make the fortune of the whole family. It was a clever trick: as for himself, having often hazarded his life for objects comparatively trifling, he was quite ready to die in so honourable a cause. Lawrence was so amused with the fellow's impudence, that on Clive's intercession he dismissed him. The Collieries occupied a range of hills, the passes or intervals of which were fortified with walls of large loose stones, and with a broad deep ditch, in front of which was planted a hedge of bamboo-canes, so thick that it could not be penetrated but by fire or the axe. The natives defended these fastnesses with the utmost obstinacy; and, though they did not face the English in the open field, were continually on the watch to cut off their detachments. One small body being found asleep, were all speared in a few minutes; and the whole army, as it once marched in a careless manner through a defile near Madura, had its rear suddenly assailed, and suffered great loss. Thus, after a hard campaign, the troops did not collect revenue enough to defray the expense of the expedition, and had afterwards to struggle through several years of tedious and fruitless warfare.

The French, when they saw their enemies thus actively employed, felt disposed to imitate their example. Finding them entirely occupied with the war in Madura, they made a hasty march upon Trichinopoly, which was then nearly defenceless; but it was saved by a very rapid movement on the part of Captain Calliaud. A predatory warfare was for some time waged between the two nations, when events ensued that gave a new and more important character to the contest.

On the breaking out of the memorable war in 1756 between Britain and France, the latter determined to make the most vigorous efforts to acquire an ascendancy in India. The ministry fitted out an extensive armament, the command of which they intrusted to Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who, among many brilliant displays of personal valour, had, at the battle of Fontenoy, taken several English officers with his own hand. Cherishing the strongest attachment to his late master, the unfortunate and misguided James II., he felt also the most deadly antipathy to the people who had expelled him, and looked, as his highest pride, to his being the chief instrument for subverting their eastern dominion. He sailed from Brest, on the 4th May 1757, but had so tedious a voyage, accompanied with severe sickness among his crew, that he did not land at Pondicherry till the 25th April 1758.

So eager was he to accomplish his great object, that though he did not reach the shore till five in the afternoon, before night closed he had troops on their march to besiege Fort St. David, which was still considered the strongest and most important of the English settlements. By this indiscreet haste, in which no regard was paid to the convenience, opinion, or prejudices of his followers, he created a spirit of animosity and even of resistance, which much impeded his future movements. He even arrived at the place without due information as to the strength or position of the works. However, he pushed the siege with extraordinary vigour; while the garrison made an injudicious defence, throwing away their shot on insignificant objects, till at length, when they were hard pressed, their ammunition proved extremely deficient. The enemy having, on the 1st of June, advanced their trenches to the foot of the glacis, and opened such a fire that the artillerymen could scarcely stand to their guns, it was judged necessary to surrender; the troops became prisoners of war; and this fortress, the capital of our eastern settlements, was rased to the ground.

Lally returned to Pondicherry in the highest exultation, fully determined to lose no time in following up his design of driving

the English from the whole of India. With this view he took a step which involved him in deep reproach. Bussy, amid the violent revolutions at the court of the Deccan, and the most deadly jealousy among its leading men, had succeeded in completely maintaining the French influence. He had acquired the full command of the Circars, where he reduced Vizagapatam, an important factory belonging to the British. Now, however, he was ordered by Lally to quit this court, that he might be able to unite all his forces, first in reducing Madras, and then in attacking our newly-formed settlements in Bengal. Bussy remonstrated strongly against renouncing his brilliant prospects for such uncertain advantages; but the other, imperious and self-willed, would listen to nothing, and insisted upon an instant and implicit compliance with his own views.

Notwithstanding the reinforcement obtained by so great a sacrifice, the new leader, from the want of funds, was scarcely in a condition to attempt any enterprise of importance. In hopes of relieving this distress he resolved upon an expedition against the Rajah of Tanjore, to extort the fulfilment of an old engagement to pay five millions of rupees. This enterprise, however, was conducted in a manner rash and revolting to the natives; and even after penetrating to the town, and commencing the siege, he was obliged by the scarcity of provisions and ammunition to withdraw. He soon obtained possession of Arcot and certain other places in the Carnatic, from whence he drew some supplies; and being then joined by Bussy, he deemed it expedient to commence the siege of Madras, which he carried on upwards of two months, though under great difficulties. The garrison, meanwhile, consisting of 1758 Europeans and 2420 natives, commanded by Governor Pigot and the veteran Lawrence, made the most gallant defence. The blockade was terminated by the appearance, on the 16th February, of a squadron of English ships, having on board six hundred fresh troops. As soon as this fleet hove in sight, the French army, without waiting their commander's orders, began to retreat with the utmost precipitation, and he had

not time to execute his cruel purpose of burning the Black Town.

It is admitted by Lally himself, that, owing to their deep hatred of him, his return in this discomfited state to Pondicherry was viewed as a subject of triumph by the principal officers, and even by the greater part of the inhabitants. Everything now presented to his eyes a disastrous aspect. When the English took the field, and began to reconquer the Carnatic, the French, in attempting to check their career, were defeated at Wandewash, and obliged to retreat upon their presidency. It was evident that their dominion in India was fast approaching to a close; and their general has acknowledged, that if, after their late success, our countrymen had marched direct upon their chief city, they might have become masters of it in a few days. But they spent the next three months in reducing the different strong places in the Carnatic, including Carical, the only other seaport which remained to their adversary. Having obtained repeated reinforcements, which the enemy looked for in vain, they were enabled to close in around Pondicherry, and make preparations for its actual siege. Lally, in this desperate state of his affairs, obtained by high promises an auxiliary force from Hyder, now master of Mysore; but his troops, after remaining about a month, became discouraged by witnessing the manifest weakness of their allies; and, being impelled by urgent matters at home, they broke up without giving notice, and departed for their own country.

Lally made a spirited attempt to retrieve his affairs by a midnight attack on the British camp, and succeeded in carrying several posts of some importance; but the gallantry of our soldiers, and the tardy arrival of one of his divisions, caused his final repulse. By the end of September 1760, Pondicherry was so closely blockaded both by sea and land, that only a very scanty supply of provisions could be introduced; and two large ships that were lying in port were surprised in the night and carried off. On the 27th November, the commander, who had long urged the necessity of the measure, insisted on carrying into effect the expulsion of

the black inhabitants. To the number of 1400 they were thrust out of the gates, but were refused a passage by the besiegers, who foresaw that the garrison would thereby be enabled to hold out a somewhat longer period. The unhappy creatures wandered about the glacis, picking up plants and roots of grass, and imploring either an entrance into the city or leave to pass through the army. Both parties stood firm for a week, at the end of which time Colonel Coote's humanity induced him to allow this wretched band to retire into the country. They were in the most exhausted state, and had nowhere to look for refuge; yet they were extremely grateful even for this chance of preservation.

It was not till the 12th January 1761, that the trenches were regularly opened,—an operation which was effected with ease and rapidity, as the enemy scarcely offered any resistance. Their spirit seems to have been completely gone, and they had provisions left for only two days. On the 14th two deputations arrived,—one from Lally, and the other from the governor and council. The former merely stated, that certain alleged violations by the English of the faith of treaties prevented him from entering into any regular capitulation, but that, pressed by the necessity of circumstances, he yielded the place, and surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war. The governor and council asked some terms for the inhabitants; but, as matters stood, everything rested with the discretion of the conquerors, who, however, promised to act with consideration and humanity. Colonel Coote entered the city, and three days afterwards the defeated general set sail for Europe.

On his arrival in France, a tragical scene ensued. The nation were by this time worked up to a great degree of discontent by the severe disasters which, throughout the war, when the British resources were directed by the genius of Pitt, had befallen their arms in every quarter of the globe. The loss of India raised their indignation to the highest pitch; and they loudly demanded a victim. Lally, with his usual violence, presented a formal accusation against Bussy and three others connected with him in

the administration, as having, out of enmity to the former, ruined the French affairs. The impeachment appears to have been ill founded, and the parties accused retaliated by charging him with having caused that unfortunate issue by a series of acts, which, as they alleged, inferred more than incapacity. The voice of individuals returning from India, who had been alienated by his hasty temper, was generally hostile to him. On their testimony, the attorney-general thought himself justified in founding a charge of high treason; which appears to have been altogether groundless. Many of his proceedings, it is true, were rash and imprudent, and his outrageous manner, provoking the enmity both of his own people and the natives, was very injurious to the interests of the Company and the government. But to constitute high treason there must have been an intention to betray these interests; instead of which his faults appear to have rather proceeded from a blind and headlong zeal. Being arraigned of this high crime, he was removed from the Bastile to an humbler prison, and, according to the ungenerous practice of France, was denied the aid of counsel. The parliament of Paris, a too numerous though highly respectable body, were so far wrought upon as to pronounce sentence of death; against which Seguier and Pellot, two of their most distinguished members, protested; and Voltaire hesitates not to call it a judicial murder. The unfortunate Lally, when it was announced to him, lifted his hands to heaven, exclaiming—"Is this the reward of forty-five years' service?" and endeavoured to stab himself with a pair of compasses. He was prevented, and conveyed next day in a common cart to the *Place de Grève*, where he underwent the unjust sentence of the law.

## CHAPTER XI

## BRITISH CONQUEST OF BENGAL.

Difficulties of the early Settlements—Reign of Aliverdi Khan—Succeeded by Surajah Dowlah—His Jealousy of the English—Captures Cossimbazar—Advances upon Calcutta—Plans of Defence—Proceedings of the Enemy—Garrison deserted by the Ships and the Governor—Surrender—Confinement in the Black Hole—Dreadful Sufferings—Conduct of the Nabob—Armament from Madras under Clive and Watson—Their Landing and first Encounter with the Enemy—Calcutta surrenders—Surajah Dowlah attempts to retake it—Treaty—Capture of Chandernagore—Plan of dethroning the Nabob—Intrigues—Treachery of Meer Jaffier—Advance of Clive—Battle of Plassey—Elevation of Meer Jaffier—Capture and Death of Surajah Dowlah—Invasion by the Shahzadah—Defeat of the Mogul and the Nabob of Oude—Bad Conduct of the new Nabob—Succeeded by Meer Cossim—His Disputes with the Company—Rupture—Patna taken and retaken—Victory gained by Major Adams—Massacre of English Prisoners—Meer Cossim's Flight into Oude—Repeated Defeats of Sujah Dowlah—The Mogul joins the English—Death of Meer Jaffier—Clive returns to India—Restores Sujah Dowlah—Obtains for the Company the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

THE British establishments in Bengal had, during a long period, held only a secondary place to those formed on the coast of Coromandel; but the time was now arrived when they were to become the theatre of the most interesting events, and finally the centre and chief seat of our Indian dominion. The manner in which the factory at Calcutta was first founded has been already mentioned,\* and it continued to extend its importance, notwithstanding the opposition it experienced during the viceroyalty of Jaffier Khan. Its situation became greatly improved when the office of nabob was occupied by Sujah; but on the death of that prince, his son Suffraz, a weak and imprudent ruler, was dethroned, and his place usurped by Aliverdi, a chief either of Patan or Afghan extraction, and possessed of great military talents. Notwithstanding the irregular elevation of the latter, he administered the government, not only in an able, but a mild and beneficent manner. This he did under difficult circumstances; for the Mahrattas, invited, it is said, either by the Mogul court or the

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soubahdar, found their way in vast bodies into Bengal; and, though often repulsed, repeatedly renewed their inroads. The prudence and valour of Aliverdi preserved his dominions from conquest, but not from ruinous depredation. He secured the attachment of his Hindoo subjects by protecting their property, as well as by employing them in all the civil departments of government; and he was therefore not likely to oppress industrious strangers settled in his dominions. The English had only to complain, that amid the various exigencies of his situation, he made repeated demands upon their generosity in return for the countenance granted to their trade; yet his entire exactions, during an administration of twelve years, did not exceed £100,000. He felt no objection, when there was an alarm of invasion, even to their enclosing Calcutta with a moat, meant to extend seven miles in circuit; though, as soon as the danger passed by, they discontinued the work, which was afterwards known by the name of the Mahratta Ditch.

Considerable uneasiness, indeed, is supposed to have been felt by him with reference to the ascendancy of the English and French in the Carnatic, who were said to create and depose governors at their pleasure. Finally, the downfall of Angria, of whose naval strength he had been led to form an exaggerated idea, made him begin to look on them as somewhat too formidable neighbours.

When Aliverdi died, he was succeeded by his grandson Surajah Dowlah, a dissolute and tyrannical prince, who adopted these jealousies to a much greater extent. He was also irritated by the protection afforded by the English, seemingly without design, to a young man whom he viewed as a pretender to the office of nabob. Lastly, his very exaggerated conceptions of the wealth to be found within their factory, made him seek with avidity any pretext on which he might be justified in plundering that establishment. The ostensible cause of complaint arose from a report that they were making certain additions to the works around Fort William. Mr. Drake, the governor, on being called upon to

account for this proceeding, defended it by a reference to the hostile relations of his countrymen with the French on the coast of Coromandel, and the danger lest the war should spread thence into Bengal. This ill-judged explanation inflamed at once the pride and the fear of the nabob; who considered it an insult to suppose that he, in his own dominions, was unable to protect them, while he felt alarmed at the idea of the war being transferred to his country. He immediately began his march from Rajemahl towards Calcutta, stopping at Cossimbazar, where the Company had a factory very slightly fortified, without ditch or palisade, and of which the curtains formed the outer wall of a range of apartments. Under these circumstances, he summoned first Mr. Watts, the governor, and then the two other members of council, to repair to his camp, a step which these gentlemen judged it vain to decline; and though Mr. Holwell seems to blame them for not having attempted a few days' defence, yet the danger of a general massacre was in that case so great, and the probable benefit so small, that we do not perceive any good ground for censure. They were then required to sign a paper, promising compliance with all the nabob's demands; when, instead of being allowed to return to the presidency, they were detained as prisoners, while his troops plundered their warehouses.

The council at Calcutta, sensible of their weakness, had hitherto made every possible effort to conciliate the nabob; and as his chief ground of complaint respected the new intrenchments which they were adding to Fort William, they suspended these works, and thus lost twenty precious days, during which they might have placed themselves in a good posture of defence. As soon, however, as they learned the capture of the factory at Cossimbazar, they gave up all hopes of accommodation, and thought only of increasing their means of resistance, which were very slender. The garrison did not muster above 514 men, of whom only 174 were Europeans, and of these not ten had ever seen service beyond the parade; and even this duty had been enforced so negligently that many, according to Mr. Holwell, did not

know the right from the wrong end of their muskets. The fort, though of some extent, was defended by a wall only four feet thick, which in many parts, as at Cossimbazar, enclosed chambers whence windows opened, and whose terraced roofs formed the top of the rampart. All around were erected warehouses, clusters of buildings, and even little streets; some commanding the castle, others affording cover for the operations of an assailant. Under these circumstances the officers determined to draw their defensive line around the whole range of buildings, and endeavour to prevent the enemy from penetrating into them. This plan seems justly censured by Orme, since they had no force to defend so extensive a circuit pervaded by so many avenues. They ought to have demolished the houses close to the fort; or, if time did not allow this operation, have removed at least the roofs and upper floors, while a few buildings, that were defensible and overlooked the works, should have been occupied by strong bodies of troops, and a ditch and palisade then drawn round the whole. By such means they might, in the historian's opinion, have kept their ground till the annual fleet arrived, which would at least have secured their retreat. In this extremity, they importuned the French and Dutch to make common cause against the Indian tyrant; but they only received from the former the insulting offer of shelter in Chandernagore.

Meantime the nabob marched upon Calcutta with such furious haste, that a number of his men perished from strokes of the sun, or other accidents occasioned by excessive heat; and having left Cossimbazar on the 9th June 1756, he arrived on the 16th in view of Fort William. He was arrested for some time by the Mahratta Ditch, not being aware that it extended round only part of the circuit; but having overcome this obstacle, he commenced, on the morning of the 18th, a general attack on the outposts, defended by three batteries, which were for some time vigorously served. The Indians, however, having kept up a brisk fire from under the bushes, and also penetrated through avenues which had not been secured, all the three batteries in the course of the day were abau-

doned, and the whole garrison sought refuge within the fragile walls of the fort. From this time the most sanguine lost almost every hope of a successful resistance; and yet no measures were taken for withdrawing the troops. At night, indeed, the women and children were conveyed on board a vessel, and two members of the council, who superintended the embarkation, thought it prudent not to return. At two in the following morning the leaders met, to deliberate whether they should immediately effect their escape, or delay it till next night. After much discussion, they broke up without any decision; which amounted practically to the adoption of the latter alternative. The attack being warmly renewed at daybreak, the enemy continually gained ground. While affairs were assuming every hour a more alarming aspect, the ship, on board of which were the women and children, was seen to weigh anchor and stand down the river, while the other vessels most culpably followed the example. The situation of the garrison became then truly critical. Drake, the governor, who had all along been very inefficient as a commander, was seized with a panic, threw himself into the last remaining boat, and left his troops to their fate. Struck with astonishment and indignation, they chose Mr. Holwell to fill his place; but all their concern now was in what manner to effect their deliverance. One vessel which was ordered to approach, being still within reach, ran on a sand-bank, and was deserted by the crew. The most earnest and repeated signals were then made to the ships that had gone down to Govindpore; but it is very mortifying to state, that not one of them, to save so many brave men, chose to encounter the danger, which was by no means formidable, of approaching the walls of the fort. Mr. Holwell then saw no alternative but to open a negotiation for surrender, and in the morning a letter was thrown over the ramparts, which was answered in the afternoon by a flag of truce. Meantime the troops, taking advantage of the confusion, had obtained access to the liquor, and were so intoxicated as to be incapable of action. The enemy, discovering how matters stood, stepped into the fort, and took possession of it without resistance.

The Indian army, upon their first entrance into Fort William, did not commit any outrage; but when the nabob entered, accompanied by his general, Meer Jaffier, he sent for Mr. Holwell, and burst into violent reproaches at his having attempted to defend the place against the ruler of Bengal. He expressed also the most extreme dissatisfaction at finding in the treasury only the small sum of 50,000 rupees; yet, after three interviews, he dismissed him with assurances, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should be done to him. The Englishman then returned to his people, and found them surrounded by a strong guard, who led them into a verandah, or arched gallery, constructed to shelter the garrison from the sun and rain, but which excluded the chambers behind it from light and air. Some quarters of the fort being on fire, they were involved in so thick a smoke as inspired them with the apprehension that a design was formed to suffocate them; but their keepers were merely looking out for a proper place of confinement. They pitched upon a chamber employed as the common dungeon of the fortress, called the *black hole*; it consisted of a space eighteen feet square, with only two small windows barred with iron, opening into the close verandah, and scarcely admitting a breath of air. Into this narrow receptacle the whole of the officers and troops, 146 in number, were compelled to enter; and on their venturing to remonstrate, the commander ordered every one who should hesitate to be instantly cut down. Thus were they forcibly thrust into this fearful dungeon, into which the whole number could with difficulty be squeezed; and the door was then fast barred from without. Their first impression, on finding themselves thus immured, was the utter impossibility of surviving one night, and the necessity of extricating themselves at whatever cost. The jemautdars, or Indian guards, were walking before the window, and Mr. Holwell seeing one who bore on his face a more than usual expression of humanity, adjured him to procure for them a room in which they could breathe, assuring him next morning of a reward of 1000 rupees. The man went away—but returned, saying it was impossible. Thinking the offer had been too low, the

prisoners tendered 2000 rupees. The man again went,—and returned, saying that the nabob was asleep, and no one durst awake him;—the lives of 146 men being nothing in comparison to disturbing for a moment the slumbers of a tyrant. Mr. Holwell has described in detail the horrors of that fatal night, which are scarcely paralleled in the annals of human misery. Every moment added to their distress. All attempts to obtain relief by a change of posture, from the painful pressure to which it gave rise, only aggravated their sufferings. The air soon became pestilential, producing at every moment a feeling of suffocation; and while the perspiration flowed in streams, they were tormented with the most burning thirst. Unfortunately, as the stations near the windows were decidedly the best, the most dreadful struggles were made to reach them. Many of the prisoners being foreign soldiers, and now released from all subordination, made the most frightful efforts, and the sufferers, as they grew weaker, were in some instances squeezed or actually trampled to death. Loud cries being raised of “water!” the humane jemautdar pushed through the bars several skins filled with that liquid; but this produced only an increase of calamity, owing to the very violent endeavours made to obtain it. The soldiers without found a savage sport in witnessing these contests, and even brought lights to the windows in order to view them to greater advantage. About eleven, the prisoners began to die fast; six of Mr. Holwell’s intimate friends sank at his feet, and were trodden upon by the survivors. Of those still alive, a great proportion were raving or delirious; some uttered incoherent prayers, others the most frightful blasphemies. They endeavoured by furious invectives to induce the guards to fire into the prison and end their miseries, but without effect. When day dawned, the few who had not expired were most of them either raving or insensible. In this last state was the governor himself, when about six o’clock Surajah awoke and inquired for him. On learning the events of the night, he merely sent to ascertain if the English chief yet lived, and being informed that there were appearances as if he might recover, gave orders to open the fatal door. At that time.

of the 146 who had been enclosed, there breathed only twenty-three. Mr. Holwell, being revived by the fresh air, was immediately supported into the presence of the nabob, who, on his beginning the dismal tale, ordered for him a seat and a draught of water, but showed no other mark of sympathy. He forthwith commenced a strict interrogatory about the supposed treasure, discrediting extremely the assertion that there was none; but not being able to learn anything on this subject, he sent that gentleman, with three others, prisoners to Muxadavad. In this voyage they suffered severely, their bodies being covered with boils, that had broken out in consequence of their confinement; though these eruptions were considered beneficial. The other survivors were liberated; while the dead bodies were, without any ceremony, thrown into a ditch.

Mr. Holwell seems to be of opinion that the nabob had no actual intention of causing the dreadful catastrophe, but that some inferior officers had seized this opportunity of gratifying their revenge. The utter insensibility displayed by him, however, seems to fix thoroughly upon that prince the guilt of this frightful transaction. We cannot concur with Mr. Mill in throwing the blame upon the English themselves for having used this apartment as a prison. A room eighteen feet square might afford ample space for two or three soldiers, the greatest number probably they were ever accustomed to confine in it. The fatal effects evidently arose from the crowd thus thrust into an apartment wholly unfit to contain them.

All was lost in Bengal before the presidency at Madras was apprized that anything was in danger; and the melancholy tidings, too, arrived at a moment when the most brilliant prospects had just opened in the Deccan. Salabat Jung, after having long shown the most extreme impatience under the thralldom in which he was held by the French, resolved at length upon an effort to extricate himself. Bussy was ordered to depart; and the soubahdar, to secure his person against the resentment of that people, as well as the other evils from which their presence had protected him, requested from the English a subsidiary force, by sending which they would have supplanted their rivals as the arbiters of

Southern India. The opportunity was tempting; but the crisis in Bengal was so urgent as made it indispensable to forego the advantage, though by their refusal they should compel the soubahdar to solicit the return of Bussy, and throw himself again into the arms of the French.

All the force, naval and military, which could possibly be spared, was now despatched to Calcutta, under the command, the former of Admiral Watson, and the latter of Colonel Clive. This armament, destined to establish the British empire in India, consisted only of 900 Europeans and 1500 sepoy; and two of the ships, having on board 700 troops and many stores, were separated in a storm. The remainder arrived in the middle of December at Fultah, a town at some distance below Calcutta, where the remnant of the English had taken refuge. Letters for the nabob were then transmitted to Monickchund, governor of that city; conceived, however, in so fierce and threatening a tone, that he declared he could not venture to transmit them. The British commanders then resolved to commence hostilities without delay. Admiral Watson moved up the vessels to the vicinity of Moidapore, purposing on the following day to attack the fort of Budge-Budge, about ten miles below the town. Clive, however, determined to advance direct upon the capital itself; and being unable to procure boats, he disembarked and proceeded by land. As evening approached, the troops, being extremely fatigued, were allowed to ground their arms and consign themselves to slumber. They were not aware that a large force of the enemy was encamped within two miles, who, having much better means of information, advanced during the night, and commenced a very unexpected attack. They gained at first a considerable advantage, and even captured two field-pieces. The English commander, however, on being roused from sleep, refused to retreat, and soon with characteristic energy rallied his men. The enemy, notwithstanding their superior numbers and partial success, proved altogether unable to cope with disciplined troops, and were in the end entirely defeated and dispersed.

This issue, displaying so completely the superiority of a European military force, struck Monickchund with such a panic that he precipitately quitted Calcutta, leaving only a garrison of 500 to make a show of resistance; and almost as soon as Admiral Watson opened his batteries, the surrender took place. The merchandise belonging to the factory was found entire. Some jealousy arose between the colonel and admiral, the latter wishing to appoint another governor of the city, and even to exclude the Company's troops; while the former strenuously and successfully vindicated his claim to that office. Collisions continued between these two commanders, though, as both were zealous for the public service, and at bottom esteemed each other, the Company's interests were not materially impeded. Captain Coote was sent up against Hoogley, which after a slight resistance was taken, and plunder obtained to the extent of £15,000.

The nabob, on receiving intelligence of the arrival and success of the English, immediately assembled his army, and began to march upon Calcutta. Clive, not yet fully aware of the weakness of Indian potentates, was by no means forward to rush into a contest with the ruler of twenty millions of people. He considered it also of great importance to return as soon as possible to Madras, where the affairs of the Company were in so critical a state as to require his presence, and he hoped that Surajah might be induced to accede to moderate proposals. Watson, on the contrary, insisted that he would never become inclined to peace "till he had been well thrashed." But the other so far prevailed, that a mission was sent to him, who were honourably received, and had terms proposed that were considered admissible. He did not, however, discontinue his march, and by various evasions avoided bringing the treaty to a conclusion. In the end of January 1757, having arrived with his whole force, he commenced intrenching himself in the neighbourhood of Calcutta; and then all parties began to be persuaded that his only object in negotiating had been to gain time. Two gentlemen, meanwhile, were sent to request that he would withdraw; but he received them with

haughtiness, and refused compliance. Being warned by a friendly native to be on their guard against treachery, they departed abruptly, and reached headquarters in safety.

Clive now determined to attack the Indian army. With the addition of 600 seamen he possessed a force of 2150, with which, on the morning of the 5th of February, he advanced against the nabob. The action was fought on both sides with obstinacy and determination, but in a confused and straggling manner; for so thick a mist enveloped the two armies that they could scarcely descry each other. The English, exposed to repeated and furious charges from the enemy's cavalry, as well as from a strong battery of artillery, suffered a severe loss, amounting to 220 men. They finally repulsed, however, every attack; and Surajah, mortified that his powerful host could make no impression on this small band, became not indisposed to terms of accommodation. As the inclination was mutual, the articles were adjusted by reciprocal concession. The prince permitted the English to fortify Calcutta, to carry on trade, and enjoy the same privileges as before the war; while they dropped their high, though most just claims for redress and vengeance. Even an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded, and the ambitious potentate then led his troops into the interior.

A delicate and important question now arose. Intelligence had arrived of war being declared between France and England. The subjects of the former, who had a strongly fortified position at Chandernagore, agreed that neutrality should be observed within the province,—admitting, at the same time, that they could not pledge themselves for its permanence without the sanction of the government at Pondicherry. Clive felt inclined to accept the offer, foreseeing that an attack on this post would offend the nabob, and involve the British too deeply in the affairs of Bengal. On the other hand, it was considered that the security offered by the French was very precarious; and that, when united with the native ruler, whose good will was exceedingly doubtful, and reinforced, as they might easily be, from their presidency,

they could soon assemble a force which the English would be unable to resist. It was urged, therefore, that our countrymen ought to avail themselves of their present superiority to crush them,—an opinion which, supported by Watson as well as by urgent representations from Madras, finally prevailed. An attempt was made to gain the prince's consent; but he at once imposed a strict prohibition. Admiral Watson, however, wrote a letter earnestly demanding this sanction, with somewhat formidable threats in case of refusal. This drew forth a reply of vague consent, saying, "Whatever you think right, that do;" and to Mr. Watts, the English resident at his court, he intimated that he would not intermeddle. As soon, however, as he learned that the expedition was in motion, he retracted, and wrote in the most peremptory style commanding them to stop. This was treated as an indignity, and totally disregarded. Clive pushed on, commenced the siege on the 14th May 1757, and immediately drove in the outposts. A brave resistance was made; but the admiral soon came up with the fleet, opened a heavy cannonade, and carried on operations with such skill and vigour as to compel in a short time unconditional surrender. The garrison, consisting of 500 European and 700 native troops, became prisoners of war, and a vast quantity of stores was captured.

Complete success had crowned this undertaking; yet Clive soon felt the critical situation in which his very triumph had placed him. The nabob was raving in a furious, though childish manner, menacing destruction to Mr. Watts; and he was emboldened by the retreat of Ahmed Abdallah, the Patan chief, who had threatened an invasion of Bengal. He was now sure of support from the French, of whom a small body was still left, while reinforcements were expected, and said even to be on the march by way of Cuttack. As the English insisted that the whole of that nation should be banished from his dominions, he professed to have already done so, but complained that their demands were endless. Continuing in the same state of puerile irritation, he one day offered to Meer Jaffier, his prime minister, ten lacks of rupees if

he would march and destroy the British, but next morning repented. This lamentable exhibition of weakness, with the vicinity of the Company's establishment, led to events which gave an entirely new turn to Indian affairs.

An oriental court, especially in so disorganized a state as those of India then were, in which no regular law of succession was recognised, usually presents numerous elements of treason. Among the nabob's principal chiefs, several who were disgusted with his violent and capricious behaviour were at the same time ambitious of filling his place, and Mr. Watts, who still continued resident, afforded a channel through whom applications could be made. The first overture came from one named Khuda Yar Khan Lattee, who proposed with the aid of the British to dethrone his master, assuring them that they would be aided by the Seits, a family of native merchants and bankers possessed of immense wealth. This transaction acquired a greatly augmented importance when it was announced that Meer Jaffier, the premier, was ready to engage in it on condition of being raised to supreme power in the room of the other. Clive, on receiving this intimation, considered the revolution as already effected. His eyes seem to have been at once opened to the demerits of Surajah, whom he describes as a villain who could not be trusted, but must be overset,—“he or we must fall,”—at the same time, to prevent any suspicion, he wrote him a soothing letter. Nothing remained but to arrange the terms, with which view the colonel hastened to the presidency, and laid the project before the Select Committee. They gave their cordial concurrence, and Admiral Watson agreed to afford his co-operation.

It was determined to demand the cession of all the French factories and effects, and the entire exclusion of that nation from Bengal; the grant of a considerable territory around Calcutta, with a pecuniary compensation for losses sustained, amounting to 10,000,000 of rupees for the Company, 5,000,000 to the British inhabitants, and 2,700,000 to the natives and Armenians. For the army 2,500,000 were demanded, and a like sum for the navy.

One of the members of the committee chancing to ask why they should not claim something for themselves, his proposal obtained a unanimous concurrence, and 1,200,000 rupees were fixed, to be distributed among each, corresponding to their respective ranks. The most boundless and extravagant ideas prevailed in general respecting the wealth of Indian princes; wild reports had represented that of the nabob as amounting to forty-five millions sterling; and it was supposed certainly not to fall short of four millions and a half; though, as Mr. Orme observes, the consideration that Aliverdi Khan had been employed during his whole reign in repelling a series of formidable invasions, might have proved even this last estimate to be very unreasonable. When these demands, amounting to nearly three millions sterling, were laid before Meer Jaffier, his minister Roydoolub declared it utterly impossible for the Bengal treasury to defray them; but as the English refused to make any abatement, and conciliated the official by high expectations, he at last adopted the Indian plan of promising everything, leaving the performance to be regulated by circumstances. It may be mentioned as a characteristic feature in this negotiation, that Omichund, a native who had been let into the secret, threatened to make a disclosure unless his silence were purchased at an immense price. To defeat this manœuvre, Clive caused two treaties to be drawn up, one real, which contained no stipulation whatever in favour of that person, the other prepared solely for the purpose of being shown to him, and comprising an agreement to pay him not less than two millions of rupees. The colonel having signed the latter, presented it to Admiral Watson, who honourably refused his signature. On being asked, however, whether he would allow another to write it for him, he gave a sort of half consent, saying, "he left them to do as they pleased." His handwriting was then counterfeited, and, by showing this treaty to Omichund, his silence was secured; but the discovery of the deceit afterwards drove him into a state of derangement, terminating in confirmed idiotism. Mr. Mill brands this as an act of the most consummate baseness; while Sir John Malcolm contends,

that in a case of glaring and avowed treachery, like that of this Hindoo, a similar act, employed solely to counterwork the other, became justifiable. His arguments certainly have considerable force; yet we cannot, on the whole, reconcile the transaction to our ideas of English honour.

Clive having mustered his troops at Chandernagore, began his march on the 13th June 1757, with 3100 men, of whom only 750 were British; and with this force undertook to effect the subversion of a mighty kingdom. As he approached the encampment of the nabob at Plassey, near Cossimbazar, unpleasant notices were received as to the conduct of Meer Jaffier, who having held frequent conferences with his master, had apparently accommodated all differences, and bound himself by the most solemn oaths to make common cause with him. He privately, indeed, transmitted assurances that these were only feints to lull the prince's suspicions; but, from his evidently keeping up the same appearances to both parties, there remained doubts as to which he really intended to betray. For this reason, when the British commander arrived opposite the island of Cossimbazar, at some distance above which lay encamped the native army of 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and a strong train of artillery, he paused. On the 21st, he called a council of war,—a measure which, it has been observed, almost invariably issues in a determination not to give battle. He opened the debate by expressing his own conviction against attacking the enemy under present circumstances. The other speakers concurred, with the exception of Major Coote, who argued that the troops, now full of courage and confidence, would feel their spirits entirely damped by the proposed delay; that the enemy would soon obtain fresh reinforcements, more particularly a large detachment of French now in the interior; in short, that there was no alternative, but either to attack now, or, renouncing all their ambitious projects, march back and shut themselves up within the walls of Calcutta. The opposite opinion was carried by a majority, with whom Clive himself voted; but on dismissing the council, he took a solitary walk in an adjoining

grove, and after an hour's meditation became convinced that Coote's advice was the soundest, and determined to follow it. Accordingly, next day he crossed the river, and marched fifteen miles towards the enemy, who at dawn on the following morning were seen encamped at the distance of a mile.

The battle of Plassey, which virtually transferred to Britain the sceptre of India, was by no means fought with a vigour corresponding to the great interests at stake. The enemy commenced the attack on the 23d of June at six in the morning, while the English, covered by a grove and a high bank, remained almost the whole day on the defensive, keeping up a straggling cannonade. At one time, indeed, several brisk movements were made by the adverse cavalry, which were repulsed by the steady fire of the field-pieces; but so languidly did the contest proceed, that Colonel Clive is reported to have fallen asleep in the midst of it, which Mr. Orme accounts for by the great fatigue he had undergone. The nabob, however, as cowardly as cruel, remained in his tent, and was much discouraged to learn that his antagonists had not fled, and still more that Meer Murdeen, the best and most faithful of his generals, had fallen. The chief interest was felt respecting the course to be followed by Meer Jaffier, which remained for a long time mysterious; and his corps, even when it began to make a movement towards the left, not being recognised by our countrymen, was treated as hostile. Soon, however, it was seen decidedly to separate from the rest of the army, and Clive then determined to make an immediate and brisk assault upon their camp. It was attended with complete and instant success; for scarcely had the onset begun, when the enemy fled, abandoning their tents, baggage, and artillery. The pursuit was continued six miles; several officers of distinction were slain, and forty pieces of cannon taken. The loss on the British side was only twenty-two killed and fifty wounded. The nabob, seized with panic, gave up all for lost, mounted a camel and fled, escorted by 2000 of his chosen cavalry.

Next day an interview was appointed at Daudpore between the

English commander and Meer Jaffier. The latter approached with evident symptoms of fear, dreading resentment on account of his cold and doubtful co-operation. On his entrance, the guard in sign of respect presented arms, when, interpreting this as a menacing attitude, he started back in alarm. Clive however advanced, and saluted him Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; after which entire cordiality prevailed during the conference, and measures were concerted for the pursuit of Surajah Dowlah. That prince had arrived at Daudpore about midnight after the battle; and several of his principal officers being already there, he assembled them in council. Rejecting the advice urged by some of them, that he should surrender to the English, he concurred with those who recommended that he should give donations to the troops, and place himself next day at their head. But when he returned to the seraglio, and learned the near approach of Meer Jaffier, his timid disposition gained the ascendancy. He disguised himself in an humble garb, and, with his favourite eunuch and concubine, carrying a casket of his most precious jewels, placed himself in a barge and endeavoured to push up the river to Patna, where, relying on the fidelity of the governor, he expected to be in safety. He arrived at Rajemahl, where the boatmen, overcome by fatigue, insisted on resting for the night, and the ex-nabob sought concealment in a deserted garden. In the morning, however, a man of low rank, whose ears in a fit of rage he had formerly caused to be cut off, discovered him, and made the report to a brother of Jaffier, who gave notice to the soldiers engaged in the pursuit. They hastened to seize their prey, and conveyed him down the river to Muxadavad, treating him on the passage with every species of indignity. The unhappy prince was dragged like a felon into the palace which he had so lately occupied in all the pomp of eastern royalty. Jaffier showed himself somewhat affected at this spectacle, not indeed without reason, having owed everything to Aliverdi Khan, grandfather to Surajah, of whom also he had no serious ground of complaint. He desired the captive prince to retire, and assembled his counsellors to deliberate

on his fate. Some recommended clemency; others, among whom was his son Meeran, aged about seventeen, urged the cruel but safe expedient of putting him to instant death. The new nabob still hesitated, when the youth entreated him to go to bed and leave to him the care of the royal captive. He consented, not without an obvious presentiment of what would follow. Meeran lost no time in sending a band of assassins to the apartment of the prisoner, who met his end with weak and pusillanimous lamentations; and the view of his remains, placed on an elephant and carried through the streets, induced the servile crowd to yield implicit submission to his successor. Surajah Dowlah perhaps deserved his fate; yet the circumstances attending it, and the persons by whom it was inflicted, rendered it an act of the basest treachery.

Meanwhile the English made all due haste to commence the important investigation into the contents of the Bengal treasury; and the result, as Meer Jaffier's minister had intimated, created the most bitter disappointment. To pay the stipulated amount of 22,000,000 rupees, there was found in the exchequer only 15,000,000, and it could not be entirely emptied. It was necessary, therefore, to be content with the immediate receipt of one-half, and to accept the promise of paying the rest in three annual instalments. Even of this half, our countrymen were obliged to take a third in jewels and other precious effects; yet there was paid down in cash £800,000. The chiefs also were graciously pleased to accept in return for their services presents of very large amount,—a mode of remuneration accordant, it is said, with Indian ideas, though one cannot view it as particularly honourable. Clive acknowledged to have received £160,000, while to each member of council there fell £24,000. As Watson did not come in regularly for a share, one was made for him by deducting a tenth from that of the others,—an arrangement with which several of the officers were extremely dissatisfied.

Soon after, the government of Bengal was involved in peculiar difficulties. The distracted state of the province excited the hopes

of the native princes, who expected that it would fall an easy prey; and the eldest son of the Mogul, called the shahzadah, having obtained from his father the investiture as Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, proceeded to establish his claim by arms. The force which he could command was exceedingly small; but he was supported by two distinguished officers, now established nearly as independent rulers. One was the Nabob of Oude, a fine province north of the Ganges, once the seat of a powerful empire. The other was the Soubahdar of Allahabad, a fertile region along the same river, the capital of which, situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, is one of the largest and most venerated cities of the empire. Akbar made it a favourite residence, and erected at the angle of the currents the *Chalees Satoon*, a spacious fortress, which, having its gateways ornamented with domes and cupolas, exhibits one of the most striking specimens of Indian architecture. The interests of his country, and the treaty with Meer Jaffier, alike impelled Clive to aid that ruler in repelling the invasion. This conduct is branded by Mr. Mill as "undisguised rebellion;" but when we consider that the power of the Mogul over all distant provinces had for a long time been quite nominal, and that prince merely a tool in the hands of others, who regarded his authority almost as little as Jaffier did, we are brought to view the subject somewhat differently. The English, having united their forces at Moorshedabad to those of the nabob, marched upon Patna, which was with difficulty defended by Ramnarain, one of his adherents. A very serious contest would now have ensued, had not the native chiefs, instead of forwarding the views of their master, begun to quarrel among themselves. The Nabob of Oude seized Allahabad, and the soubahdar, having proceeded to its defence, was inveigled into the power of his enemy. The shahzadah was left without support in any quarter, and, as Mr. Mill observes, "the descendant of so many illustrious sovereigns, and the undoubted heir of a throne once among the loftiest on the globe, was so bereft of friends and resources, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his sub-

sistence, and offering in requital to withdraw from the province." It was granted, on the condition of his presently evacuating the district; and the British commander was thus enabled, with remarkable ease, to bring this important affair to a happy termination. Jaffier was so eager to testify his gratitude, that, notwithstanding his necessities, he bestowed upon Clive, in name of jaghire, the rent due by the Company for the territory round Calcutta. About this time the colonel sent a force against the Circars, which obtained at least their nominal submission; and having repulsed an attack made by the Dutch, he resigned the government in February 1760, and sailed for Europe.

Meantime the interior was by no means tranquil. The young prince, who, on his father being put to death by the Mahratta, succeeded to the almost empty title of Great Mogul, renewed his pretensions upon Bengal, and was again seconded by the Nabob of Oude, on whom he had conferred the still imposing rank of vizier. Their combined forces had advanced upon Patna, and gained a considerable advantage over the garrison before Colonel Caillaud, now commanding the English army, as well as the native troops under Meeran, Jaffier's son, could arrive to their aid. He made the attack on the 22d February 1760; and though the Indian auxiliaries were rendered nearly useless by a very injudicious position, the British and sepoys alone poured in so effective a fire as drove the enemy off the field, and obliged them to retire to Bahar. Meeran, however, who had received a slight wound, re-entered Patna, and resigned himself to ease and pleasure. The defeated army then conceived the bold design of marching across the country by the shortest route to Moorshedabad, and surprising the nabob in his capital. It is believed, had this enterprise been as promptly executed as it was ably planned, that the object might have been accomplished; but the chiefs indulged in the usual dilatory habits of an oriental army, and Caillaud had time, by rapidly conveying troops down the river, to reinforce his ally, and deter the enemy from the meditated attack. Returning hastily by the same route, they reached Patna before the English, and,

aided by M. Law with a French force, reduced that city to great extremity. Captain Knox, however, marching above two hundred miles under a burning sun in thirteen days, relieved it, and obliged the enemy to fall back.

Affairs in Bengal meantime were by no means in a satisfactory state. Jaffier proved an indolent, voluptuous, and tyrannical ruler. Instead of being able to pay up the instalments due to his allies, he could not find funds for his own extravagant expenses; and he endeavoured to fill his coffers by plundering the native chiefs, three of whom at one time rose in rebellion. The revenues of three districts indeed were assigned for the liquidation of the British debt, while the monopoly of saltpetre and other exorbitant commercial privileges were granted; but it soon became sufficiently evident that he had forgotten all his obligations to the English, and yielded only from fear, or the impossibility of otherwise maintaining his power. On a full survey of these circumstances, the heads of the council formed the determination of supplanting Meer Jaffier, or at least of placing the real power in the hands of another. After much deliberation, it was resolved that his successor should be his own son-in-law, Meer Cossim, who alone appeared to possess the energy necessary to retrieve the sinking affairs of the country. Mr. Vansittart repaired to Moorshedabad, and endeavoured to prevail upon the nabob to consent to an arrangement, by which he should retain the pomp and state of royalty, while the government would be administered by Cossim; but Jaffier, though he felt it impossible to resist, proudly refused the mere shadow of authority, and preferred to pass the remainder of his days in Calcutta as a private individual.

Meer Cossim applied himself with talent and vigour to the duties of administration. By judicious arrangements, and by extracting money from the native chiefs, he succeeded in paying up the arrears due to our countrymen. But urgent circumstances soon called the allied powers to the frontier; for the emperor, still aided in some degree by the sovereign of Oude, contrived to make several harassing incursions into the nabob's territory.

Major Carnac marched to its defence, and having soon brought the Mogul army to action, completely defeated it. The most remarkable event was the capture of M. Law, who, with a handful of French troops, had hitherto been the chief support of the native armies against the English. Deserted by his men, he bestrode one of the guns, and in that attitude awaited the approach of death. The Hindoos, strangers to any refined laws of war, were much surprised to see the British officers approach, courteously invite him to their camp, and treat him as an honoured and respected guest. The major, after the battle, sent overtures of accommodation, accompanied even with an offer to wait upon the emperor in his camp; and though these proposals were at first rejected, the prince, on mature reflection, not only received the victorious commander, but proceeded with him to Patna. He was there met by Meer Cossim, and a treaty was concluded, by which the latter was invested Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and in return for this he stipulated to pay the annual sum of twenty-four lacks of rupees, or three millions sterling. Some reason was even given to expect that our countrymen might aid in restoring the prince to the imperial power; but the embarrassed state of the finances, and other circumstances now to be related, prevented any steps from being taken in fulfilment of that object.

The first measures of Meer Cossim's government were prudent and vigorous; and, had he been left to the exercise of independent power, he might have become a very good ruler. But he stood in a relation to his patrons which a high-spirited prince could scarcely continue to brook. After having twice deposed and set up a nabob, they not only felt themselves, but were viewed by others, as the real masters of Bengal; and their most subordinate officers conceived that they were entitled to the obedience of the highest native authorities. This bad feeling was fomented by a party in the council hostile to the governor, who not only soon became the majority, but, having been originally adverse to the elevation of Meer Cossim, delighted to thwart him in every possible manner. This body, mindful of the circumstances which

attended Jaffier's elevation, made the modest demand of twenty lacks of rupees as personal presents. Cossim positively denied the promise, and refused payment. His conduct was highly approved by the Company, while that of the council was strongly condemned,—a circumstance, it may be feared, which still farther embittered their feelings against the nabob. Ellis was at the head of the ruling party; and being stationed with a detachment at Patna, obtained permission to act there as he pleased, and he behaved in the most domineering manner towards the prince. The complaints of this ruler assumed a serious shape, in consequence of the privileges with regard to trade which the English claimed, in virtue of a former grant from the Mogul. They were thereby exempted from those heavy transit duties which, according to the impolitic system prevalent in India, were imposed on all goods passing up and down the river, and from city to city. This immunity, which gave to them an immense advantage over the natives, was farther abused by affording the sanction of their name to agents, by whom the regular merchants were entirely driven off the field. In consequence of the heavy complaints lodged by the nabob upon this subject, Mr. Vansittart, at Monghir, concluded an agreement, according to which the same duties were to be paid by the Company's servants and by the country traders. This judicious arrangement, after the Indian prince had somewhat hastily begun to act upon it, was annulled by the majority of the council, and affairs were again thrown into their former confusion. The nabob then determined to end the controversy by abolishing at once all those inland duties,—a measure salutary in itself, but of which the English unreasonably and loudly complained, because it left no distinction between them and his own subjects. As the tide of discontent swelled, both parties began to assume a warlike attitude. His highness busied himself in raising money, levying troops, and disciplining them in the European manner. Learning that some boats with military stores were proceeding up the Ganges to Patna, he ordered them to be detained; but soon after, feeling this to be a questionable step, he allowed them to proceed.

No sooner, however, had Mr. Ellis received news of the first detention, than he resolved, agreeably to conditional instructions from the council, to attack that city, which, being ill provided for defence, was quickly carried. Cossim, on receiving intelligence of this violent measure, became exceedingly furious, and thenceforth breathed nothing but war. He was, however, soon gratified, by learning that the victors, having resigned themselves to security and plunder, had been surprised by the late governor, driven from their conquest, and, in attempting to escape up the river, had been all taken prisoners. The factory at Cossimbazar, with its garrison, was also captured.

The English now again raised to power Meer Jaffier, whom the blind desire of governing induced to forget all his wrongs. At the same time Major Adams, who commanded the troops, was ordered to open the campaign with the utmost possible vigour; and he found Meer Cossim better prepared for resistance than any Indian sovereign who had yet been encountered. The British had first to defeat a strong advanced guard in front of Moorshedabad, and afterwards to storm the lines constructed for the defence of the city; when, continuing to press forward, they discovered the soubahdar with his whole force drawn up on the plain of Geriah. The troops presented the aspect of a European army; being brigaded, clothed, and accoutred in the English style, and supported by a fine train of artillery. Their number did not exceed 20,000 horse and 8000 foot; but to oppose this force Major Adams had only 3000 men. He led them on, however, to the attack, which the enemy withstood during four hours with great intrepidity; at one period they had even surrounded and broken a part of his line, and captured two pieces of cannon. But at length the steady and disciplined valour of the assailants carried everything before it; and the native warriors fled, abandoning all their artillery and provisions. Their prince, notwithstanding, retired to an intrenched camp on the Oodwa, so strongly enclosed between the river, the mountains, and a swamp, that its reduction detained the army nearly a whole month. In the end it was surprised and

carried; after which he never again attempted to face his adversaries in the open field. Adams immediately marched and laid siege to Monghir, which the soubahdar had made his capital, and carefully fortified. After nine days of regular operations the place capitulated, which threw the Indian chief into a dreadful paroxysm of rage. He sent notice, that the moment the English force should advance upon Patna, he would avenge himself by putting to death the whole garrison who had been taken in that city. The commanding officer, much distressed by this menace, addressed a letter to the prisoners, entreating them to suggest some expedient by which their release might be effected. Ellis and Hay, however, with a truly Roman spirit, answered, that there was no hope of escape,—that they were resigned to their fate,—and entreated that the march of the army should not be suspended on their account for a single moment. Vansittart wrote to Meer Cossim, at once deprecating his intended cruelty and threatening the most signal vengeance; but as soon as the troops began to move, the tyrant fulfilled to the utmost his bloody purpose. The whole garrison of Patna, consisting of fifty gentlemen and a hundred soldiers, were put to death, with the single exception of Mr. Fullerton, who was spared on account of his medical skill. The nabob killed also the two Seits, the most opulent and distinguished native inhabitants of Bengal, solely for their known attachment to the English. By these barbarities he forfeited the interest which his spirited conduct and hard treatment would otherwise have excited.

The nabob's only hope henceforth rested on Patna, which was soon afterwards invested. He reinforced the garrison with 10,000 men, and supported the defence by strong bodies of irregular cavalry. The resistance was vigorous; the garrison took one of the English batteries, and blew up their magazine; yet in eight days a breach was effected, and the place was taken by storm. Cossim then gave up all for lost, and fled into the country of Oude to implore the aid and protection of the soubahdar, Sujah Dowlah. That prince had then a still more illustrious refugee,

in the individual who by legitimate descent bore the mighty name of the Great Mogul. At this court the fugitive viceroys were well received, and Sujah, probably with a view to his own aggrandizement, undertook to support his cause; after which these three distinguished personages marched with their united force to attack the British army, which happened then to be very ill prepared to sustain so formidable an encounter. The troops, composed in a great measure of foreigners and sepoys, complained that, after such a series of brilliant victories, they were left not only without reward, but suffering severely from the climate and scarcity of provisions. Their discontents broke forth into open mutiny, and numbers even separated from the main body. Major Carnac, who in these circumstances assumed the command, did not feel himself in a condition to undertake offensive operations, but waited the attack in his camp near Patna. The soldiers, when engaged in battle, forgot their mutinous propensities, and behaved with the utmost steadiness. After a protracted conflict, they completely repulsed the enemy, though from extreme fatigue they were unfit for any lengthened pursuit. Sujah Dowlah was obliged to retreat into Oude, whither the English commander did not attempt to follow him.

In May 1764 the command devolved upon Major Hector Monro, an enterprising officer, who determined to follow up the advantages gained by his predecessors. It appeared indispensable, however, to begin by completely checking the spirit of insubordination, and to employ for this purpose measures of imposing rigour. A battalion of sepoys having left the camp soon after he had joined, was pursued and brought back; when, selecting twenty-four of the ringleaders, he ordered them to be blown from the mouth of a cannon,—a fate which they met with much intrepidity. No disposition to mutiny being thenceforth manifested, Monro marched against Sujah, whom he found strongly intrenched at Buxar on the river Soane. The difficulty of attacking the enemy in this position was obviated by their advancing against the British at eight in the morning of the 23d October; when, after a combat

of three hours, they were defeated. They made their retreat, however, without being pursued to any great distance, but losing an immense quantity of stores, and 130 pieces of artillery. The emperor had already made overtures to Major Carnac, which that officer did not think himself authorized to accept; these he now renewed, complaining that Dowlah treated him with indignity, and detained him as a mere state-prisoner. Major Monro gave a favourable answer, and only delayed the final acceptance of his proposals till they should receive the sanction of the presidency, which was readily granted. Even before it arrived, the Mogul had come over with the corps personally attached to him, and begun to march under the banner of his allies.

The nabob, having retreated into the interior of his dominions, obtained the aid of a body of Mahrattas under Mulhar Rao, and of Ghazee-ud-Dian, who, as we have seen, were once the most powerful adherents of the Mogul throne. With these auxiliaries he hoped to make a stand against the victorious English. Sir Robert Fletcher, however, who held the temporary command, laid siege to Allahabad, which surrendered as soon as a breach had been effected. Carnac, now raised to the rank of general, succeeded him, and immediately advanced to attack the army of the vizier, which, with scarcely an effort, was completely dispersed; whereupon that prince was obliged to abandon all his dominions.

The British had now certainly made one of the most splendid campaigns that occur in the annals of any nation. They had gained five victories against much superior forces; they had reduced every strong place which attempted to oppose them; they had vanquished the Mogul emperor and all his principal feudatories; and, in short, had made themselves the virtual masters of the great central plain of India. Various opinions, however, prevailed as to the best mode of improving these important advantages.

Meer Jaffier had died, partly it should seem of vexation at not having been able to meet the enormous pecuniary demands of the English rulers. The council, after some hesitation, filled his

place with his son, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, a youth of twenty, whom they reduced, however, to a much more dependent situation than his predecessors. They took upon themselves the whole defence of the province, and consequently kept in their hands the entire military force; assuming, at the same time, an extensive control over the internal administration of affairs.

Meantime the directors at home, amid the triumphs which had crowned their arms, were agitated by many anxieties. It was not from any impulse imparted by them that the career of conquest had been pursued. They do not appear indeed to have desired any farther possessions than were necessary for the security of their trade. Without absolutely censuring the council for their proceedings relative to Meer Jaffier and Cossim, they expressed some apprehension lest their character for good faith and moderation should be thereby injured. Three revolutions had occurred in the course of as many years, by which their very existence in India had been exposed to hazard. In particular, they complained of the enormous and incessant expenses in which these transactions involved them, and which they had not been able to defray without reducing their dividend 25 per cent. They had also found extreme difficulty in answering the demand for men, which indeed would have been impossible, had not government supplied them with some regular troops; it was not even very easy to charter vessels for their conveyance. They soon discovered the reckless profusion and even gross corruption which prevailed among their Indian servants. A statesman of comprehensive views and vigorous character seemed wanting to place their affairs in the East on a stable and tranquil footing, as well as to introduce order and regularity into the various branches of so extended an administration. With this view, their attention was directed to the same person who had been the real founder of their dominions; and Lord Clive, about three years after his return, was proposed a second time for the supreme command of the British provinces in India. He refused to accept unless invested with the most ample powers, and placed entirely beyond

the control of the council. This was strongly objected to, yet finally sanctioned by the small majority of thirteen to eleven.

His lordship arrived at Calcutta early in the year 1765;—but we shall reserve till another occasion our notice of his internal regulations, and proceed at present to record those measures by which he achieved the farther extension of the Company's territory. Sujah Dowlah, though defeated in successive battles, and driven even beyond his frontier, still possessed energy and great resources. Having collected his scattered troops, and obtained a reinforcement from the Mahrattas, he formed an army with which he again ventured to face General Carnac. At Calpy, however, he was completely routed, and compelled to flee precipitately with great loss across the Jumna. Considering his cause as altogether desperate, he repaired to the camp of the English, and threw himself entirely upon their mercy. He had been strongly urged, and high offers were even made to induce this prince to bring with him Meer Cossim; but with a sense of honour not usual in an eastern potentate, he determined not to betray a person who had sought and received his protection. He allowed him, and a German, Sumroo, his associate in the work of blood, to seek shelter in the countries bordering on the Indus. Thus Carnac had at once in his camp two princes holding the highest rank in India, and the direct representatives of an empire lately the most splendid and powerful in the world.

Lord Clive, on receiving this intelligence, immediately repaired to the British encampment at Allahabad, where these two illustrious personages awaited his decision upon their fate. It had been determined, in consequence of the obstinate hostility displayed by Sujah, to deprive him of all his territories and bestow them on the emperor. But his lordship, on forming a personal acquaintance, conceived so favourable an opinion of him, and judged him likely to be so much more effective as an ally and formidable as an enemy than the young Mogul, that he resolved to restore him to his dominions, by whose inhabitants he was greatly beloved. To the emperor, the districts of Corah and

Allahabad were assigned; and he agreed, that is, was compelled, to grant to the Company the dewanee or collection of the revenue, including in fact the entire sovereignty, of the fine provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; in return for which he was to receive annually twenty-six lacks of rupees, which, after all, was greater than he had ever enjoyed. Soon after, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, the nominal soubahdar of these provinces, was obliged to retire on a pension of forty-two lacks. Clive then boasted, that the revenues of the ceded territory would amount to more than 250 lacks of rupees, which, after the deductions now stated and the liberal allowance of 60 for the expenses of government, would leave 122 of clear gain to the Company. These financial anticipations were very imperfectly realized; but it was difficult for England not to be dazzled with a succession of such splendid victories, by which her possessions, that ten years before had included only an almost defenceless fort at the mouth of the Ganges, now extended over all the finest portion of that vast region. The most valuable part of the great central plain of India, westward as far as the Jumna, was either in the immediate possession or under the entire control of the British nation.

## CHAPTER XII.

## WAR WITH MYSORE.

Formation of the Kingdom of Mysore—Influence of the Ministers Deoraj and Nunjeraj—Hyder—His Parentage—His early Destitution—Begins to distinguish himself—Mode in which he forms a Body of Adherents—Commands at Dindigul—His Power augmented—Violence of Nunjeraj, who is reduced to Distress—Hyder relieves and then supplants him—His own Danger—Extricates himself, and becomes complete Master of Mysore—Conquest of Bednore—Invasion by the Mahrattas—Conquest of Calicut—The English join a Confederacy against him—The Mahrattas make Peace—Nizam joins Hyder against the English—They invade the Carnatic—Threaten Madras—Battle of Trinomalee—Nizam quits the Alliance—Invasion of Mysore—Successes of Hyder—He overruns the Carnatic—Again threatens Madras—Conclusion of Peace—Another great Inroad of the Mahrattas—Hyder concludes a Treaty with them, and makes farther Conquests—His Resentment against the English—Weak Conduct of the Madras Government—Hyder invades and desolates the Carnatic—Fate of Colonel Baillie's Detachment—Sir Eyre Coote sent from Calcutta—He gains several Advantages—Loss of Colonel Brathwaite's Detachment—Negotiations—Operations on the Western Coast—Death of Hyder—Tippoo succeeds—Disensions in the Madras Government—Death of Sir Eyre Coote—Peace between England and France—Bednore surrenders to General Mathews—Retaken by the Sultan—Siege of Mangalore—Peace with Tippoo.

IN the general breaking up of the Mogul empire and its great viceroyalties, India was reduced almost to a state of anarchy. Any bold adventurer, who could summon round him the warlike and predatory bands with which that region abounded, might aspire to rule over extensive districts, several of which were entitled to rank as kingdoms. Among such communities a conspicuous place was held by Mysore, the territory of which forms one of the most remarkable of those elevated table-lands that diversify the southern provinces. It stretches more than half-way from sea to sea, closely approaching the Malabar coast on the one side, and on the other reaching to the border of the Carnatic. A circuit of lofty hills, forming a barrier round the country, raise its general surface to the height of almost 3000 feet; a happy circumstance, which secures for it a climate unusually temperate and salubrious. The soil is generally well suited for producing the most valuable grains and fruits, and by a rude but careful cultivation is rendered extremely fertile. This kingdom, under the direction of a daring

soldier, rose to such power as to threaten the very existence of the British dominion in the East.

Mysore, down to a recent period, had not been entirely subjected to the Mohammedan sway; it was still ruled by native princes, who paid homage, and sometimes tribute, first to the kings of the Deccan, and after their fall to the Mogul. In the decline of the latter sovereignty both these were withheld, unless when the imperial lieutenant could assemble a force sufficiently strong to wrest payment from the local sovereign. This independence, however, was of little avail to the original rajahs, who, sinking, according to the custom of oriental princes, into voluptuous indolence, allowed the government to pass almost entirely into the hands of their ministers. When the war in the Carnatic first led the English into hostility with Mysore, two brothers, Deoraj and Nunjeraj, of whom the latter possessed the more vigorous character, had risen to the head of affairs. At this time, however, there was coming into notice a young adventurer, destined to effect a complete revolution in that country, and in all Southern India.

Colonel Wilks, from native authorities, has given an account of the origin of *Hyder* with a degree of minuteness which it is unnecessary for us to follow. His family appears to have sprung from the northern territory of the Punjaub; they were of low station, and so poor, as in some instances to subsist upon alms. Futtee Mohammed, the father, reared by a charitable hand, entered the army of a Mysorean chief, and having served with distinction was raised to the rank of a *Naik*, an officer of peons or foot-soldiers. A lady of some quality, whose husband had been robbed and murdered by banditti, being reduced to the utmost want, was prevailed upon to give her two daughters successively in marriage to this adventurer. By the youngest he had two sons, named Shabaz and Hyder; but, when they had attained only the respective ages of nine and seven, their father and the prince his master were killed in battle. The mother and her boys then fell into the power of a rapacious chief, who not only seized all the property he could find, but employed the most cruel torture to

make them yield up their hidden possessions. The widow of Futtee Mohammed, having "lost everything but her children and her honour," found refuge with her brother Ibrahim, by whose bounty the family were supported. Hyder, accordingly, had his fortune entirely to make; and for some time he gave but slender promise of reaching any high advancement. He did not even learn to read or write; and, on arriving at manhood, spent his whole time either in voluptuous riot or in the pleasures of the chase. Thus he reached the age of twenty-seven before he would submit to the restraints even of military service. His elder brother, meantime, had been more meritoriously employed in the army of Nunjeraj, where he distinguished himself, and was raised to a subordinate command; and he was at length induced to join him while employed in the siege of a fortress called Deonhully, which occupied nine months. The wild youth, having once embarked in this active career, soon displayed daring valour, presence of mind, and all the qualities which constitute an eminent warrior. He received the charge of a small corps, with a commission to increase its numbers by all the means in his power.

At this time Nunjeraj, having formed an alliance with the French, undertook the expedition to Trichinopoly, of which some account has been already given; and Hyder accompanied him, making diligent use of the opportunities which this campaign afforded, both to distinguish and advance himself. He soon assembled round him a numerous body of those freebooters with which India swarmed, who asked no pay, but trusted solely to the plunder that they might collect under the auspices of an active chieftain. Instead of his giving to them, they gave to him; being required to contribute one-half of all the booty which they might succeed in capturing. They were doubtless very much disposed to evade this partition; but their leader, though unable to write the numerals, could boast of an extraordinary expertness in the operations of mental arithmetic; and he was assisted by Kunde Row, a Braminical accountant of remarkable skill. They established a system which the operative marauders found it vain to

attempt eluding; and the practices of a common London thief may be considered just and honourable, compared with those by which Hyder rose to the rank of an Indian monarch. Not only the great and regular objects of pillage, such as convoys of grain, horses, or herds of cattle, but clothes, turbans, ear-rings, the most trifling ornaments taken from the persons of females, and even of children, were alike welcome. Nor did his friends enjoy any exemption, provided the theft could be executed with secrecy; and by these means, before he left Trichinopoly, he had collected 1500 horse, 5000 infantry, with elephants, camels, and all the other appendages of a chief of high rank. Having distinguished himself also by his military services, he continued in great favour, and was appointed Foujedar of Dindigul, an important place recently acquired in the country of the Polygars. Here he enlarged his forces and increased his wealth, not only by the plunder of the surrounding territories, but by the most scandalous impositions practised on his own sovereign, as well as on the commissioners sent to inquire into his conduct. He managed to bring his troops to what was called a *circular* muster, in which ten thousand men counted as 18,000; thereby obtaining pay for a fictitious number, and also at a rate much above his actual expenditure. Having an allowance for every wounded soldier, he imposed on the inspector by presenting many who were perfectly sound, but had their hands and feet tied with bandages dipt in turmeric. By these gross frauds he completely deluded Nunjeraj, who thought it wonderful that so great a force could be maintained, and the war successfully carried on at an expense so moderate.

Hyder had now collected so much strength, both of arms and treasure, and had acquired so high a reputation, that he began to aim at the throne of Mysore. His views were greatly favoured by the violent dissensions which prevailed at court. The young rajah, whom Nunjeraj kept as a convenient tool, determined to make an effort to extricate himself from this thralldom, and had already secured the support of a large body of adherents; but

having made a premature display of his designs, the palace which he had fortified was attacked and easily carried. The minister, after this victory, though he treated his sovereign with a semblance of respect, caused his supporters to be either thrown into chains, or, having their noses and ears cut off, to be thrust out into the street. Deoraj, indignant at this cruelty on the part of his brother, abandoned his interests, and went to reside in a different quarter of the country.

Nunjeraj himself was soon exposed to an exigency to which a Hindoo prince is almost always liable. His troops began to clamour for a large amount of arrears, and, obtaining no satisfaction, proceeded to the expedient of seating themselves in *dhurna* at his gate. According to this institution, which in India is held sacred, he could neither taste food nor drink while the claimants remained in that position; and the soldiers, occupying the entrance of the palace, took care that this rule should be strictly observed. In this extremity Hyder gladly took occasion to interpose his services. He repaired to Seringapatam, and by seizing all public property within his reach, as well as judiciously collecting the sums due to government, obtained as much money as satisfied the immediate claims of the military. He had also effected an accommodation between the two brothers, which Deoraj, however, did not long survive; and thus, by appearing as a disinterested friend to all parties, he became extremely popular. Having raised a large force of his own, and attached to his views the army of Nunjeraj by his exertions for their relief, he soon felt himself to be the real master. His influence was greatly increased by the occurrence of a formidable invasion on the part of the Mahrattas, when, being appointed to the chief command, he brought the contest to an issue, not triumphant indeed, but much more favourable than had been anticipated. He now determined to make his way to the supreme power on the ruin of that chief through whose kindness he had risen to his present elevation. Kunde Row, who had all along been his agent and partisan, opened through the medium of a dowager princess, a woman of

talent, a negotiation with the rajah, who, with the view of being enabled to resume the real authority in his own kingdom, agreed to concur in the removal of Nunjeraj. Circumstances favoured their designs. A fresh arrear of pay having accumulated, the troops again established themselves in *dhurna* before his gate when Hyder, instead of studying as before to appease their discontent, and relieve his patron's distress, sought only to foment the one and aggravate the other. Nay, with a semblance of grief and reluctance, he concurred with them in stooping to the position of *dhurna*. Nunjeraj, thus pressed, at length agreed to retire with a liberal allowance of treasure and troops, and leave the field open to his rival; upon which the rajah, having assumed the government, intrusted the whole administration, civil and military, to Hyder and Kunde Row. It was not likely that the deposed minister should remain long satisfied with his altered condition. Retiring to the city of Mysore, only nine miles distant from the capital, he recruited his forces with the utmost diligence. A demand was hereupon made that he should discharge his troops, remove to a greater distance, and be content with a fixed allowance for his private expenses. He indignantly wrote in answer to Hyder:—"I have made you what you are, and now you refuse me a place in which to hide my head. Do what you please, or what you can. I move not from Mysore." The other immediately proceeded to besiege the city, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered; and Nunjeraj was obliged to accept the hard conditions imposed by the victor.

Hyder seemed now at the height of power; yet he was soon after involved in the most serious peril he had ever encountered. The rajah and the dowager were not long in discovering, what indeed they could scarcely fail to foresee, that by this change of affairs they had merely substituted one sovereign minister for another, and were as destitute as ever of any real power. They gained over Kunde Row, who then watched in conjunction with them the opportunity of striking a blow against the man of whom he had been so long the devoted adherent; and it occurred sooner than

might have been expected with one so conversant in all the intricacies of treason. Hyder, suspecting nothing, had dispersed his forces in different directions, and lay encamped with a handful of troops under the walls of Seringapatam. Suddenly, with amazement and consternation, he saw its batteries begin to play upon him; he called for Kunde Row, his resource in every difficulty, but that person was seen on the ramparts directing the operations of the artillery. Perceiving the snare into which he had fallen, he summoned all his presence of mind in this desperate extremity. Having placed his men under the best shelter that could be obtained, he transmitted the most humble overtures and supplications to his former servant, now his successful rival; but could obtain no other terms than to be allowed to steal off in the night with a few soldiers, leaving behind him nearly all his treasures, the accumulated fruit of so much crime and extortion, and even his family, among whom was his son Tippoo, then nine years old. These last, however, were received into Seringapatam, and treated with kindness.

The expelled chief sought refuge first at Anicul and then at Bangalore, places under his immediate command, and of which the governors proved faithful even in this extremity. He soon collected his forces, called in his detachments, and endeavoured, by the reputation of his name, to attract fresh adventurers to his standard. Thus in a few months he took the field against Kunde Row; but that able politician, having still a superior army, brought on a general action, in which Hyder was defeated. His affairs being thus rendered nearly desperate, he had recourse for relief to a very singular quarter. With two hundred horse he hastened during the night to the residence of Nunjeraj, presented himself in a suppliant posture, confessed his guilt and ingratitude, and entreated his former patron to resume his place, and treat him again as a servant. All historians express astonishment that the fallen minister should have been won over by protestations so manifestly insincere; but we are to consider, that by closing with this proposal he obtained perhaps the only chance of regaining his former power and dignity.

Upon this successful stratagem Hyder founded another still deeper. He affixed the seal of Nunjeraj to a number of letters, seeming to contain a treasonable correspondence, addressed to the principal officers in Kunde Row's army. They were sent by an emissary, who appeared to exercise the strictest vigilance lest they should fall into the hands of that chief, yet took effectual means that they should be intercepted. This leader, with all his experience and profound policy, was completely deceived; and seeing himself, as he imagined, betrayed by his own followers, he abruptly quitted the camp and hastened to Seringapatam. The army was thus thrown into a state of complete disorganization, when Hyder, attacking them unexpectedly, put them to a total rout, capturing guns, stores, baggage, and all the infantry, who were then incorporated with his own troops; the cavalry alone, by an early flight, effected their escape. Kunde Row discovered the deceit, and soon began to rally his men, when his antagonist had recourse to another artifice. He lay several days in apparent inaction, as if not intending to follow up his victory; then suddenly, by a rapid night-march, came on his opponents at unawares, and gained a signal advantage. After reducing many of the surrounding places, he advanced against the remaining force of 5000 or 6000 cavalry intrenched under the guns of Seringapatam. By entering into a feigned treaty, he lulled anew the suspicions of his adversaries, who suffered themselves to be again completely surprised, with nearly the entire loss of their horses and baggage. All Hyder's enemies were now at his mercy; still he wished that the terms which he meant to exact should appear as if offered and pressed upon him by the vanquished rajah. He sent a message, merely soliciting that the defeated general should be delivered up, and the large balance due to himself from the state be liquidated; adding that his highness might then either continue him in his service, or allow him to seek his fortune elsewhere. He privately transmitted, however, an intimation as to what he would be pleased to accept; and accordingly, under the impulse of necessity, the rajah was at length compelled to entreat the victor to relieve him

from the toil of governing Mysore, and for that purpose to draw all its revenues, except three lacks for his own use, and one for Nunjeraj; to which conditions the victor, with well-feigned reluctance, submitted. The sovereign and the ladies of the palace joined in earnest entreaty for mercy to Kundo Row; the other replied, that he would treat him like a paroquet, by which they understood a favourite or pet; but he literally fulfilled his insidious promise by enclosing the unhappy man for life in an iron cage, and sending him a daily portion of rice and milk. It is needless to add, that the lack of rupees was all that Nunjeraj obtained of the promises lavished upon him by the conqueror at the period of negotiation.

Hyder, having thus become the real sovereign of Mysore, applied himself to extend his sway in every direction. He made himself master of Sera, Chittledroog, and other districts properly included in that country; but whose rajahs and polygars, during the late troublous period, had rendered themselves in a great measure independent. His richest prize, however, was afforded by the conquest of Bednore, a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5000 feet above the level of the sea, where the profuse rains nourish magnificent forests and copious harvests. Its sequestered position had hitherto preserved it from invasion, and its rulers had applied themselves most diligently to that chief object of ambition in India, the accumulation of treasure. On the approach of the Mysorean army, the timid inhabitants of the capital, after setting fire to the palace, fled into the adjoining woods, leaving a splendid city eight miles in circumference entirely open to plunder. Wilks estimates the booty, we suspect with much exaggeration, at twelve millions sterling; though Hyder himself, it is said, always owned that its capture was the principal instrument of his future greatness.

But this successful career soon met with an interruption. Madoo Rao, one of the most renowned generals among the Maharattas, entered Mysore with an immense host of cavalry. They covered the face of the country, and so completely cut off all com-

munication, that even the vigilant Hyder was surprised by the appearance of their main body, when he imagined them to be still at a distance. He was defeated, and after several unsuccessful attempts, during a campaign of some length, to retrieve his affairs, was compelled to purchase peace by extensive cessions, and the payment of thirty-two lacks of rupees. That tumultuary horde then retired, and left him at liberty to pursue his farther acquisitions. He directed his arms against Calicut, still ruled by a personage entitled the zamorin, and esteemed the principal maritime city on that coast. Its troops opposed him with the same desultory but harassing warfare by which they had baffled the attack of Albuquerque. The rude soldier, however, forced his way through these obstacles and approached the capital, when the zamorin, despairing of being able to prolong the resistance, came out with his ministers and endeavoured to negotiate a treaty. He was favourably received, and on his offering ransom to the amount of £190,000 sterling, the invader agreed to abstain from farther aggression. But this did not prevent him from attacking and carrying Calicut by surprise; and, as the money was produced very slowly, he sought to hasten payment by placing the sovereign and his nobles under close restraint, and even by applying torture to the latter. The prince, dreading that he would be exposed to a similar indignity, shut and barricaded the doors of the house in which he was confined, set fire to it, and before the flames could be extinguished, he had perished. Several of his attendants are said to have thrown themselves into the burning mansion, and suffered the same fate. A conquest achieved by such deeds of violence soon excited a fierce rebellion, which was suppressed only by severe executions, and by the transportation of a great number of the people to a remote quarter of Mysore.

These rapid successes, and the additional resources derived from them, alarmed the great powers of Southern India. Nizam Ali, soubahdar of the Deccan, and Madoo Rao, the Mahratta commander, united in a confederacy to crush the assailant; and the English agreed to place an auxiliary force at the disposal of the former,

with the vague commission "to settle the affairs of his government in everything that is right and proper." It was distinctly understood that they were to co-operate in the invasion of Mysore; and Colonel Smith proceeded to Hyderabad to arrange measures for that purpose. This seems to have been a very doubtful policy, when the Mahrattas alone were fully equal to contend with Hyder; so that the two parties might have been advantageously left to weaken each other by mutual warfare; whereas the aggrandizement of the one by the downfall of the other tended directly to overthrow the balance of power.

The three allied armies began to move early in 1767, but in a straggling and ill-combined manner. A month before the two others were ready, Rao had covered with clouds of cavalry the high plains of Mysore; and his force alone was more than Hyder dared to encounter in the field. This last endeavoured to pursue a desultory mode of defence, causing the grain to be buried, the wells to be poisoned, the forage to be consumed, and the cattle to be driven away. Every expedient proved unavailing to stop the progress of these rapid and skilful marauders; their horses fed on the roots of grass; by thrusting iron rods into the earth they discovered from the sound, the resistance, and even from the smell, the places where corn was deposited; while the cattle, to whatever spot they might be removed, were traced out and seized. The Mysorean leader, finding them already in the heart of his dominions, where he had no means of arresting their progress, determined at any price to detach them from the confederacy. Apajee Ram, a Bramin, was sent, and opened a negotiation in a style much differing from European diplomacy. He was received in full durbar by the Mahratta general, who declared his determination not to treat with an opponent who held his legitimate prince in such unworthy captivity; and a murmur of approbation ran through the assembly. The envoy humbly confessed the charge, but took leave to add, that his master, whenever an opposite example was set by his betters, would immediately follow it. Every one now recollected that Madoo Rao held the descendant of Sevajee in

exactly the same thralldom as the rajah of Mysore was kept by Hyder; the approving sound was changed into suppressed laughter; the Mahratta chief hung down his head; and a serious negotiation was immediately commenced. He consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacks of rupees, to quit the country and withdraw entirely from the grand alliance. He had gained his end; and when Colonel Tod was sent to urge him to fulfil his engagements, the whole court laughed in that officer's face.

Colonel Smith, meantime, supported only by the poor, ill-paid, and undisciplined troops of the nizam, had entered Mysore. He soon began to suspect that this would prove a very futile expedition; and in fact it was about to assume a character much more disastrous than he anticipated. His Indian ally had taken umbrage on various grounds at the English presidency. They had procured from the Mogul, now a merely nominal potentate, the grant of the valuable territory of the Northern Circars. Mohammed Ali, their confederate, whom they had raised to be Nabob of the Carnatic, had meantime advanced pretensions to the dominions and rank of the nizam, which the latter suspected the British of secretly favouring. Hyder therefore employed Maphuz Khan, brother to that chief, who, actuated by the fraternal jealousies usually prevalent in India, had come over to the Mysorean interest, to open a secret correspondence with the soubahdar. This last was easily persuaded that he should most successfully realize his views of aggrandizement by entering into a league with Hyder against Mohammed and that foreign power, of which he was rendering himself the instrument; and accordingly these two parties, who were so lately vowing each other's destruction, united in an offensive treaty against our countrymen. Colonel Smith, both from his own observation and from notices given by his faithful ally, soon obtained a clear perception of this change in the position of affairs. It bore rather a serious aspect, considering the distance to which he had advanced into the enemy's territory; but on his remonstrances the nizam concurred in the propriety of his retreat, only desiring that a corps of three

battalions should remain with him,—a request which was very unaccountably complied with. Yet the Indian prince, on this occasion, displayed honourable feelings very unusual with persons of the same class. Before commencing hostilities he allowed the whole detachment to depart, except five companies, and afterwards these also, without the least molestation.

Colonel Smith, seeing himself now threatened by the united attack of these two great powers, with an army of 43,000 horse and 28,000 foot, while he himself had only 6000 foot and 1000 horse, limited his efforts to fortifying the passes of the Ghauts by which they might be expected to descend into the Carnatic; but, from ignorance of the local positions, he left undefended those very openings which were the most favourable for their purpose. Through these they very easily penetrated, and, threatening the rear of his column, obliged him instantly to fall back. The confederates attacked him near Changama, but were completely repulsed; though, in consequence of their horsemen having plundered the slender store of rice belonging to his army, this victory was converted almost into a defeat, and he was obliged to retreat day and night till he reached Trinomalee. The war now assumed a most alarming aspect. The British officer indeed had his force raised to ten thousand, for the most part regular infantry, which gave him a superiority in the field; but his cavalry were few and inefficient, while the enemy covered all the country with the finest light-horse in the world, which cut off all his supplies, and left him no command over any spot beyond that on which he was actually encamped. At the same time Tippoo, son of Hyder Ali, afterwards so deadly an enemy to the English name, then only a boy of seventeen, made a rapid excursion with 5000 horse to the vicinity of Madras, and had nearly surprised several of the European residents in their country-houses. The Indian princes expected to see their adversary reduced to extremity by the want of provisions; but this was averted by the discovery of some hidden stores, which, according to national custom, had been buried in the earth. The nizam, imprudent and impatient, insisted

that they should no longer wait the slow operation of famine, but bring on a general action. They made the attack at Trinomalee, confident in their superior numbers and vast masses of cavalry; but Smith, by an able movement round a mountain, and by the skill with which his artillery was served, completely baffled the efforts of this great though irregular host. The pursuit was marked by a singular occurrence. The Indian chief, according to his absurd practice, had ranged in the rear a long line of elephants, on which his favourite ladies, seated in pomp, surveyed the battle. When the field was seen to be lost, orders were sent that this cavalcade should retreat at full speed; but a female voice, issuing from a splendid vehicle borne by one of these animals, exclaimed, "This elephant has not been instructed so to turn: he follows the standard of the empire!" The consequence was, that before the flag passed several of these huge quadrupeds had fallen, and the balls were already flying among the fair fugitives.

The nizam, on witnessing these disasters and the disappointment of all his hopes of aggrandizement at the expense of the English, began to waver in the alliance. Another check sustained near Amboor, and the invasion of his territory by a detachment from Bengal, confirmed him in the resolution to withdraw himself from Hyder, and agree to a separate treaty, which was concluded on the 23d February 1768. Under the pressure of such circumstances he obtained tolerable terms; but was obliged to confirm the grant of the Circars made by the Mogul. There were to be paid to him, however, five lacks annually; not in name of tribute for this district, but as a friendly subsidy. Even from this there was to be deducted, for the expenses of the war, twenty-five millions, at the rate of three every year. Nor was any opposition to be made to the appropriation by the British of a considerable extent of Hyder's dominions.

The presidency of Madras felt now the highest exultation, and sent immediate orders to Colonel Smith to enter Mysore, and strike a blow at the centre of Hyder's power. That officer represented the impossibility of subsisting his army in the elevated and barren

territory around Bangalore, which upon this plan must have been the first object of attack. He rather proposed, in the first instance, to occupy the fertile country extending along the foot of the Ghauts, and make it the basis of future movements. The council adopted the very questionable policy of combining these two plans; directing Smith to march upon Bangalore, while Colonel Wood with a separate detachment should conduct operations in the district adjoining the mountains. With this scheme they coupled the very injudicious measure of sending two commissioners to direct and assist, but more properly to obstruct the proceedings of the commander, while they engaged Mohammed Ali, the most unfit of all persons, to collect the revenue of the conquered territory. This plan was meantime favoured by the advance of some British troops from Bombay, who had reduced Mangalore, Onore, and other important places on the western coast. Colonel Wood was thus enabled to overrun all the territory against which his arms were directed, capturing every post of consequence, while Smith arrived in the vicinity of Bangalore, and made preparations to besiege that important key of the kingdom. Thus in a few months Hyder had lost one-half of his dominions, and saw the centre of his power menaced. Having, however, in the first instance, directed his whole force against the western districts, he succeeded in completely retrieving affairs there, and driving the English out of all the places which they had occupied. He then returned to the eastward to make head against the Madras army, which, though it had subdued an extensive tract of country, held it by a very precarious tenure. His numerical force was indeed much diminished by the defection of the nizam; but the remaining troops, being entirely under his own guidance, proved nearly as effective. The presidency incessantly urged Smith to besiege Bangalore, as the only step by which the war could be brought to a crisis; but he replied that it was impossible to do so without previously defeating Hyder's army; and though that chief continually hovered round and harassed the English, he skilfully shunned a general action. Sensible, however, of the great superiority of his

opponents, he showed a willingness to submit to very considerable sacrifices. He even offered to relinquish the frontier district of Baramahl, and to pay ten lacks of rupees for the expenses of the war; but the leading persons at the presidency, still buoyed up with hopes of conquest, made such enormous demands, both of money and territory, as confirmed his resolution to persevere in arms. The council, on pretence of consulting Smith, recalled him to Madras, leaving the command with Colonel Wood, who had gained reputation by his rapid subjection of the lower districts. This officer, however, proved himself wholly unable to contend with Hyder. Being surprised at Baugloor, he was obliged to retreat with confusion and loss, and must have suffered greatly but for the prompt arrival of Major Fitzgerald with a reinforcement. He was forthwith sent a prisoner to Madras, and the charge devolved on the officer just named.

The British force had now been considerably weakened by remaining so long in the open field, insufficiently supplied with food, and exposed to the unfavourable influences of the climate. The Indian chief, who had gained continual accessions of strength, determined on a bold movement, not in front of the English, but by one of his circuitous marches among the hills. First his general, and then himself, aided by their thorough knowledge of the passes of the Ghauts, descended suddenly into the level country of Coimbatore and Baramahl, with the conquest of which our countrymen had been so highly elated. He found the Company's troops scattered in numerous small bodies, and occupying indefensible positions, which fell one after another, almost without resistance, while several were betrayed by the native commandants; so that in six weeks he had re-annexed to his territory all these boasted acquisitions. On this occasion a detachment under Captain Nixon being surrounded by the whole force of the enemy, was, after a gallant resistance, almost entirely destroyed. Hyder then marched upon Erood, which was under the command of Captain Orton, whom he invited to come to his tent under promise of safety. This officer, with a rashness which Wilks can only

account for by supposing that he had previously dined, went and placed himself in the power of his enemy. The rajah, it is said, always piqued himself upon not breaking faith without some plausible ground; but there happened to be in the English army a captain named Robinson, who was formerly a prisoner and released on his parole, which he had not scrupled to violate. On this pretext he not only detained Orton, but induced him, by force or threats, to sign an order to Robinson to surrender the important fortress of Eroad,—a mandate which the latter thought it his duty to obey. The same pretext was used for breaking the capitulations with the troops in the garrison of Caveriporam, and sending them to Seringapatam, where they were immured in dungeons, and treated with the utmost severity.

Hyder, in his triumphant progress, now began to menace the rear of his adversaries; and the English, awakening from their dreams of conquest, saw the depôts and posts on which their military operations rested, in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Their pride was so far lowered, that they despatched Captain Brooke to attempt a negotiation with the sovereign of Mysore. The latter received him extremely well, and seems to have explained his views with a candour not usual in the tortuous proceedings of oriental policy. He declared that it was, and had always been, his earnest wish to be on good terms with the British, an object defeated solely by themselves and their worthless ally, Mohammed Ali. He confessed that this desire was prompted by an enlarged view of his own interest, especially as being liable to a periodical visitation from the Mahrattas, whose usual time was now fast approaching. He frankly owned to Brooke, that as he was quite unable to resist both them and the English, he might find it advisable in such an extremity to form a union with them against his European enemies,—an arrangement in which he would find little difficulty. He desired him, therefore, to assure the council that no time must be lost in making him either friend or foe. The presidency accordingly sent Mr. Andrews, an individual greatly in their confidence, to the Indian camp; but still their

terms were too high. Hostilities were resumed, and Smith being restored to the command, checked the progress of the marauder, who, however, engaged at last in a most daring enterprise. With a body of 6000 chosen cavalry, and 200 picked infantry, he made a rapid sweep of 130 miles in less than four days, and appeared within five miles of Madras to the astonished council, who, then thoroughly awakened from their dreams of ambition, were seized with the deepest feelings of despondency. The British army could easily have returned in time to secure the fort; and they had only to fear the plunder of the country-seats, and perhaps of the native town, though this last danger is considered as doubtful; but they agreed at once to the demands which he made, that Colonel Smith should be ordered to suspend his march, and that M. Dupré, nominated as the future governor, should come out to settle the basis of a peace. In the present temper of the belligerents, the negotiation was neither long nor difficult. A treaty was concluded in April 1769, on the condition of placing the possessions of both parties, with scarcely an exception, on the same footing as before the war. Hyder solicited an alliance offensive and defensive; the English granted only the last, which, however, was found to involve them in all the responsibility that, by refusing the first, they had sought to escape.

Having thus terminated with advantage and glory this great contest with the British, he felt himself better prepared to encounter a still more formidable enemy. The Mahrattas, under Madoo Rao, entered his dominions with a force supposed to be at least double that of his army, and led by able commanders. He endeavoured a second time to check them by laying waste his territory; but the invaders, as before, surmounted every obstacle, and, forming a regular plan of conquest, reduced successively all his strong places, and committed the most monstrous cruelties. At one fortress, which had made an obstinate resistance, the barbarian leader ordered the noses and ears of the garrison to be cut off; and sending for the governor, asked if he was not conscious of deserving to be thus mutilated and disgraced? The other re-

plied:—"The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace yours;" an answer, the truth of which so forcibly struck the Mahratta, that he dismissed him uninjured.

Madoo Rao being obliged, by severe indisposition, to yield the command to Trimbeck Mama, Hyder determined to make a stand, and intrenched his army in a very strong position covered by a range of rugged mountains. The new general did not attempt directly to force this camp, but pointed against it day after day such a harassing cannonade, that the Mysorean chief at length determined to fall back upon his capital. He began his march early in the night, hoping before morning to be beyond reach of the enemy; but the rash discharge of a gun by one of the officers betrayed the secret, and the numerous squadrons of Mahratta horse were soon in full pursuit. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The critical condition of the army had not prevented Hyder from indulging in habits of evening inebriety, to which he had become addicted, and which now rendered him wholly unfit for directing the movement of the troops. Having in this state met his son Tippoo, he assailed him with the bitterest reproaches; then seizing a thick cane, applied it to his back with such vehemence, that the marks remained visible for upwards of a week. The prince, burning with indignation, went to the head of his division, dashed to the ground his turban, sword, and splendid robe, exclaiming:—"My father may fight his own battle, for I swear by Allah and his prophet that I draw no sword to-day." The army, thus left to itself, soon became a crowd of scattered fugitives, and their bold leader, while the Mahrattas were busied in plunder, mounted a fleet horse, and almost alone reached Seringapatam. Tippoo, having assumed an humble garb, begged his way undiscovered through the midst of the enemy, and arrived the same night in the capital.

Trimbeck Mama immediately marched upon that city, and seemed on the very point of putting a period at once to the career of the great usurper. The Mahrattas, however, possessed no skill adequate to the siege of so strong a fortress. They kept up

during a month a daily cannonade, which produced no effect, while the resources of Hyder were constantly recruited. He now proceeded to operate with success on their rear, and, after a tedious and desultory warfare of a year and a half, prevailed on them to accept the terms which he offered; namely, the cession of a great part of his northern dominions, and the immediate payment of fifteen lacks of rupees, and fifteen more *hereafter*,—a term of which he fully understood the value.

The English during this war did not fulfil their engagement to aid the Mysorean ruler in the defence of his dominions. After it was concluded, the Company wrote to their principal officers, strongly condemning their interference in the wars of the Carnatic, the formation of any alliances which might involve them in hostilities, and particularly the supplying arms and ships to Hyder, or any other native power. To enforce these views, Sir John Lindsay was sent out as a sort of minister-plenipotentiary, to act as a check upon the council. He, however, soon went much beyond his commission, for he formed a close intimacy with the nabob Mohammed Ali, whom he joined in urging that the presidency should embrace the cause of the invaders. They successfully resisted so gross a violation of their treaty; but these opposite impulses rendered the whole conduct of the British weak and vacillating. The Court, on being made acquainted with the doings of Sir John, superseded him, and appointed in his place Admiral Harland, commander of the fleet, to whom such instructions were given as were expected to prevent a similar collision. But he, neglecting their advice, proceeded in the very same manner, opening treaties of his own accord, and urging to warlike operations. The Court at length gave up this ill-judged attempt to check the council by a separate and co-ordinate power. The anxiety of the Company to follow a neutral and pacific system, and the total absence of any wish for a farther acquisition of territory, was, however, strongly impressed upon them.

Hyder, as soon as he had extricated himself from this invasion, employed the most active exertions to regain his lost territory;

turning his attention first to the Malabar coast, the communication with which could only be maintained through the intervening district of Coorg. He suddenly invaded that country, which he found almost wholly unprepared, and made a singular display of barbarian cruelty. He proclaimed a reward of five rupees for every head presented to him, and sat in state to receive and pay for these bloody trophies; but after seven hundred heads had been brought in, there appeared two with such peculiarly fine and handsome features, that he was moved with unwonted pity, and ordered the carnage to cease. Coorg was subdued; and the once powerful state of Calicut, distracted by internal commotions, scarcely made any resistance. His next aim was to recover the extensive territories wrested from him by the Mahrattas; and in this he was much favoured by the distractions in which that powerful confederacy was soon involved. Madoo Rao, their warlike chief, died in 1772, and after a short interval was succeeded by Ragonaut Rao, better known under the name of Ragoba, whose authority, however, was by no means fully acknowledged. The Mysorean prince, therefore, fearlessly entered and overran a large portion of the ceded country. Ragoba, indeed, hastened to its defence, but being recalled by a violent insurrection, which ended in the overthrow of his power, he concluded a treaty allowing Hyder to occupy all the provinces south of the Kistna. Another army sent afterwards under Hurry Punt, the leader of the party which expelled Ragoba, penetrated into Mysore; but the rajah, having gained over a detachment of the Mahratta troops, baffled all his attempts, and obliged him to desist.

Immediately after the treaty with Ragoba, the indefatigable Hyder began operations against a number of independent chiefs, some of whom possessed fortresses on the borders, and others within the limits of his territory. Among the most remarkable of these was Gooty, the castle of Morari Rao, a fierce Mahratta freebooter, who had long acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of India. This stronghold consisted of numerous works, occupying the summit of several rocky hills. After the lower stations

had been reduced, the upper made so obstinate a defence that a treaty was agreed on, granting peace on the payment of a large amount of treasure. A young man sent as a hostage, being well entertained in Hyder's camp, was induced to betray the secret cause of submission, namely, that there was only a supply of water for three days in the fort. He took no notice at the moment; but soon afterwards contriving to find a defect in the articles, he renewed the siege, and Morari Rao in the end was compelled to surrender at discretion. The most obstinate resistance was experienced from the Polygar of Chittledroog, who ruled over a warlike and fanatic tribe, called Beder. They had reared in the most elevated part of their citadel a shrine to Kalee or Doorga, the Indian goddess of destruction, and they firmly believed that, so long as it was duly served, the place would never fall. Every Monday morning solemn devotions were performed to the goddess; then a loud blast with the bugle was blown, upon which the garrison rushed forth in a desperate sally, with the object chiefly of procuring human heads to be ranged in pyramidal rows before the dread temple of the destroying deity. Although, contrary to every military rule, they thus gave to the enemy full warning of the period of attack, it was made with such fury, and at such various points, that the goddess was scarcely ever defrauded of her bloody offerings; and when the place fell, two thousand heads were found piled in front of her portal. Hyder was obliged by Mahratta invasion to abandon the siege, which, however, he afterwards renewed; but it was only through treason that the governor was obliged to own that the mighty spell of Kalee was broken, and to admit an enemy within the impregnable bulwarks of Chittledroog.

Deep discontent against the English was now rankling in the mind of Hyder. He had, as formerly mentioned, earnestly courted their alliance; for his own purposes, doubtless, but on the fair and honourable principle that the parties should mutually support each other against the overwhelming power of the Mahrattas. Their conduct, however, in the late war, when they saw

his very existence so long endangered without making a single effort to relieve him, seems to have thoroughly disgusted him. He gave up every hope of profiting by their alliance, and even centred all his prospects of aggrandizement in their destruction. The Mahrattas, again, whose councils had undergone a complete change, instead of threatening further invasion, sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and a treaty preparatory to that object was accordingly concluded. By a singular fatality, the views of the government at Madras had been altered in the opposite direction, having become sensible of the advantages which might be derived from a union with the chief of Mysore. They even made overtures for a close alliance, with promises of co-operation in case of attack from any foreign enemy. His irritation, however, seems to have been only heightened, by having that aid which was denied at his utmost need thus pressed upon him at a moment when he could maintain his own ground. At this crisis the war, consequent upon the American contest, broke out between France and England, and was extended to India. The subjects of Louis, with their usual diplomatic activity, immediately opened a communication with Hyder, whom they found most favourably disposed towards them; and he engaged accordingly in that confederacy to which his house so long adhered, and with results so fatal to their own interests.

As soon as hostilities commenced, the English government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India without any exception. Pondicherry soon fell; to which conquest no opposition was made by Hyder, who even pretended to congratulate them on their success. When, however, they announced their intention of reducing Mahé, on the Malabar coast, he decidedly objected,—urging, that the territory around it having been conquered by him, was now included in his dominions. The British, not considering this argument of sufficient weight to deter them from attacking a French fort, sent a body of troops, who speedily reduced the place, although the ambitious warrior gave all the aid he could at the moment supply,

in order to defend it. It has been supposed that his resentment at this step was one cause of the rooted enmity which he ever after displayed against England; but the real motives of his conduct probably lay deeper, and were connected with a more extended view of his peculiar interests.

The government at Madras, while they adopted a more judicious policy in regard to the chief of Mysore, unfortunately shut their eyes to the possibility of its failure, and could not be convinced that they were in any danger from his hostility. Yet he made no secret of his feelings, and seems even to have amused himself by trying how far he could proceed without rousing them from their security. They sent to him Swartz, the Danish missionary, a highly respectable and amiable man, whom he received with kindness; and on his return intrusted him with a letter, recounting a long list of wrongs sustained from the English, adding the ominous words—"I have not yet taken revenge: it is no matter." Mr. Gray was afterwards despatched to him, but seemingly very ill provided for an Indian mission, having no presents except a saddle and a gun, both of bad workmanship, which were disdainfully refused. He was lodged, or rather imprisoned, in a miserable shed near the capital, and annoyed with the impertinence of one of the court-menials. He obtained only formal audiences; while Mohammed Osmân, a confidential officer, brought to him messages by no means of an encouraging tenor. Hyder asked, "Of what avail were treaties? Of the treaty of 1769 the English had broken every article; his affairs had been reduced to the brink of ruin by their refusal to aid him against the Mahrattas: after such an example, it was unnecessary to enumerate minor grievances." As it was likewise evident that an expedition on a great scale was preparing in Mysore, Mohammed Ali represented to the government in the strongest manner the impending danger, and the necessity of taking the most vigorous steps to prevent it. But his system of policy was no longer in favour with the council; everything hostile to the rajah was disregarded as coming from one who had long misled them on this subject. The government

were therefore completely unprepared for the tremendous blow which was about to be struck.

Early in June 1780, after prayers had been offered in the mosques, and the solemn ceremony called *jebbum* performed by the Hindoos, for the success of the proposed expedition, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, and found mustered on the frontier perhaps the finest army that had ever taken the field in Southern India. It consisted of 28,000 cavalry, 15,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 troops of the class called peons, many of whom, however, were veterans,—in all, 83,000, besides 2000 rocket-men, 5000 pioneers, and about 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changama, and began a career of devastation in the Carnatic, which he covered with the most dreadful suffering. A few days after, while the ruling party in the council would scarcely admit the existence of danger, black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen approaching within a few miles of Madras.\*

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

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\* Colonel Wilks, however, controverts the idea generally received that the whole country was reduced to ashes. This would have been contrary to Hyder's object in pursuing a plan of conquest; he merely drew round the capital a wide circle of desolation, calculating that a tedious blockade would be necessary to reduce so strong a city.

The next object was to unite into one army the different detachments spread over the country; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced far into the interior with a view to offensive operations. This corps amounted to 2800 men, the main body not exceeding 5200. Lord Macleod, who had recently arrived in India, and held the actual command, strongly, and apparently with reason, recommended that the point of junction should be fixed in front of Madras, not in the heart of a province entirely occupied by the enemy. Sir Hector Monro, the commander-in-chief, however, undertook to unite the armies at Conjeveram, fifty miles distant from the capital; but Baillie, in order to reach that place, was obliged to take an inland route, in which he was exposed to the hazard of being attacked by the whole force of the invader. He was detained ten days by the swelling of the river Cortelaur, and, after effecting his passage, was assailed by a large detachment under Tippoo, which he repulsed, but not without sustaining some loss. Hyder then, under cover of a feigned movement against Sir Hector, interposed his whole army between the two English divisions. They were then only fourteen miles distant, within hearing of each other's cannon, and, could they have acted in concert, would have easily defeated the irregular host opposed to them. Baillie wrote, urging Sir Hector to join him; but this commander, conceiving that he would thereby lose Conjeveram with its small supply of provisions and stores, chose rather to send to his support Colonel Fletcher, at the head of 1000 soldiers,—a most hazardous movement across a country already covered by the enemy's detachments. Yet Fletcher, with great skill and activity, and by deceiving his own deceitful guides, succeeded, amid every danger, in joining the corps that he was ordered to assist, which he raised to upwards of 3700 men. Hyder burst into the most furious invectives against his officers for not having prevented this union; and the French, conceiving it preparatory to a combined attack by these two divisions, exhorted the chief, by a speedy retreat, to shun a general action. The rajah had formed a juster estimate of

those with whom he was to contend. Colonel Baillie first attempted a night-march, by which a great extent of ground might have been gained, and where, in case of a battle, superior discipline would have given him the advantage; but meeting with some obstacles, he determined, contrary to Fletcher's advice, to delay till morning. Departing at dawn, he soon found himself opposed by the entire strength of the Mysore army. The English troops were at first harassed only by flying detachments; but when they came into a narrow and exposed part of the road, upwards of fifty pieces of cannon began to play upon them with the most terrible effect. The several narratives vary somewhat as to the farther issues of this dreadful day. According to official and other statements, our countrymen repulsed repeated charges with prodigies of valour. Their bravery indeed is nowhere denied; but private accounts assert that Baillie, quite unaccustomed to a separate command, and fleeing in an agitated manner from post to post, took no fixed position, and did not avail himself of his real advantages. The grenadiers called out to be led on, and not exposed without the means of resistance to the destructive fire of the enemy. Suddenly two tumbrils exploded, spreading dismay, and threatening a failure of ammunition. The Mysorean cavalry, headed by a desperado named Scindia, made a furious onset, by which the whole sepoy force was broken, and mingled with the enemy in inextricable confusion. The handful of British troops still kept their ground; but as no hope could be entertained of their being able to withstand the whole army of Hyder, Baillie advanced into the front, waved his handkerchief, and concluded that he had obtained the promise of quarter. But when the enemy rushed in, either disregarding their pledge, or indignant at a straggling fire which was still kept up by the sepoys, they treated the troops with the utmost cruelty, stabbing those already wounded, and even women and children. The only humanity exercised was through the exertions of the French officers Lally and Pimorin. The greater part of the corps perished on the field; all the rest, including 200 Europeans, were taken prisoners.

Such was this miserable catastrophe, on which Colonel Wilks hesitates not to pronounce, that if either of the commanders had followed the dictates of ordinary experience, both corps would have been saved; and if the two chiefs had acted well, the discomfiture would have been on the side of the enemy. Sir Hector approached within two miles of the fatal spot; but observing the firing cease and no return made to his signals, he withdrew; and, on learning the fate of the detachment, fell back to Chingleput, where he was joined by a smaller party under Colonel Cosby, who had conducted his retreat with ability and success. The prisoners were conveyed to Seringapatam, where they were used with the greatest inhumanity. All those not wounded were put in irons, and lodged in a kind of open shed, with sleeping-places at the corners, supplied simply with mats. Only sixpence a-day was allowed for food, and no medicine was provided under the severe maladies caused by this mode of life, and to which many fell victims.

The first advantage that the ruler of Mysore drew from this victory was the reduction of Arcot, which, after a respectable defence, surrendered on the 3d November 1780. He held also in close siege Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other important bulwarks of the Carnatic.

The intelligence of this signal disaster being conveyed to the chief seat of government at Calcutta, Mr. Hastings immediately took the most active steps to repair it. Sir Eyre Coote, a veteran officer enjoying the highest military reputation of any in India, was appointed to the chief command, and sent from Bengal with 560 European troops, while a corps of sepoys prepared to march along the coast as soon as the rainy season should terminate. At the same time the governor of Madras was suspended, and his place in course supplied by the senior member of council, who had always opposed his inactive policy; but the funds for the prosecution of the war were placed in the hands of the new commander-in-chief.

General Coote, on arriving at the presidency, and preparing to take the field, found at his disposal not more than 7000 men, of

whom 1700 only were Europeans. Yet with this force, so far from fearing, he anxiously desired to encounter in the field the numerous, brave, and well-commanded troops of the enemy. What he dreaded was the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder in a country which he had already converted almost into a desert. The English army, when it left Madras, was like a ship departing on a long voyage, or a caravan preparing to cross the deserts of Arabia. Everything by which life could be supported must be carried along with it; and the soldiers, continuing to depend on the capital alone for supply, were in danger of absolute famine. As they moved in a close body through this desolated region, never occupying more than the ground which they actually covered, clouds of the enemy's cavalry hovered round them; who, finding that they did not choose to waste their ammunition on individual objects, even rode up to the line, and held an occasional parley, uttering from time to time a fierce defiance or an invitation to single combat. Dallas, an officer of great personal prowess, successfully encountered several of the Indian chiefs, and his name was called out by the most daring of the champions. In this mode of fighting, however, the natives in general had the advantage.

Harassing as such a warfare was, and though the Mysorean chief continued to refuse battle, he was obliged to raise the siege of every place upon which the English directed their march. In this manner the important fortresses of Wandewash and Permacoil were relieved and a stop was thereby put to the career of the enemy. The British commander, however, in following the rapid movements of this indefatigable adversary, found his troops so exhausted, and reduced to such destitution, as left no prospect of relief except in a general action, which he scarcely hoped to accomplish. But Hyder at length, encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, and by a repulse sustained by our countrymen in attacking the pagoda of Chillumbrum, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, where he at once maintained his communication with the sea, and cut off the supplies of

his opponent. This station was extremely formidable; but Sir Eyre Coote skilfully leading his men through a passage formed by the enemy for a different purpose, drew them up in the face of several powerful batteries as well as of a vast body of cavalry, and finally carried all before him. The rajah, seated on a portable stool upon an eminence in the rear of the army, was struck with amazement at the success of the attack, and burst into the most furious passion; refusing for some time to move from the spot, till a trusty old servant almost by force drew the slippers on his legs, and placed him on a swift horse, which bore him out of the reach of danger.

This victory enabled the English commander to relieve Wandewash a second time, which was again closely pressed by Tippoo; but it did not supply his urgent want of money, provisions, and equipments. After sundry marches and countermatches, Hyder once more took the field, and waited battle in a position chosen by himself, being no other than the fortunate spot, as he deemed it, near the village of Polilloor, where he had gained the triumph over the corps of Colonel Baillie. Here General Coote led his troops to an action which proved more bloody than decisive; for though he placed them in various positions, he found them everywhere severely annoyed by a cross-fire from the enemy. Mr. Mill's authorities even assert, that his movements were paralyzed by a dispute with Sir Hector Monro, and that had the Mysorean captain made a vigorous charge he would have completely carried the day. But he at length yielded the ground on which the battle was fought, and the English reached it over the dead bodies of their yet unburied countrymen, who had fallen in the former action. The natives, according to some accounts, boasted of this encounter as a complete victory; but Colonel Wilks says they represented it merely as a drawn battle, which was not very far from the truth.

Neither the fame nor strength of the British army was much improved by this engagement. The commander, however, having learned that the important fortress of Vellore was besieged and reduced to extremity, determined upon a vigorous attempt to relieve

it; and having understood that Hyder was posted at Sholinghur, resolved upon another effort to bring him to action. On the morning of the 27th September, he pushed forward with such vigour as very nearly to surprise the Indians before their ranks could be fully formed. They rallied, indeed, and made several brisk charges, but were finally obliged to betake themselves to flight with the loss of 5000 men, while only a hundred fell on the side of the assailants. General Coote was thus enabled, though not without difficulty, to march upon Vellore, the siege of which was abandoned on his approach.

The war continued with various fortune. Intelligence having been received of hostilities between the English and Dutch, Lord Macartney, now governor of Madras, formed the design of reducing Negapatam, the capital of their settlements; and, upon finding Sir Eyre Coote opposed to the measure, he completed, without drawing any from the main army, a detachment of 4000 men, placed under the command of Sir Hector Monro. The enterprise was conducted with the greatest vigour, and five successive lines of redoubts were carried by the besiegers with such energy and intrepidity, that the garrison, though consisting of about 8000, capitulated in fourteen days. All the other Dutch settlements on the same coast fell along with it; and even their important station of Trincomalee, on the island of Ceylon, was carried by storm.

Meantime Colonel Brathwaite, at the head of 2000 men, was recovering for the English their ascendancy in Tanjore; though his corps, when the whole country was occupied by the Mysorean cavalry, seems to have been too small to remain with safety detached from the main army. Hyder not only cut off from the British all sources of accurate information, but studied to deceive them: all the spies who pretended to give them intelligence were in his pay; and Brathwaite remained encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, without a suspicion that the flower of the enemy's forces were hemming him in on every side. Even when assured of the fact by one of the natives, he was so misled by opposite intimations as to think the assertion unworthy of credit, till he

found himself enclosed by an army of more than ten times his number. All accounts agree that the resistance of this devoted little corps was truly gallant, and that, during the protracted contest, they repulsed repeated and desperate attacks. But at length an onset by the French troops broke the sepoys; the whole were thrown into confusion, and finally either killed or obliged to surrender. The French officers displayed their usual humanity, and even Tippoo, who commanded, did not on this occasion treat the prisoners with his accustomed barbarity.

Notwithstanding this triumph, Hyder felt deep anxiety as to his future prospects. He learned that, through the indefatigable exertions made by Mr. Hastings from Bengal, the Mahratta government had withdrawn from his alliance, and had even bound themselves to guarantee the British territory as it stood at the period of their last treaty. At the same time a detachment, which he had sent to besiege Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, met with a very unexpected resistance; they were not only unable to make any impression, but, on a strong reinforcement being received from Bombay, were beaten and compelled to surrender. So much depressed was he by these unfavourable circumstances, that he had even formed the design of evacuating the Carnatic, when tidings arrived of a strong body of French troops having arrived on the coast; and accordingly, on the 10th March, they landed to the amount of 3000. These auxiliaries and their allies, regarding themselves now decidedly superior in the field, immediately laid siege to Cuddalore, which, having been imperfectly provided with the means of defence, surrendered almost without resistance. They then proceeded to attack the important position of Wandewash; but General Coote having presented himself, and offered battle for its relief, the combined army, with all its boasted strength, declined that issue and retreated towards Pondicherry. The British general followed, and defeated them with considerable loss near Arnee. At the same time he threw supplies into Vellore, and undertook an expedition against Cuddalore, which failed only through the want of naval co-operation. Thus, even

after obtaining a powerful reinforcement from France, Hyder remained still unable to face the English army in the open field.

In the meanwhile, the latter were employing vigorous efforts to make an impression on the side of Malabar. After the triumphant repulse of the enemy from Tellicherry, Major Abingdon reduced Calicut; and Colonel Humberstone, an able and intelligent officer, landed with additional strength from Bombay, which rendered the British completely masters of the field. The Nairs, hailing him as a deliverer, immediately joined their forces to his, and the combined troops proceeded into the interior. The enemy having imprudently waited their approach in a disadvantageous position, with a river in their rear, were totally defeated, and a great number drowned in the flight. Yet, on advancing into the country, the conqueror found himself so encumbered by the difficulties of the march, and harassed by parties acting in his rear, that he was obliged to commence his retreat. This movement it was soon necessary to make very rapid, as Tippoo and Lally had hastened with a large army to retrieve the Mysorean interests on this coast. The English fell back to Paniani, where Colonel Macleod, who arrived to take the command, intrenched himself so strongly, that Tippoo was repulsed with a severe loss. This prince, however, was preparing with a superior force to renew the attack, when he was recalled by an event of the most momentous character, to which he very naturally considered every other as secondary.

Hyder's health had for some time been in a state of rapid decline, and symptoms now appeared of that severe imposthume called the rajhura, or royal boil, said to be peculiar to the country, and even to the higher ranks. When decidedly formed, it baffles the skill of the native physicians, and invariably proves fatal. He expired on the 7th of December 1782, at an age not precisely ascertained, but believed to have exceeded eighty. Of the numerous race of Indian adventurers he was perhaps the most remarkable. Destitute of the first elements of education, unable to write or read, he made his way to the throne of a mighty kingdom,

which he governed with brilliant talent and profound political wisdom, though without the least tincture of honour, principle, or humanity. His death formed a crisis the most alarming for the power which he had reared. An Indian army is held together by no sentiment of patriotism, public duty, or professional character, but simply by fealty to their chief, and reliance on their pay. When their leader disappears, his soldiers are converted from an organized body to a scattered crowd of individuals, who either disperse entirely or are formed into bands, each following the leader who attaches them to him by his exploits, or can bribe them by his wealth. This danger was great as it respected the family of Hyder, whose active mind was the soul of every movement in the court and army. His sagacity, however, enabled him to choose instruments who, in the hour of trial, proved faithful to himself and his house.

The affairs of his treasury were administered by the joint instrumentality of Poornea and Kishen Rao, two Bramins of opposite sects, speaking different languages, and serving as checks upon each other. These two persons, as soon as they saw Hyder's last hour approaching, formed in concert the extraordinary design of concealing it from the army and the world. The state of his health had for some time prevented him from receiving any but his most confidential servants; to them the two treasurers, with awful injunctions of secrecy, communicated the fact; while to all the others they gave regular reports of the progress of the malady, which they still represented as favourable. Only Mohammed Ameen, cousin-german to the monarch, with another chief, contrived the plan of raising to power his second son, a youth of defective intellect, as a pageant in whose name they themselves might govern. But their plot was discovered; and they were apprehended and sent off under a strong guard, as if by the personal orders of the sovereign. The instant that the rajah expired, his faithful ministers despatched notice to his eldest son, which reached him in four days. Tippoo instantly suspended his operations against the English, and accomplished a march with extreme

rapidity across the peninsula. As he approached, and learned that everything was tranquil, he slackened his speed, and on the 2d January 1783, made a private entry into the camp, where, after the usual distribution of pay and donatives, he was soon recognised as commander of the army and as sovereign of Mysore. He had now at his disposal troops estimated at 88,000 men, and a treasure amounting to three millions sterling, besides a great store of jewels and other precious effects.

Notwithstanding this studied concealment, the government at Madras received early notice of the death of Hyder. They immediately transmitted the intelligence to their commander-in-chief, urging him to make a rapid movement to take advantage of that disorganization which usually follows such a crisis in an Indian government. But unfortunately the most violent insubordination and dissension reigned among the different members of the council themselves. The dictatorial power, independent of the civil government, intrusted to Sir Eyre Coote, was perhaps necessary under the circumstances of that period, and had been attended with signal advantage in the conduct of the war; but it formed a precedent to which future commanders were too much inclined to appeal. General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre, claimed equal authority; while Lord Macartney required the entire subordination of the military to the civil administration. The former, to vindicate his supposed right, seems to have acted in studious opposition to the instructions issued by the presidency. He first expressed doubts of the death of Hyder; then said that he would move at the proper time; next declared that his army was in no condition to march; and, in short, did not undertake anything till thirteen days after Tippoo was fully established in the sovereignty.

This state of dissension between the civil and military authorities, each seeking rather to inculcate the other than to promote public objects, could not but be highly injurious to the service. The supreme government seem to have laid the chief blame upon that of Madras. They say, "You favour us with a collected

mass of complaint and invective against this government; against the Nabob of Arcot and his ministers; against the commander-in-chief of all the forces in India; against the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet; against your own provincial commander-in-chief; and again, against this government." It was observed, that the efforts of the presidency, when they had the entire management of the war and the most liberal supplies, had been altogether unavailing for the delivery of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote was accordingly sent to resume the command, with nearly the same unlimited powers as before, to which Lord Macartney very decidedly objected. But the gallant general, overcome by the hardships of the voyage, suffered a renewal of some former disease, and expired on the 26th April 1783, two days after reaching Madras, and about four months after the decease of the great Indian prince whose career he had checked.

The war in the Carnatic had now assumed an aspect favourable beyond expectation. Tippoo, from causes which we shall presently notice, considering the west of India as having become the principal theatre of hostilities, withdrew his troops from the former place, in order that he might act in the latter with more effect. In consequence of his departure it was determined to attack Cuddalore, where the French had now concentrated their main strength. As this place was receiving continual reinforcements, it was desirable to proceed speedily to its investment; but the Madras government lodged heavy complaints of the tardy progress made by General Stuart, who performed only a daily march of three miles, and thus required forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, to reach his destination. He was censured also for immediately calling Colonel Fullerton from Tanjore, an expedient which was understood to be reserved for a case of urgent necessity. The fact, however, appears to have been, that with every reinforcement which could be obtained, the task was beyond his strength. Bussy, the French commander, had under him a numerous and brave army, with a considerable body of native troops. In an attack, which took place on the 13th June, the

English gained indeed the contested position, but with the loss of upwards of a thousand men. The garrison was afterwards repulsed with considerable loss in a midnight sally;\* yet Suffrein, the French admiral, having made himself master of the sea, and landed no fewer than 2400 men, the enemy acquired a decided superiority, and prepared for an enterprise which threatened the most disastrous consequences to the British. Stuart, irritated and disgusted, and considering himself abandoned by the government at Madras, had recklessly determined to expose his followers to whatever hazard the course of things might present. At this critical moment, however, tidings arrived that peace was concluded between the two nations. Bussy soon after suspended offensive operations, and even sent orders to his countrymen to withdraw from the service of Tippoo, offering likewise his mediation between the two belligerent parties; but, though some advances were made, they were not productive of any immediate result.

We shall now turn our attention to the proceedings on the western coast, which were rapidly rising in importance. After Tippoo had retired so hastily to make good his claim to the crown, the English became again decidedly superior; having obtained a very considerable reinforcement under General Mathews, who assumed the command. That officer received from the presidency of Bombay positive orders to commence operations, and push forward without delay, by the most direct road, against the important city of Bednore. Instructions thus peremptory, issued by a civil government placed at so great a distance, were manifestly inexpedient. Mathews wrote, remonstrating in the strongest manner against the danger of the course thus prescribed, and the disadvantage of depriving him of discretionary power; and yet, though there must be always some measure of discretion implied in such circumstances, he proceeded precipitately to carry his orders into effect. He landed his troops at the point of the coast nearest to Bednore, and began to scale the steepest part of the Ghauts,

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\* Bernadotte, the late King of Sweden, was taken prisoner in this action, and treated by General Wangenheim with a humanity which he afterwards cordially acknowledged.

regardless of several detachments of the enemy which were hovering on his flank and rear. He experienced a degree of success which there was little room to anticipate; everything gave way before him, and Bednore itself surrendered without a blow. He is supposed to have found in that city a treasure exceeding £800,000; and was accused of appropriating to himself a considerable portion of it; but, from the events which followed, this charge could never be fully investigated. It would appear from Colonel Wilks, that treason, unknown to the general, had afforded the means of his triumph. Sheik Ayâz, the governor, had been raised to a high command by Hyder, who was accustomed to reproach Tippoo with the superior qualities of this slave as contrasted with his own. Hence the prince conceived the most deadly hatred against the favourite, who, soon after the late monarch's decease, intercepted a letter from the new sultan ordering him to be put to death. Under this impulse, he hastened to the citadel, and effected its delivery to the English. He did not, however, join in active warfare against his cruel master, but contented himself on his approach with retiring to the coast.

Tippoo was greatly annoyed on learning the fall of this important place, and the near advance of the enemy towards his capital. Mathews was soon informed that successive corps were throwing themselves on his rear, and surrounding him with a force against which he would be unable to cope. He had by this time obtained permission from the Bombay government to act according to his own discretion; but he was now so elated by his easy victory, that he placed blind confidence in fortune, and even, according to certain statements, believed himself aided by some supernatural power. Thus, reposing in full security, he allowed his communications with the sea to be intercepted, while his troops were surrounded by Tippoo's whole force, aided by the science of Cossigny, a French engineer. The garrison were driven into the citadel, and, after a brave defence, were reduced to the necessity of capitulating, though on favourable terms, receiving a promise that they should be safely conducted to the coast. When the

Indian prince obtained admission into Bednore, he proceeded to the treasury; but, to his rage and dismay, found it empty. Orders were then given to search the persons of the English officers, on which unhappily was found a large sum both in money and jewels, considered always in that country as public property. Upon this discovery he considered himself absolved from all that he had stipulated; the prisoners were thrown into irons, and committed to the most rigorous durance in the different fortresses of Mysore.

The sultan immediately marching down to the low district, invested Mangalore, which, though a fortress of very secondary strength, was defended in the most gallant manner by Colonel Campbell. Having stood a siege of fifty-six days, it was reduced almost to a heap of ruins, when tidings arrived of the peace concluded between France and England. The French officers, Cosigny, Lally, and Boudenot, then withdrew with their troops from the army of Tippoo,—a measure viewed with great indignation by that prince, who considered them as united to him in a personal alliance during the war. Indeed it was not without difficulty that they escaped the effects of his resentment. Having made some vain attempts to prosecute the siege alone, he at length agreed to an armistice, which was to extend over the whole coast of Malabar. One condition was, that a certain supply of provisions, sufficient to keep up the present stock, should be allowed to enter Mangalore every month. But, although this stipulation was nominally observed, its spirit was completely violated, the food provided being so deficient in quantity, and of such very bad quality, that the health of the garrison rapidly sank; while General M'Leod, with an exceedingly ill-timed scrupulosity, declined taking any effective means for introducing proper supplies. The consequence was, that Campbell, after sustaining a siege of nearly nine months, was obliged to surrender, and was so overpowered by the fatigues of the service, that he soon afterwards died.

Meantime in the south, under the able direction of Mr. Sullivan,

the civil resident, and through the military talents of Colonels Lang and Fullerton, very important advantages were gained. First Caroor and Dindigul, and afterwards Palgaut and Coimbatore, were reduced. The last of the above-named officers was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march upon Seringapatam, when he was ordered to stop, and directed to restore all his recent conquests. Tippoo had applied for two English commissioners to proceed to his camp and treat for peace; and, with a courtesy which Colonel Wilks considers blameable, the Madras government had acceded to his request. These envoys, however, on discovering his proceedings with regard to Mangalore, sent orders to Fullerton to suspend the process of restoration. But at length a treaty was concluded, founded on the basis that each party should retain his former possessions, and that the sultan should release such of his prisoners as had survived the cruelties with which they had been treated.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## CONQUEST OF MYSORE.

Power of Tippoo—His Persecution of the Christians, and of the People of Coorg—Conspiracy against him—His Successes—Conclusion of Peace—Cruel Treatment of the Natives in Calicut—Attack on Travancore—Repulse—Final Success—Arrival and Views of Marquis Cornwallis—He resolves to make war upon Tippoo—Treaty with the Nizam—General Medows opens the Campaign—Reduction of Dindigul and Palgaut—Successful Manœuvres of Tippoo—He lays waste the Carnatic—Cornwallis assumes the Command—Advances upon Bangalore—Reduces that Fortress—Nizam's Contingent—Advance upon Seringapatam—Engagement, Distress, and Retreat of the English—General Abercromby's Advance and Retreat—Junction with the Mahrattas—Reduction of several Hill-forts—Second March on Seringapatam—Defeat of Tippoo—Overtures from him—Terms accepted—The young Princes received as Hostages—Difficulties—Final Conclusion—General Results of the War—Pacific Policy of Sir John Shore—Arrival of Marquis Wellesley—His System—Tippoo's Negotiation with the French—British Influence established at the Court of the Nizam—Negotiations with the Sultan—Army advances against him—He attacks the Troops from Bombay—British march on Seringapatam—Action at Malavilly—Despondency of Tippoo—Siege commenced—Its Operations—Tippoo attempts to negotiate—His Alarm—Storming of Seringapatam—Death of the Sultan—His Character—Anecdotes—Disposal of the Kingdom of Mysore.

TIPPOO, after having concluded this treaty, became the most prominent personage in the political world of India. Equal perhaps to his father in talents and ambition, sometimes even displaying a superior military genius, he was yet, as already observed, a very different character. The former always proceeded in a direct course to realize his schemes of interest or ambition, from which no other object could turn him aside; but the latter was agitated by various passions and caprices, which disqualified him from pursuing a decided line of policy. Instead, too, of manifesting the indifference of Hyder on the subject of religion, he was inspired with a furious zeal in the cause of Islamism, which prompted to the most odious and tyrannical measures. The issue was, that he was buried under the ruins of the empire he inherited, and which his predecessor, by so many arts and crimes, had raised out of nothing.

His first religious persecution was directed against the Christians on the coast of Canara, who had been converted by the

Portuguese. In this case, indeed, he seems to have had a somewhat plausible pretext. In his narrative he asserts, probably not without truth, that the Europeans had originally employed violent means to compel the natives to adopt the new creed. Having therefore collected 60,000, by his own statement, but, according to Wilks, only 30,000, he forcibly inflicted on them the rite of circumcision; then hurried them to the capital, and distributed them in the different garrisons; a barbarous treatment, by which it is said that many perished. By a strange inconsistency, he represented it as the highest honour to be thus urged to the profession of the Moslem faith, yet made it the punishment of rebellion and contumacy. The rude mountainous territory of Coorg had always formed a reluctant appendage to the kingdom of Mysore. The people had taken advantage of the war with the English to reassert their independence; holding their conquerors in equal abhorrence on account of their religion, and their disregard for the rights of landed property. As they now presented the aspect of a formidable resistance, Tippoo was obliged to march against them with his whole force, when they retreated into the depth of their forests, which appeared almost inaccessible. Having, however, divided his whole army into detachments, which formed a complete circle round the unhappy fugitives, and closing in upon them as huntsmen do in pursuit of game, he at length penetrated into their most secret haunts, and carried off 70,000 victims to undergo the abhorred penalties of circumcision and captivity. Elated by these cruel triumphs, the sultan hesitated not to assume the title of *padsha*, which our historians have not very accurately translated king. It was hitherto appropriated exclusively to the Great Mogul, whose supremacy had till that period been acknowledged in Mysore; but no sooner did the conqueror invest himself with this high distinction, than public prayers were offered for him instead of Shah Allum.

The increasing influence and lofty pretensions of this potentate raised against him, in 1786, a confederacy the most powerful that had for a long time been formed in Southern India. The

Mahrattas had repeatedly shaken to its foundation the throne of Hyder; and, though now much disunited, they were still the greatest among the native powers. They held possession of the person as well as the capital of the Mogul, and had no rivals for empire except in the Afghan sovereigns. With the nizam, who ranked second in strength and dignity, they formed an alliance, which had for its object the subversion of the new kingdom in the south, and the division between them of all its possessions. So confident were the Mahrattas of a triumphant issue, that they did not even call in their own contingents, and declined courting the aid of the English, lest they should be obliged to share with them the expected spoil. The confederates advanced towards the Toombuddra, the chief barrier between their dominions and those of Tippoo; they besieged and took the strong fortress of Badamee; and their cavalry spread themselves over the country. The sultan did not attempt directly to oppose this invading force; but by a circuitous movement came rapidly upon Adonie, the principal fortress of the nizam south of the river just named, and considered by this ruler so strong, that he had formed in it a sort of royal establishment, which included the harems of his brother and nephew. The son of Hyder pushed the siege with his characteristic impetuosity; but having prematurely attempted to storm a breach, found it so bravely defended by its commander, that he sustained a complete repulse. The confederate armies were thus enabled to come to its relief, and obliged him to retire. But it was now the season of the year at which the Toombuddra undergoes its periodical inundation, when it became necessary for the allies to have the whole of their armies, their materials, and supplies, either on the one side or on the other of that river. To transport so many men and so much baggage to the southern bank, in the face of an active enemy, appeared too hazardous; they therefore recrossed to the northern side, leaving Tippoo's dominions secure during the period of the monsoon. They were even reduced to the necessity of abandoning Adonie, after hastily withdrawing its distinguished inmates; and the victor on entering

found numerous apartments still fitted up with all the splendour of a royal palace.

The sultan had now just ground to boast of his success; yet he aimed at extending it still farther. He caused a great quantity of timber to be felled in the forests of Bednore, and floated down the swollen stream, where it was converted into rafts and basket-boats for conveying his forces across. All his officers dissuaded him from the daring scheme of carrying beyond this river offensive operations against such powerful armies. He rejected every argument, and in the course of a week had actually transported the whole of his troops to the other side. The confederates, who could not be made to believe in any such attempt, had neglected all precautions against it; and their indecisive movements soon showed how completely they were taken by surprise. After repeated marches and countermarches, Tippoo, with his whole force in four divisions, made a midnight attack upon their camp. Through a want of co-operation between these detachments, the undertaking did not completely succeed; yet the enemy were thereby compelled to quit their position, and when they afterwards attempted to regain it, were repulsed with considerable loss. The general issue of the day was such as induced them to retreat, abandoning to the conqueror the important city and district of Savanoor. Soon after, overtures were made for a treaty, which was concluded on the condition that the sultan should acknowledge the tribute stipulated by Hyder; amounting still, after some liberal deductions, to forty-five lacks of rupees, thirty of which were actually paid. He restored also Adonie and the other towns taken during the war, and was in return recognised as sovereign of nearly all India south of the river Toombuddra.

By this successful contest against such a powerful confederacy, Tippoo had earned perhaps the greatest military name in Hindostan; having displayed even prudence and moderation in the terms on which he concluded peace. He now considered himself the undisputed ruler of the south, and at liberty to propagate the Mohammedan faith by violence of every description. His first

movement was to descend the Ghauts, into the territory of Calicut or Malabar Proper, which, by a hard-won conquest, Hyder had annexed to the dominion of Mysore. Here he found a race inspired with such deadly enmity to his favourite creed, that if a Mussulman touched the outer wall of a house, they thought it necessary to reduce the whole to ashes. Their religious profession, indeed, derived little honour from their moral conduct, since custom among the Nairs, or natives of high rank, sanctioned a mode of living so extremely dissolute, that Tippoo did not exaggerate when he told them, that "they were all born in adultery, and were more shameless in their connexions than the beasts of the field." But notwithstanding these habits, they possessed the utmost bravery, and were prepared to make the most determined resistance to the resolution entertained by the sultan of compelling them to undergo circumcision and eat beef. Even when vanquished they submitted to both conditions with extreme reluctance, and many sought refuge in the heart of forests, or in the surrounding mountains, till at length the whole were either circumcised or driven from their fields and homes. The victor then commenced a war against the religious edifices. He publicly boasted that he had rased to the ground eight thousand temples, with their roofs of gold, silver, and copper, after digging up the treasures buried at the feet of the idols; but there is reason to believe, that in this instance he greatly exaggerated his own enormities. At length he became so elated with these exploits, that he appears to have considered himself as really endued with supernatural powers, and little if at all inferior to Mohammed himself. Being strongly advised by his counsellors not to attempt passing the Ghauts during the height of the rainy season, he replied, that "he would order the clouds to cease discharging their waters until he should have passed." But he had soon to encounter a mortal foe, against whom neither his earthly nor his celestial powers were found to avail.

The little kingdom of Travancore, forming the western part of the most southerly extremity of India, amid the revolutions which

shook the greater states in its vicinity, had hitherto succeeded in maintaining independence and neutrality. It was protected not only by a lofty chain of mountains, extending as far as Cape Comorin, but by the more imperfect defence of a wall and ditch covering its whole frontier. Tippoo, however, had fixed his eyes with intense eagerness on the conquest of a territory which lay as it were enclosed within his recent acquisitions, and would complete their circuit. He fabricated several grounds of dissatisfaction. The territory of Cochin, which had now been reduced under complete vassalage to Mysore, happened so to intersect that of Travancore, that the wall formed for the defence of the one surrounded some portions of the other; and Tippoo could complain that his passage to a certain part of his dominions was obstructed by this barrier. The Rajah of Travancore, again, with the view of securing his frontier, had purchased from the Dutch the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta, which the latter had long ago conquered from the Portuguese. This measure was deeply resented by Tippoo, who remarked that these forts stood within his territories, and alleged, though seemingly without reason, that the Dutch had owned his superiority, and paid a rent for the land. Lastly, the refugee Nairs, fleeing from his persecution, had found a friendly reception in Travancore. On these, or any other grounds, the sultan would not have been slow to execute his purpose, had it not been checked by a defensive alliance formed during the last war between the rajah and the English. It was therefore necessary to afford explanations to the government at Madras, who appear to have felt the strongest disposition to preserve pacific relations with Mysore. They professed themselves ready to listen to all reasonable grounds of complaint, and proposed sending two commissioners who might examine and adjust the several matters in dispute. This did not harmonize with the design of Tippoo, who hastened with his whole force to attack the weak barrier of the Travancore lines. The extent of such a fortification necessarily rendered it inefficient; and accordingly, on the 29th December 1789. while a numerous body, comprising apparently the

whole army, by a feigned attack on the principal gate, occupied the attention of the inhabitants, the sultan himself, with upwards of 14,000 men, the flower of his troops, had effected his entrance at an unguarded point on the right flank. He then pushed along the interior of the rampart to reach the nearest gate and open it to his soldiers. For some time his progress was almost unresisted; the inhabitants retreated from one tower to another; though, as reinforcements arrived, they began to make a more vigorous stand. They maintained their defence particularly in a large square building that served the joint purpose of a magazine and barrack; and here Tippoo, seeing his first division considerably diminished by successive contests, ordered it to be strengthened by a fresh corps. This operation being ill understood, was imperfectly executed; and, as the troops were advancing in some disorder, a party of twenty Travancoreans, from under a close cover, opened a brisk fire on their flank. The commanding-officer fell, upon which the whole body was thrown into irretrievable confusion. The mass of fugitives drove before them a detachment which was advancing to their support, and who again impelled those behind. Many of the men thrown down were trampled to death, and the ditch was filled with heaps of bodies. The sultan himself was borne along by the torrent, and some servants with difficulty conveyed him over the ditch, after he had twice fallen, and suffered such contusions as occasioned a lameness from which he never entirely recovered. His palanquin, the bearers of which had been killed in the crowd, was left behind; and his seals, rings, and other ornaments, fell into the hands of the enemy. Hastening forward, at one time on foot, at another in a small carriage, he arrived at his camp in the most miserable plight, after losing 2000 of his men. So precarious is the fortune with which war, and especially barbarous war, is often attended!

It may be easier to conceive than describe the rage and humiliation of Tippoo at seeing his fine army thus completely repulsed by a despised foe; and he made a vow that he would not leave the encampment till he had retrieved and avenged the disaster.

All his detachments were called in, his heavy cannon was brought down from Seringapatam and Bangalore; and though more than three months were employed in these preparations, he succeeded completely in lulling the suspicions of the British, and in persuading them that he was still desirous of maintaining amicable relations. At length, his arrangements being completed, about the beginning of April 1790, he opened regular batteries against this contemptible wall, and soon made a breach nearly three quarters of a mile in extent. The troops of Travancore, thus exposed in the open field, fled with little resistance, and Tippoo soon saw the whole country lying defenceless before him. Immediately after he laid siege to Cranganore, near which, on the neighbouring island of Vipeen, the English had a small force stationed to assist the rajah. These were reinforced by three battalions under Colonel Hartley, who, on finding that he could not undertake offensive operations, withdrew the native garrison from the place, and took up a defensive position, in which the enemy did not attempt to molest him. The Mysorean commander now overran a great part of the conquered territory, committing his usual devastations, and carrying great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. Many, however, retired to their southern fastnesses, where they could with difficulty be pursued; and the season becoming unfavourable, Tippoo, who was also alarmed by the movements of our countrymen, returned to Seringapatam, after having levelled to the ground the wall which had proved so unexpectedly formidable.

The Marquis Cornwallis had arrived in 1786 as governor-general, with a view to effect a complete reform in the system of Indian policy; and to avoid by every possible means war with the native powers was one of his leading instructions. He began, accordingly, by proclaiming, in a manner that has been censured as too full and undisguised, the resolution to engage in no hostilities not strictly defensive. Yet his views very early underwent a change; and he then considered it necessary, or at least highly expedient, to enter upon an extended warfare with the view of

humbling completely the power of Mysore. It seems difficult to discover any good ground for altering his determination so entirely. Tippoo had no doubt shown himself very formidable; yet there was no reason to apprehend, while the whole of Central India was united by the alliance between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, that the balance of power would be actually endangered; on the contrary, it was likely to be in greater peril from the downfall of one of these parties, and the immoderate aggrandizement of the others. The new governor-general, in adopting this policy, was greatly influenced, we suspect, by the restless and violent disposition of the sultan, and by an abhorrence of the cruel persecutions which he continued to inflict upon the inhabitants of the Malabar coast.

The views of the marquis were soon developed by a treaty formed with the nizam. He had been instructed to take the earliest opportunity of demanding from this prince the cession of Guntoor, one of the Northern Circars, considered necessary for completing the circuit of that important territory. This claim was founded on the agreement of 1768, originally concluded with a view to offensive war against Hyder, and to a partition of his dominions. The pretension was somewhat exorbitant, considering that the treaty had been repeatedly broken; that war had since been waged between the two parties; and that peace was twice contracted with Mysore without any regard to its stipulations. A military force, however, was despatched to support the claim, which the nizam showed a very remarkable and unexpected facility in granting. Hatred and fear of Tippoo had at this time overcome all other considerations, and he readily agreed to execute the conditions of the treaty relative to Guntoor, provided all the others, including extensive cessions promised to him from the expected spoil of his enemy, were also inserted. The governor-general could not grant this to the full extent, but he acceded to the proposal in case future circumstances should admit of its fulfilment. At the same time, agreeably to treaty, a subsidiary force was to be sent to the nizam, and securities were introduced

that it should not be employed against certain other powers. No such saving clause being added in reference to the sultan, the negotiation with respect to him bore altogether a hostile character.

While actuated by these dispositions, Lord Cornwallis was probably gratified upon hearing that Tippoo, by his attack on the Travancore wall, had afforded a regular ground on which to declare war. He made a most indignant reply to the presidency at Madras, who, expressing their opinion that this prince still desired peace, were themselves entering into treaty, and making no preparation for hostilities. In fact, the Travancore affair, though it called for attention, does not seem to have pressed so closely on any British interest that an attempt might not have been made to adjust it by pacific arrangements. The marquis, however, announced that it ought to have been considered, and must still be viewed, as at once placing the two powers in a state of enmity. He had determined to repair to Madras and take the command in person, but relinquished this intention on learning the arrival of General Medows, in whose vigour and capacity he placed the utmost confidence. At the same time, he hastened to conclude an alliance with the nizam and the Mahratta government, who each engaged to employ their whole force against the sultan; in return for which, upon the success of the war, all their claims upon the territory of Mysore were to be granted in their fullest extent. The former pressed earnestly for a guarantee that, while his troops were absent on the projected expedition, his country should not be pillaged by his warlike allies; but, though it was impossible to deny the reality of the danger, it would have been exceedingly ungracious, in a public document, to have supposed that great power capable of such a dereliction of duty and decency. The governor-general, however, gave private assurances of protection, with which he prevailed upon the Indian prince to be satisfied.

Tippoo seems not to have been prepared for the prompt movement of the English. In June 1790, they commenced the campaign on the boldest system of offensive warfare; their aim being nothing less than by the most direct route to ascend the Ghauts

from the south, and advance upon Seringapatam. This march had already been projected and considered practicable by Colonel Fullerton at the termination of the last war. As compared with the northern road through the frontier-district of the Baramahl, it had the disadvantage of being more remote from Madras, and consequently from all military supplies and stores; but it led through a country more abundant in forage and provisions, and avoided the obstacle presented by the powerful fortress of Bangalore. It was necessary, however, to begin by reducing the strong places possessed by the sultan in the low country; and General Medows, fixing his head-quarters at Coimbatore, employed in this service Colonel Stuart, who had acquired much experience in Southern India. The most important of these fortresses, and that which was considered the main bulwark of Mysore in this quarter, was Palgaut, about thirty miles west of Coimbatore. Stuart immediately marched against it, but had on his way to encounter an unexpected obstacle. At this season the monsoon, which deluges the coast of Malabar, conveys only cooling and refreshing showers to the interior and eastern districts; but, in advancing westward, he met its full force, which rendered the country wholly unfit for military operations. After giving a formal summons to Palgaut, he returned, and was then despatched to Dindigul, more than 100 miles distant in the south-east. Having formed a very inadequate idea of the strength of this place, he had carried only a small stock of ammunition, which was found nearly exhausted after effecting only a very imperfect breach. No alternative was left but an attempt to storm it, in which he was repulsed. The enemy, however, were so struck by the spirit with which the assault was conducted, and so ignorant of the deficiency under which he laboured, that they sent proposals of surrender, on terms which he was too wise not to accept.

By the time he returned from Dindigul, the season admitted of his again proceeding against Palgaut. Here he had been equally misinformed, though to quite a different effect, having been led to expect a very formidable resistance. He accordingly employed

great efforts in sending forward a considerable train of artillery; but on the morning of the 21st September, two batteries having been opened, the guns of the fort were speedily silenced, and before night a breach was effected in the curtain. The garrison soon made offers of submission, asking scarcely any conditions except that they should be protected from the fury of the Nairs in the British service, who were ready to vent on all that belonged to Tippoo their deepest resentment for his barbarous persecution.

While Colonel Stuart was thus employed, considerable progress was made by the army towards the high land of Mysore. A chain of posts along the rivers Cauvery and Bahvany, namely, Caroor, Eroad, Sattimungul, had been successively reduced; and the last of these, commanding the important pass of Gujelhutty, which opened the way into the heart of the country, was occupied by Colonel Floyd with a force of 2000 men. By this arrangement the different corps were very ill connected together; for General Medows at Coimbatore was sixty miles distant from the division of Floyd, and thirty from that of Stuart. The second of these officers pointed out the danger of his situation, and the intelligence he had received that the enemy was collecting a great force to attack him; but the commander paid no attention to this warning, and ordered the detachment to continue in its present position. The Mysore cavalry, under Seyed Saheb, had indeed, in their attack, been very easily repulsed, and even compelled to retire behind the Ghauts; still, this failure of the advanced guard under a pusillanimous chief afforded no ground to judge of what might be expected when the whole force under the sultan himself should be brought into action. Early in September his horsemen were seen in large bodies descending the Ghauts; and as, when crossing the Bahvany at different points, they endeavoured to surround the handful of English and sepoys, the latter soon felt themselves in a very critical situation. They nevertheless made a gallant defence, and the enemy, having entangled their columns in the thick enclosures which surrounded the British position,

were charged very effectually with the bayonet, and several squadrons entirely cut off. The Mysoreans, however, still advanced with increasing numbers, and opened a battery, which did great execution among the native soldiers; yet these mercenaries stood their ground with great bravery, saying,—“ We have eaten the Company’s salt; our lives are at their disposal.” They accordingly maintained their position, and Tippoo thought proper to withdraw during the night to the distance of several miles: but the casualties had been so very severe, and the post proved so untenable, that Colonel Floyd considered it necessary in the morning to commence his retreat, leaving on the field three dismounted guns. The sultan, at the same time, having mustered his forces, began the pursuit with about fifteen thousand men, and after mid-day overtook the English as they retired in single column. The latter, repeatedly obliged to halt and form in order of battle, repulsed several charges; yet, as soon as they resumed their march, the Indians hovered round them on all sides. They were compelled to abandon three additional guns, and their situation was becoming more and more critical, when some cavalry being seen on the road from Coimbatore, the cry arose that General Medows was coming to their aid. This report, being favoured by the commander, was echoed with such confidence through the ranks, that though Tippoo had good information as to the real fact, he was deceived, and withdrew his cavalry. Colonel Floyd was thus enabled to prosecute his retreat towards the main army, which had already marched to meet him, but by a wrong road; so that the two divisions found much difficulty, and suffered many hardships, before they could rejoin each other.

The English, in the course of these untoward events, had lost above 400 in killed and wounded; their plans for the campaign had been deranged; the stores and magazines formed on the proposed line of march lay open to the enemy, and were therefore to be removed with all speed. General Medows, notwithstanding, resumed offensive operations, and had nearly come in contact with the army of the sultan; but this ruler, by a series of manœuvres,

eluded both him and Colonel Maxwell, then stationed in Baramahl, and by a rapid march descended into the Coromandel territory. After menacing Trichinopoly, he turned northwards, and swept the Carnatic with nearly as little opposition as was experienced by his father during his first triumphant campaign. At Thiagar, indeed, he was repulsed by his old friend Captain Flint, whom he had learned to know at Wandewash; but scarcely any other place made even a show of resistance. He began by burning and destroying everything in his way; but soon considered that it would be more profitable to levy contributions, and thereby to replenish his somewhat exhausted treasury. On approaching Pondicherry, he endeavoured to open a negotiation with the French, which was rendered fruitless by the pacific disposition of Louis the Sixteenth.

General Medows in the field displayed courage and talent; but he had not shown himself equal to the intricate operations of an Indian campaign. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, determined to resume his original design of directing in person the course of the war; and having arrived at Madras, on the 29th January 1791, he took the command. He brought considerable reinforcements; and having ordered Medows to join him, resolved without hesitation to carry hostilities into the centre of Tippoo's dominions. In weighing the advantages of the two lines of operation, the north and the south, by which he could penetrate into the interior of Mysore, he preferred the former. Probably the failure of the late campaign a good deal influenced his choice; he reflected also on the distance to which his military movements would in the other case be withdrawn from their point of support at Madras, and therefore decided upon braving all the difficulties presented by the fortress of Bangalore, and the bleak region in which it is situated.

On the 5th February the governor-general began his march, and on the 11th passed through Vellore towards Amboor, as if he had meant to ascend the mountains by some one of the passes directly opposite to Madras. Tippoo, meantime, was lingering

near Pondicherry, in hopes of concluding his French negotiation, and being thereby reinforced by six thousand troops. He trusted, too, that with his light cavalry he might reach the passes towards which the English were advancing, in time to place himself in their front. Cornwallis, however, suddenly wheeled to the right, and by a circuitous march of four days attained the pass of Moog-lee, where he found neither fear nor preparation on the part of the enemy. In a similar period he entered without resistance the high plain of Mysore, and was now in the heart of the sultan's country. This able movement, with which the commander-in-chief opened his career, struck his antagonist with consternation, and inspired the most favourable anticipations as to the manner in which the campaign would be conducted.

Tippoo, taken completely by surprise, hastened to the defence of his dominions; but he acted on no distinct or effective plan. He lost much valuable time in superintending personally the removal of his harem from Bangalore; and, notwithstanding several attempts to harass the British, scarcely opposed an obstacle to their taking ground before that stronghold, which they did on the 5th March. The siege was immediately begun with the utmost vigour, yet under peculiar disadvantages. The fortress was too extensive to be invested; operations were therefore carried on solely by breach and battery; the garrison received all the reinforcements and supplies of which they stood in need; while the sultan, with the whole of his brave and active army, well skilled in desultory warfare, hovered round, making continual efforts to support the besieged, and to annoy their assailants. Yet the only serious disaster which the latter experienced was occasioned by the too forward valour of Colonel Floyd, when despatched with the cavalry to cover a *reconnoissance*. Being about to retire, he saw the enemy's rear in a position exposed to an advantageous attack, and could not resist the temptation. He pushed on, and though soon entangled in broken and irregular ground, drove successive detachments before him, when suddenly a musket-ball entered his cheek, passed through both jaws, and he fell down

apparently dead. The second in command being in the extreme left, there was no one to give orders or encourage the troops at this critical moment. They began a retreat, which, as the different corps of the enemy rallied, and a cross-fire was opened from the fort, was soon changed into a confused flight. The overthrow might have been very serious, had not Colonel Gowdie come up with a body of infantry, and checked the advance of the pursuers. The loss of the British in men was only seventy-one, but the destruction of nearly three hundred horses was very severely felt.

Another enterprise, which proved somewhat hazardous, was the carrying of the fortified town of Bangalore, a place of very considerable extent and importance. It was surrounded with an indifferent wall, but the ditch was good, and the gate was covered by a very close thicket of Indian thorns. The attack was made, too, without any due knowledge of the ground; and the soldiers, both in advancing and in endeavouring to force an entrance, were exposed to a destructive fire from turrets lined with musketry. Colonel Moorhouse, one of the most accomplished soldiers in the service, received four wounds, which proved fatal. At length, when the gate was almost torn in pieces, Lieutenant Ayre, a man of diminutive stature, forced his way through it, and Medows, who preserved an inspiring gaiety in the midst of battle, called out, "Well done! now, whiskers, try if you can follow and support the little gentleman!" On this animating call, the troops dashed into the town; though its great extent rendered the occupation difficult. Tippoo likewise threw in a strong corps, which renewed the contest, opening a heavy fire with small arms; but, when the English betook themselves to the bayonet, they drove the enemy with irresistible fury through the streets and lanes, and soon compelled them to evacuate the pettah. Our loss, however, amounted to 131.

Notwithstanding every obstacle, the besiegers by the 21st had effected a breach, and though it was not in a condition for being stormed, yet, on considering the active movements made by the sultan, it was determined to make the attempt that very night.

It was bright moonlight,—eleven was the hour named,—and a whisper along the ranks was the signal appointed for advancing in profound silence. The ladders were planted, and a few men had reached the rampart before the alarm extended through the garrison. The killedar or governor hastened to the spot, and fought with the utmost bravery, but he fell; and the assailants, charging with the bayonet, soon established themselves on the top of the walls. They spread to the right and left; columns descended into the body of the place; and in an hour they were masters of Bangalore. Tippoo had received the intelligence, and was marching with his whole force to save the place, when crowds of fugitives announced to him the disastrous event; and he remained the whole night sunk in silence and stupor. It is asserted that he was aware of the intended attack, and had made preparations to meet it; but the occurrences which actually took place do not seem very consistent with this statement.

After this triumph, Lord Cornwallis was still in extreme distress for provisions, and especially forage. Before making his grand movement upon the capital, he proceeded northward, in hopes of obtaining supplies, and of being joined by 10,000 horse which the Nizam had promised. After a long march, the expected contingent made its appearance; but a woful disappointment was felt at the very aspect of such grotesque auxiliaries. According to Wilks, "it is probable that no national or private collection of ancient armour in Europe contains any weapon or article of personal equipment which might not be traced in this motley crowd,—the Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form, metallic helmets of every pattern." These singular accoutrements were combined with "the total absence of every symptom of order or obedience, excepting groups collected round their respective flags; every individual an independent warrior, self-impelled, affecting to be the champion whose single arm was to achieve victory." This corps, it was evident, could never be of any use in regular operations; but hopes

were at first cherished that they might relieve the English from some of the harassing duty belonging to light troops. It was soon found, however, that they did nothing but plunder the natives and consume the stores of the camp, already almost entirely exhausted.

Lord Cornwallis, though he had been so completely disappointed in his allies, and though all his departments, especially those of conveyance, were in the most imperfect state, was yet anxiously desirous to bring the war to a termination, which could be effected only by advancing upon Seringapatam. For this end all possible resources were called into action; the officers were invited and agreed with alacrity to contribute their private means, and to hire from the natives accommodations, which the latter would not willingly have placed under the control of a public department. Cannon-balls were carried even by women and children; and thus almost without any regular equipment, the army was enabled to march upon the capital. This movement struck Tippoo with alarm; he had even made arrangements for conveying his harem and treasure to Chittledroog; but his mother represented to him the fatal impression of despondency which such a step would make upon his troops and subjects. He yielded to her judgment, and determined to hazard all in the defence of his chief city. His mingled apprehension and rage were oddly displayed, the former in effacing from the walls of the town numerous caricatures with which he had caused them to be embellished, representing the English in the most ridiculous attitudes, and the latter in the secret murder of a number of his prisoners.

The sultan had hitherto confined himself to a desultory warfare, endeavouring to cut off the British by detachments, in the manner which, during the last contest, had been so successful. But in his campaign with Lord Cornwallis, he had been unable to achieve any exploit of this description; and now the danger of his capital, and it is said the reproaches of his wives, urged him to hazard a general battle rather than allow it to be formally invested. He drew up his men with great judgment on a range

of heights in front of the Cauvery, which here separated his army from the island on which Seringapatam stood. The governor-general, by a night-movement, placed himself on the enemy's left flank; but Tippoo, with great promptitude, had anticipated the object of his opponent by occupying a succession of steep hills in front of his position, from the possession of which he derived a great advantage. The battle was of long continuance, and maintained with great obstinacy. The English, unable to employ their own artillery with any effect, suffered considerably from that of the enemy, and were also seriously annoyed by numerous flights of rockets furnished from the arsenal. Yet, on coming to close combat, they carried, by successive charges, one point after another, till the whole of the sultan's army was obliged to seek shelter under the fortifications of the city.

Lord Cornwallis, at the expense of 500 men in killed and wounded, had gained the honour of the day; but he was in such a situation that only a decisive victory, and scarcely even that, could have enabled him to achieve his object. Tippoo had practised, with the utmost diligence, his old system of laying waste the country around the English. They had marched through a desert, and in vain, by sending scouts in every direction, endeavoured to find a human being who could afford either aid or information; and the army was now suffering most deeply from famine, disease, and all those evils which, in a campaign, are often more fatal than the sword. Their means of conveyance were so deficient that the men were compelled, in view of the enemy, to drag the baggage, and even the heavy cannon, as if they had been beasts of burden. In short, after several marches and counter-marches, the British commander felt himself under the painful necessity of immediately retreating, with the sacrifice of all the battering-train and heavy equipments with which he was to have besieged Seringapatam. He was obliged also to stop the progress of another expedition which was advancing to his support.

Although Madras was the main centre of the English operations, yet the war had extended to the coast of Malabar. There

Colonel Hartley held the command, with a force numerically small, but aided by the zealous co-operation of the natives, who had been thoroughly alienated by the violence of the sultan. This enmity towards him rendered it impossible for his troops to carry on that desultory warfare in which they excelled; they were therefore obliged to fight a regular battle, and were completely defeated. Soon after, in December 1790, General R. Abercromby landed with a large force, reduced Cananore, and easily made himself master of every other place held by the enemy in Malabar. He met with another auxiliary, who opened for him a passage into the midst of Tippoo's dominions. An account has been given of the injurious treatment suffered by the people of Coorg from the ruler of Mysore. Their youthful rajah, after a long captivity, had lately contrived to effect his return. The greater part of his subjects were groaning in exile; but in the depth of the woody recesses there was still a band of freemen, who rallied round him with enthusiastic ardour. By a series of exploits, that might have adorned a tale of romance, the young prince recalled his people from the distant quarters to which they had been driven,—organized them into a regular military body, drove the oppressors from post after post, and finally became undisputed ruler of Coorg, expelling the Mohammedan settlers who had been forcibly introduced. A common interest soon united him in strict alliance with General Abercromby, who thus obtained a route by which he could transport his army, without opposition, into the elevated plain. The conveyance of the heavy cannon, however, was a most laborious task, as it was often necessary to drag them by ropes and pulleys up the tremendous steeps, which form on this side the declivity of the Ghauts. At length the general had overcome every difficulty, and was in full march to join Lord Cornwallis, when he received orders to retreat, which, in this case too, could be effected only by the sacrifice of all the heavy artillery.

As his lordship was retiring, in a most shattered condition, upon Bangalore, the strength of the men failing for want of food,

and the sick being with the utmost difficulty dragged along, his troops were alarmed by the appearance on their left of a large body of cavalry, apparently the vanguard of a numerous army; but as they were preparing for resistance, one of the horsemen rode up and called out that he was a Mahratta. This proved in fact to be no other than the first division of those potent allies, under the command of Purseram Bhow and Hurry Punt. These chiefs had taken the field in good time, and this unfortunate delay had been occasioned by the siege of Darwar, a very strong place considerably to the northward, which Tippoo had carefully fortified and garrisoned with his best soldiers. Purseram, seconded by a small detachment of English, broke ground before it in September 1791; but our officers were almost distracted to see the manner in which this important siege was conducted. The Mahrattas, in working a battery, never pointed their cannon so as to make a breach in a particular spot, but aimed at random all round the wall. After loading a gun they sat down, smoked, and conversed for half an hour; then fired, re-loaded, and resumed their conversation. Two hours at mid-day, by mutual consent, were set apart for meals and recreation. Our engineers calculated that seven years would be spent before a breach could be effected; and Colonel Frederick, an officer of high spirit, and animated with the most eager anxiety for the success of this important service, was seized with such chagrin that he fell sick and died. However, at the end of six months the garrison, finding their provisions become scarce, and discouraged by the fall of Bangalore, proposed terms of capitulation, which were granted, though ill observed. The great Mahratta army then moved leisurely forward into Mysore, where, in the manner before mentioned, they met with their European allies. Had Cornwallis been aware that this large force was advancing to his aid, he would probably have made every exertion to maintain his ground before Seringapatam; but the activity of the enemy's light troops completely intercepted the intelligence.

As soon as these auxiliaries arrived, the scarcity in the canton-

ments of the English, which previously amounted almost to famine, ceased, so far as they were willing to pay the enormous prices that were extorted from their necessities. Every article abounded in that predatory host: it exhibited "the spoils of the East, and the industry of the West,—from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the second-hand garment of the Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver ear-ring of a poor plundered village-maiden;" while "the tables of the money-changers, overspread with the coins of every country of the East, gave evidence of an extent of mercantile activity utterly inconceivable in any camp, excepting that of systematic plunderers by wholesale and retail." These allies, moreover, introduced the commander to a most useful class of men, the brinjarries or grain-merchants, who, travelling in large armed bodies with their wives and children, made it their business to supply all the militant powers of Hindostan. They distributed their corn with the strictest impartiality to all who could pay for it; and the general, now amply supplied with funds, was no longer exposed to want, and easily obtained a preference over Tippoo, whose pecuniary resources were beginning to fail.

Although the army was thus relieved from the immediate pressure of distress, Lord Cornwallis did not conceive it possible to advance again upon the capital till the arrival of a more favourable season, and till a fresh battering-train and other extensive supplies should be forwarded from Madras. In the meantime the troops were employed in the reduction of some of the tremendous *droogs*, or precipitous rocks, which rise like so many fortresses in this as well as in other of the elevated plains of India. Among these Nundidroog, almost inaccessible by nature, had been fortified with every care to render it impregnable, and was placed under the command of one of Tippoo's ablest officers; yet Major Gowdie, after some successful experiments upon minor forts, undertook its reduction. The only one of its faces at all capable of approach, had been strengthened near the top by a double

wall; while the labour of establishing works on its steep and craggy sides, and conveying cannon to the batteries, was excessive. In twenty-one days two breaches were effected, and one morning, by clear moonlight, the assault was made by General Meadows in person. The defence was vigorous; huge masses of granite were rolled down, with tremendous crash, from steep to steep; the assailants nevertheless overcame every obstacle, and forcing the interior gate, effected an entrance. During the whole siege they had only 120 killed and wounded, of whom thirty fell in the assault, chiefly by the stones precipitated from the summit.

The *droogs* being now viewed as no longer impregnable, Colonel Stuart undertook Savendroog, which bore a still more formidable character, and had been considered by the commander as a place not to be attempted. Yet after seven days' approaches and five of open batteries, it was carried by storm without the loss of a single life. Ootradroog, struck with dismay by these successes, fell with little effort; and a *coup-de-main* had meantime been attempted against Kistnagherry, the capital and bulwark of the Baramahl. This attempt failed; Colonel Maxwell being only able to burn the town, that it might not serve as a cover to predatory inroads. The sultan, in the interval, had sent an expedition to the south, which succeeded, by a series of manœuvres, in carrying Coimbatoor with its English garrison; and, violating the capitulation, by which they were to be allowed to join in safety their countrymen at Palgaut, he caused them to be marched prisoners to Seringapatam.

After some abortive attempts at negotiation, Lord Cornwallis, having completed his preparations and brought his army into a state of full equipment, determined no longer to delay his march upon the capital. He was now joined by the troops of the Nizam, under his son Secunder Jah, which had been hitherto detained by the siege of Goorumconda. His followers consisted of a tumultuary host, closely resembling the corps already described, and giving little hope of an effective co-operation. Purseram Bhow, who at the head of his numerous Mahrattas might have performed

with great advantage the services assigned to light cavalry, had concluded that it would be more profitable to himself to turn aside and plunder the rich country of Bednore; and to this personal interest he hesitated not to sacrifice all the grand objects of the confederacy. Captain Little, who, with a body of about a thousand men, had been attached to the host of the Bhow, was obliged to second him in all these irregular pursuits; the most arduous services devolving upon himself and his followers. At one time he was urged to attack a large detachment of Tippoo's army, stationed in an almost impenetrable jungle covered by a deep ravine. With less than 750 bayonets he undertook the service, and, after a severe and even doubtful contest, dislodged the enemy with great loss,—an exploit considered one of the most brilliant by which this war was distinguished.

By these circumstances Lord Cornwallis was reduced to depend on the force under his own immediate command, amounting to 22,000 men, including forty-two battering-guns and forty-four field-pieces; and on that of General Abercromby, consisting of 8400 men, which he ordered immediately to approach Seringapatam. He began his march on the 1st February 1792, and by proceeding in three lines instead of one, with his ordnance and heavy baggage in the centre, his infantry and light troops on the flanks, he avoided much of the annoyance hitherto experienced from the attacks of an active enemy.

On the 5th of the month, the English army having reached a range of heights, discovered the Mysorean metropolis, in front of which Tippoo, with his whole force, amounting to between 40,000 and 50,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, appeared strongly intrenched. In Colonel Wilks' opinion, the sultan would have practised with greater advantage his original system of desultory warfare, by throwing into the city a strong garrison under a faithful commander, while he himself, with his light cavalry, might have endeavoured to intercept the supplies and communications of the enemy. It is probable, however, that he fully trusted to the strength of his present position, and also hoped, by maintaining

it, that he might weary out and finally exhaust his antagonist, in the same manner as Hyder, in 1767, had baffled the formidable invasion of the Mahrattas. His encampment was exceedingly strong, covered on one side by a thick bamboo-hedge and by a small river and canal, while the main body of his army was secured in front by a fortified hill and a chain of redoubts, and its rear by the works of the town and island, which, at the same time, afforded a secure retreat. This position was such as, in the opinion of many, and particularly of all the native officers, precluded every idea of attack. Lord Cornwallis, however, considered, that while his movements were delayed, this intrenchment would be continually strengthened by new works, and that his own situation, in the midst of a hostile country and of allies so little to be trusted, would become always more precarious. He determined, therefore, to make an immediate and general attack; though it appeared necessary, as in the storming of a fortress, to carry on his operations under cover of night, when the batteries by which the camp was defended could not be directed with any degree of precision.

The troops to be employed in this hazardous service were divided into three columns, under General Medows, Colonels Stuart and Maxwell; the commander with the reserve following close behind; and the whole, under a bright moon, began to move at eight in the evening. The operations of this memorable night have been very minutely narrated, yet they are somewhat enveloped in the obscurity of the scene in which they were acted; and we should despair, without minute topographical details, of conveying to our readers a distinct comprehension of them. The officers experienced to a considerable extent the casualties and dangers of a nocturnal attack; the divisions of Colonels Stuart and Maxwell being once on the point of charging each other with the bayonet. Lord Cornwallis having entered the boundary-hedge, and searching in vain for General Medows, was attacked by a greatly superior force, against which he with difficulty maintained his ground. The general issue of the contest, however, was, that

the English, when regularly brought to bear upon the enemy, carried all before them. The most critical moment was when the two divisions above mentioned, after having found a ford, undertook to force their way across the river. Being aided by an able movement of Colonel Knox, they succeeded more easily than was expected, though it was so deep that all their cartridges were spoiled by the water, and they were accordingly compelled to place their sole reliance on the bayonet. Tippoo, during the early part of the engagement, occupied a strong redoubt on the river, where he took his evening meal; but, on seeing the English divisions advance to the ford, he felt alarm as to his communication with the city, and hastened to cross it before them. He almost touched the head of the column, and had several of his attendants killed before he could reach a detached work in an angle of the fort, where he again took a station. But morning soon dawned, and discovered the British army fully established on the island, and facing the fortress without any interposing barrier. The sultan lost, it is said, no less than 23,000 men, chiefly in consequence of the multitudes who dispersed amid the confusion, and returned to their homes. A body of ten thousand, with their wives and children, rushed along the Mysore bridge to reach the western territory. The loss on the side of our countrymen amounted only to five hundred in killed and wounded.

Tippoo, on discovering the extent of his disaster, made the most vigorous efforts to retrieve it. By the advice of Poornea his treasurer, as the most effectual mode of alluring back the numerous fugitives, he announced that two lacks of rupees would be distributed among the troops. He urged his soldiers to recover if possible the positions in which the British were not fully established; and several of their attacks, being supported by the artillery of the fort, were very formidable, though they were all finally baffled.

It was no longer possible for the sultan to conceal from himself that his crown and kingdom were in the most extreme peril, and indeed that a peace dictated by his enemies could alone save

them. The English force under Cornwallis had singly defeated his army and besieged his capital; and that force was now about to be increased by the corps under General Abercromby, by another from the south, which had ascended the pass of Gujelhutty, and even by the Mahrattas under Purseram Bhow, who had at length been shamed or frightened out of his predatory course. There was nothing, therefore, it has been justly observed, but the general uncertainty of human things, which could leave a doubt as to his approaching downfall. He accordingly determined to seek peace on almost any conditions. Two English officers, Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been taken at Coimbatore, and made prisoners contrary to the terms of capitulation, were still detained at Seringapatam. They were sent for, and the first was asked if he was not an officer of rank, and a near relation of Lord Cornwallis. Notwithstanding his reply in the negative, he was released, and desired to convey to that commander the sultan's earnest wish for peace, and the proposal to send an envoy to treat for it. His lordship's answer, though it expressed deep dissatisfaction at the treatment of the captives, contained an acceptance of this overture. An officer of distinction, Gholam Ali, arrived in the camp, and several days were busily spent in negotiation, to which the allies, though they had been so entirely useless, were admitted on equal terms. The following was at length fixed as the ultimatum to be delivered to Tippoo:—The surrender of half his dominions, taken from districts contiguous to the territory of the confederates; the payment of three crores and thirty lacks of rupees (about £4,000,000 sterling); and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. Hard as these conditions were, they were powerfully enforced by events which had occurred in the course of the negotiation. On the night of the 18th February, while the attention of the enemy was attracted to the south side of the fort by the operations of a flying corps under Major Dalrymple and Captain Robertson, the trenches were opened on the north side with such silence and caution, that though the fort was kept blazing with blue lights for the purpose of observation, morning

had arrived before the sultan discovered that this operation, so fatal to him, had commenced. A nullah or ravine had been converted into a wide and extensive parallel, where the assailants were placed so fully under cover, as to render ineffectual every attempt to interrupt their operations. This parallel was carried on and improved till the 21st, when it was completed; and in the night the line was marked out for a second. It was finished on the 23d, and the ground was fixed for the heavy batteries about 500 yards from the fort, in so advantageous a position, as to leave no doubt of a practicable breach being speedily effected.

As the crisis of his fate thus rapidly approached, Tippoo felt the necessity of coming to a prompt decision upon the proposals submitted by the British commander. He called his principal officers to meet in the great mosque, and laying before them the Koran, adjured them by that sacred book to give faithful advice in this dread emergency. He stated the terms demanded by the enemy, adding,—“You have heard the conditions of peace, and you have now to hear and answer my question, *Shall it be peace or war?*” A reference made in such words, could leave no doubt as to the course which he felt himself under the necessity of following, and that he merely sought the sanction of his chiefs. They unanimously agreed that, under present circumstances, there remained no alternative. The scene is said to have been peculiarly affecting, and Colonel Wilks met with few that had been present who could even allude to it without tears in their eyes.

That very night Tippoo sent off, signed and sealed, the conditions transmitted to him by Lord Cornwallis. Early in the morning orders were sent to the English troops to cease from their labour in the trenches, and to forbear farther hostilities. The injunction was received with a deep feeling of disappointment. Their enthusiasm had been raised to the highest pitch; they cherished the most sanguine hopes that they should triumphantly scale the proud walls of Seringapatam, and with their own hands rescue their countrymen immured in its dungeons. The commander-in-chief, however, issued very judicious general orders, in

which he exhorted them to display moderation in their present success, and to avoid any insult to their humbled adversary.

An interesting scene occurred in the fulfilment of that article of the treaty which related to the delivery of the two royal youths as hostages. In consequence of the deep distress which was understood to prevail in the palace, a day's delay was granted. Tents having been sent from the fort, and erected for their accommodation, the general offered to wait upon them; but their father wrote that it was his particular wish they should be brought to his lordship's tent, and delivered into his own hands. They set out at one in the afternoon of the 26th, the walls being crowded with spectators, among whom was the sultan himself. They rode on elephants richly caparisoned, dressed in white muslin robes, having round their necks several rows of large pearls, intermingled with valuable jewels. The marquis received them at the door, and taking their hands in his, led them into his tent. The chief vakeel then said,—“These children were this morning the sons of the sultan, my master; their situation is now changed, and they must look up to your lordship as their father.” Their reception was in fact truly paternal; they were soon relieved from all apprehension; and though the one was only eight and the other ten years of age, yet, having been trained with infinite care in everything relating to external behaviour, they astonished all present by the dignity and ease of their deportment, and by that union of politeness and reserve which characterizes oriental courts.

After the hostages had been delivered, and a crore of rupees paid, a serious difficulty arose. The treaty stipulated the surrender of one-half of Tippoo's dominions, where they bordered on those of the allies; but there was no specification of the actual territories to be ceded,—a point so essential, that it ought, one would imagine, to have preceded the execution of any of the articles. The ceded districts were to be rated according to the revenues which they yielded. His majesty presented statements by which the produce of those contiguous to the possessions of

the allies were grossly exaggerated, and the others underrated; while the Nizam and Purseram Bhow were not slow to err on the opposite side, and hence the discrepancy became enormous. Meantime reports were spread of suspicious conduct on the part of the sultan, and in particular that, contrary to treaty, he was actively strengthening the fortifications of Seringapatam. When remonstrated with on this subject, he replied that, if they thought proper, he would throw down a bastion and let the English see into the fort,—an answer so wild and extravagant, that it tended little to dispel apprehension.

At length his vakeels produced documents which were supposed to be authentic, and whence it appeared that the entire revenue of their master's dominions did not exceed £2,960,000. Each of the allies then picked out what best suited him; the Mahrattas extended their frontier to the Toombuddra; and the Nizam carried his beyond the Pennar. The English took their share in detached portions; on the east, the frontier-territory of Baramahl; on the south, Dindigul; on the west, a great extent of the disputed coast of Malabar, including Tellicherry and Calicut. No objection was made till it was observed that this last section included Coorg, long the subject of much deadly contest. On seeing this condition, the sultan burst into a paroxysm of rage that approached to absolute phrensy. "To which of their territories," said he, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask at once for Seringapatam? They know that I would sooner have died in the breach than have consented to such a cession, and durst not bring it forward till they had treacherously obtained my children and my treasure." Some English authors endeavour to prove that the demand ought not to have been unexpected; and yet it cannot be denied that, while all the other cessions consisted of frontier-territories, leaving untouched the mountain-barrier which encloses Mysore Proper, this included a portion of its very summit, and opened a ready access to the capital. But the truth is, that as long as Tippoo was eagerly intent on pouring his vengeance on its brave people, Lord Cornwallis could not abandon to his fury faithful allies, and a race

unjustly oppressed. Upon this refusal all was again in movement,—the princes were separated from their native attendants, and arrangements entered into for despatching them to the Carnatic under an English escort,—preparations were made for renewing the siege,—the army was full of new hope and animation,—Purseram Bhow began once more to plunder. In less than two days, however, the sultan again felt the weight of the necessity which pressed upon him, and sent notice that the demand was acceded to. A considerable delay still intervened; but, on the 18th March 1792, the definitive treaty was transmitted to the young princes, that by their hands it might be delivered. At ten in the morning of the 19th they waited on Lord Cornwallis, and the eldest presented to him all the three copies of the treaty; but as the vakeels of the two allied chiefs, who did not choose to appear in person, soon after entered, his lordship returned their copies, which the boy delivered to them in a manly though evidently less cordial manner; and on hearing something muttered by the Mahratta envoy, asked what he grumbled at, hastily adding, “they might well be silent, as certainly their masters had no reason to be displeased.”

General Dirom calculates, that after deducting the Company's share of the sum exacted from Tippoo, the extraordinary expenses of this war would scarcely amount to two millions sterling. Every department had been conducted with the strictest economy. Instead of the large grants that had accrued to individuals from the conquest of Bengal, the prize-money in three campaigns amounted only to £93,584, which, after Cornwallis and Meadows had given up their shares, and the Company had added a large gratuity, only allowed to a colonel £1161, 12s., and to a private soldier £14, 11s. 9d. The losses sustained by the sultan during the period of hostility are estimated by the same author at 49,340 men, 67 forts, and 801 guns.

This celebrated treaty has been the subject of much controversy; nor do the views which influenced Lord Cornwallis seem ever to have been fully understood. It appears to have effected either

too little or too much. The cessions extorted were such as to preclude all hope of future friendship ; for they inevitably created in the mind of a proud, ambitious, and restless prince, a feeling of deadly enmity, as well as an incessant desire to retrieve his lost greatness ; while they left him a degree of power which might easily become formidable in the hands of such an enemy.

Notwithstanding these unpromising circumstances, six years elapsed without any violation of the treaty ; and all its conditions being fulfilled, the two young hostages were sent back to their father in 1794. Tippoo saw no prospect of making war with advantage ; and Sir John Shore, who succeeded as governor-general, followed a strictly pacific system, which he was even accused of carrying to excess. His policy was particularly questioned in the case of the Nizam, when the Mahrattas, his late allies, carried into effect their long-cherished design of invading and plundering his territories. The engagements entered into with this ruler previous to the commencement of the Mysore war, though somewhat vague, were such as reasonably led him, in that event, to look for British protection. The new governor, however, considered himself as strictly precluded by his instructions from engaging in any contest that was not purely defensive. The Nizam, in the exigency to which he was thus reduced, had recourse to a Frenchman named Raymond, who possessed no ordinary share of enterprise and martial skill. He succeeded also in alluring into the service of his employer a great number of French officers, and with their aid organized a large body of troops, who were superior to any native force, with the exception of the sepoy's trained in the British army. Tippoo, meantime, was busily employed in attempting to improve his military system, though, from want of means and practical information, he met with very imperfect success.

Such was the state of affairs, when in May 1798 the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, went out as governor-general. This nobleman, whose splendid career was destined to eclipse that of Clive, was sent with the most solemn injunctions

to follow a course directly opposite to that which, throughout the whole of his administration, he actually pursued. He was instructed not to engage, if possible, in hostilities with any native power; and yet he waged deadly war with every one of them. He was desired not to add by conquest a single acre to the Company's territory, and he subdued for them all India from the Himalayah to Cape Comorin. Yet his adherents contend that he acted steadily and uniformly in the spirit of his instructions; and that, in deviating so widely from the wishes of his employers, he was carried along by a current of circumstances which existed prior to any step taken by him in the government of that country.

He had no sooner assumed the exercise of authority, than his attention was roused by a most remarkable proceeding on the part of the sovereign of Mysore. That prince, like his father Hyder, had been long connected in close alliance with the French, as the power by whose aid he hoped to subvert the dominion of the English. This connexion was in a great measure broken by the expulsion of those allies from India upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war; but Tippoo had listened with the utmost eagerness to the accounts of their success against Britain and the continental nations, and had been led to hope for their assistance in the re-establishment of his own greatness. While he was in this disposition, Ripaud, the captain of a French privateer, arrived at Mangalore, in the beginning of the year 1797, to solicit the means of repairing his shattered vessel. There he met with Gholaum Ali, whom the sultan had formerly employed on an embassy to France; and, finding a field open for the display of a little vain-glory, he represented himself as second in command at the Mauritius, and stated that he had come to give notice of a large force being ready at that island to co-operate with them in driving from India their common enemy. He was immediately forwarded to Seringapatam, where the monarch, contrary to the advice of his most prudent counsellors, who assured him that this stranger was an impostor, received him into his entire confidence. After a number of little arrangements and transactions, he sent two

ambassadors along with Ripaud to the Isle of France, to adjust the terms of a treaty offensive and defensive. This mission arrived at the Mauritius, where they were altogether unexpected; but when Malartic, the governor, learned their purpose, animated by that desire to promote national interests which generally characterizes his countrymen, he determined to give them a cordial reception. They landed under a salute of artillery, were conducted to the government-house, and received there in state. Malartic expressed the utmost readiness to accede to the proposals of their master, which were no less than that he should send an army of 25,000 or 30,000 men to assist in conquering the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, and to divide all India between them. The arrangement was fully completed, with the important exception that, to compose the powerful force by which these mighty projects were to be accomplished, there did not exist a single soldier. All that could be done was to transmit the plan, accompanied with strong recommendations, to the Executive Directory; and, in the meantime, to invite as many as possible of the Frenchmen and natives resident on the island to enrol as volunteers. With the most palpable imprudence, the governor issued a proclamation, announcing the arrival of the ambassadors and the object they had in view, and calling upon all the citizens who had any martial spirit to enlist under the banners of the Mysorean sovereign, who made the most liberal offers of pay and allowances. They thus succeeded in levying exactly ninety-nine persons, — a motley group, — Europeans, creoles, citizens, soldiers, sailors; and with this troop, for want of more and better, the ambassadors were fain to depart. They landed at Mangalore on the 26th April 1798; when the sultan, though galled at the utter disappointment of his expectations, and the rash exposure made at the Mauritius, had still the means of averting the danger. He might have disowned the envoys, and refused their mock auxiliaries, while by secret explanations he might, at the same time, have contrived to keep open the communication with France. But he seems to have been in a state

of blind and violent excitation. The embassy, with their slender accompaniment, were welcomed to the capital, where they founded a Jacobin club, planted the tree of liberty surmounted with the cap of equality, and on the public parade hailed the bigoted Mohammedan as "Citizen Tippoo." In these republican forms he cordially concurred, although wholly ignorant of their true meaning; imagining them to be the badges of a mystic association, whose members were to devote themselves to his aggrandizement.

These proceedings were fully communicated to the governor-general, who immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors his decided opinion, that they were equivalent to "a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war," and that "an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultan appeared to be demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy." These conclusions have been generally assented to by British officers and politicians; yet Mr. Mill, with his usual anxiety to escape national partialities, has not hesitated to assert, that the above incidents afforded no ground for attacking, or reason for dreading, the sovereign of Mysore, beyond what previously existed. No doubt, it is said, could be entertained, ever since the last peace, of his deep hostility against the English, and his disposition to embrace any opportunity of regaining his lost territories. There was, we admit, the most reasonable presumption of the existence, in his mind, of such sentiments. Well-founded, however, as this suspicion was, the governor had no right to proceed upon it without some overt act; it being something very different from the positive conclusion of a compact aiming directly at the destruction of the British power in India. It is argued, moreover, that the treaty, having been entered into without any means of fulfilling it, might safely have been regarded as nugatory, and altogether neglected. This reasoning cannot be held conclusive, unless there were some certainty that the sultan could not obtain the means of carrying into effect those hostile schemes in which he had so eagerly engaged. But it is well known that he could depend upon the co-operation

of the greatest military power in the world, animated, too, with the most rancorous feeling towards Britain, and peculiarly desirous to strike a blow against her in this very quarter. The only security lay in the dominion of the seas, which England had fully established; though experience has shown that no fleet, however triumphant, can hermetically seal the ports of a great country, or even prevent a squadron from finding its way to the most distant regions. This had just been made evident, as Bonaparte, in the face of the British navy, had recently landed in Egypt a force sufficient to conquer it; an expedition, too, which was generally believed to be undertaken with an ultimate view to India. The perils of a French invasion of that country were then, perhaps, generally overrated; now, after the event, they are probably too much despised; for it seems highly probable that the republican government, had they not been involved in a series of continental wars, would have attempted to transport a large army into the East,—and it is by no means certain that they would not have succeeded.

The dangers to be apprehended from Tippoo were, moreover, greatly increased by the actual position of the neighbouring states. The only two by which his power could be balanced were the Mahrattas and the Nizam. The former confederacy, notwithstanding its great extent, was now in so distracted a state that the Peishwa, its nominal head, could scarcely maintain his authority against the turbulent chiefs who were struggling for supremacy. The dominions of the other were also ill organized, and his troops quite undisciplined. His chief military strength lay in the corps trained after the European manner by Raymond, which in a few years had been raised from 1500 to 10,000, and arrangements were now making to increase it to 14,000. These troops, however, were so far from affording a ground of confidence to the English that they were felt as sure and deadly enemies. It had long been a fixed policy of the French government thus to employ their officers among the native powers, in the view of exalting their own influence and depressing that of their rivals. Little

doubt was entertained that, if Tippoo once raised a hostile standard, this and similar corps would soon flock round it, and make a formidable addition to his forces. That prince, moreover, was carrying on active intrigues with the courts both of Poonah and Hyderabad, the fidelity of which to the British alliance was by no means assured. He had sent also an embassy to the Afghan potentate Zemaun Shah, the most powerful of those who then held sway over the destinies of India, and an invasion from whom was considered very probable. Thus, it was clear, a very trifling change of political relations might lead to the formation of an overwhelming confederacy against the English provinces.

Under these circumstances, the Marquis Wellesley considered it of great importance to commence immediate operations with a view to the attainment of certain concessions which he was sensible would never be voluntarily made. These included the giving up by Tippoo of all his territory on the coast of Malabar, and his complete exclusion from the sea,—the banishment of all Frenchmen from his dominions,—the admission of a permanent Resident at his court, and the reduction of his resources by making him pay the expense of the contest. The governor-general hoped, by a *coup-de-main*, to have suddenly carried these objects before the Indian prince could make preparations or procure alliances. Great, however, was his mortification to learn that the Coromandel army, so far from being adequate to such an achievement, was quite insufficient to the defence of the Carnatic. This arose chiefly from the want of cattle and other means of transport, which rendered it wholly unable to keep pace with the rapid movements of the sultan, who, had he then invaded the British territories, might have ravaged them unresisted from one end to the other. The earliest period when it was supposed this deficiency could be supplied was three months; while Lieutenant-Colonel Close, a high authority, thought it would require six. On the 8th September, Lord Clive, then governor of Madras, considering that the season of action was only from January to May, did not think the campaign could be opened till the beginning of the year 1800; yet

such activity did the marquis infuse into the conduct of affairs, that in October 1798 an adequate force was assembled, and early next January preparations were in so advanced a state as to afford the prospect of its being speedily able to move. Meantime an important preliminary operation had been effected.

Immediate attention was required to the strong corps formed under French officers at the capital of Hyderabad, and upon this point the governor-general determined to adopt the most decisive measures. Captain Kirkpatrick, Resident at that court, was instructed to lay before the Nizam the plan of an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which he was to be guaranteed against the attack of all his enemies. In support of this pledge, four English battalions, with a body of artillery, in addition to the two already stationed there, were to be sent to his capital; but he was informed that the regiments commanded by the French must be immediately dissolved, and themselves dismissed. The movement of a large body of troops to the frontier intimated that these propositions were not meant to be optional. The Nizam was involved in much doubt and perplexity. He is said to have been disgusted by the insolent and domineering conduct of the foreign officers; but he dreaded to see his country made the theatre of a contest between the rival nations; still more, perhaps, he foresaw that, by the proposed arrangement, he would become completely the vassal of England. At length, on the 1st September 1798, he signed the treaty, which was ratified at Calcutta on the 18th, and carried into effect with such expedition, that on the 10th October the new subsidiary force arrived at Hyderabad. His highness again relapsed into all his doubt and irresolution, and endeavoured to evade or delay every decisive step, till Colonel Roberts, the commander, cutting short all discussion, marched up to the French cantonments, and on the 22d formed a circle round them. The troops, at once dreading a conflict with the English, and discontented on account of their arrears of pay, rose in mutiny against their chiefs; when, on being assured of the money due to them, and of future service under other leaders, they laid down their

arms. Thus, in a few hours, without a blow being struck, was dissolved a corps of fourteen thousand men, having an arsenal filled with military stores, and a handsome train of artillery.

Wellesley, having by these means secured the co-operation of the Hydrabad forces, and, at the same time, by indefatigable exertions rendered his military establishment efficient, determined to bring affairs to an immediate crisis. His correspondence with Tippoo had continued friendly till the 8th November 1798, when he wrote a letter, in which, after discussing some general topics, he observed, that it was impossible the sultan could suppose him ignorant or indifferent as to the intercourse maintained by him with the French, the inveterate foes of Britain. He and his allies, he added, had on that account been obliged to adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence. Anxious, however, to suggest a plan which might promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, he proposed to depute Major Doveton, an officer well known to the sultan (having been employed in 1794 in conveying back to him the young princes detained as hostages), "who," said he, "will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself and to the allies of the Company to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion." On the 10th December the governor-general forwarded another communication, announcing that he was on the point of setting out for Madras, where he hoped to receive his reply.

Tippoo, apparently before receiving the first despatch, had written, on the 20th November, an expostulation, in rather amicable terms, upon the military preparations of the English, and a profession of his own pacific disposition; but the letter of 8th November was followed by a long and suspicious silence. The demands of the governor-general would, at this time, have been very moderate, confined to the dismissal of French emissaries, and the exchange of a part of the coast of Malabar for a territory of equal value in the interior. But the sultan, who foresaw that some demands were to be made upon him, could not bring down his

mind to the necessity of submission. He still placed a vague confidence in destiny, in the aid of foreigners, and in alliances which he hoped to form with the northern powers of India. At length, on the 18th December, probably after receiving the despatch of the 10th, though he did not acknowledge it, he wrote a long explanatory paper. He represented the French affair as only the casual arrival of a party of strangers in search of employment, which he had granted to a few ; and he expressed extreme surprise that there should be any idea of the interruption of mutual amity. Referring to the proposed mission of Major Doveton, he observed that "the treaties and engagements entered into were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than these can be adopted for promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties." It seems impossible to regard Lord Wellesley's interpretation as strained, when he considered this note as implying an absolute rejection of the embassy, and a determination against any concession beyond those made by former treaties.

In reply to it, accordingly, his lordship, having arrived at Madras, wrote, on the 9th January 1799, a long memorial, fully explaining all his grounds of complaint. He gave a narrative of the transactions at the Isle of France, enclosing a copy of Malar-tic's proclamation, and finally inferred, that "his Highness' ambassadors had concluded an offensive alliance with the French against the Company and its allies ; that they had demanded military succours and levied troops with a view to its prosecution ; that his Highness had sanctioned the conduct of his ambassadors, and had received into his army the troops which they had levied ; that having made military preparations of his own, he was evidently ready, had the succours obtained been sufficient, to have commenced an unprovoked attack on the Company's possessions, and had broken the treaties of peace and friendship subsisting between him and the allies." Deeply regretting that the offered mission of Major Doveton had not been accepted, he still urged it

as a means of conciliation, but earnestly requested that not above one day should elapse previous to its acceptance. On the 16th he sent another letter, enclosing one to the sultan from the Grand Seignior, transmitted through Mr. Spencer Smith, and also that monarch's declaration of war against the French. At this stage of the proceedings attempts were made to work upon the Mohammedan zeal of Tippoo, and to induce him to resent the attack made by that people upon the head of his religion; at the same time the reception of Doveton was again pressed. After a long silence, there arrived at Madras on the 13th February 1799, without date, the following short and singular epistle:—

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

This strange reply might certainly have created a doubt whether it was not designed as an evasion, or even an insult; though Colonel Wilks afterwards learned from the Mysorean chiefs that it was meant for a real consent, though somewhat forced and ungracious. The letter of the 9th January had fully opened Tippoo's eyes to his alarming situation. He was thrown into a state of suspense and violent agitation, venting imprecations against all who had been concerned in the mission to the Isle of France, and

exclaiming, "The fractured mast of Ripaud's worthless vessel will cause the subversion of an empire." He made, however, a reluctant movement to the eastward, with the view of meeting Major Doveton; but Wellesley now considered the time as passed when such an arrangement could be advantageously admitted. The monsoon, which begins in June, would put a stop to military operations, so that to enter at present upon a negotiation would enable his enemy to gain a whole year, in the course of which he might hope to procure allies and reinforcements from various quarters. On receiving, therefore, no answer by the 3d of February, the governor-general had ordered the armies to advance; and on the arrival of the sultan's letter, he wrote to him on the 22d February, announcing that the mission of Doveton could no longer be attended with the expected advantages; that his long silence had rendered it necessary to command the approach of the troops; but that General Harris was empowered to receive any embassy, and to enter into any explanations by which a treaty might be arranged, on such conditions as should appear to the allies indispensably necessary to the establishment of a secure and permanent peace. Tippoo, however, even before receiving this notice, either suspecting that his consent had not produced the intended effect, or moved by his own inconsistent disposition, had determined to try the fortune of arms.

The army appointed to invade the kingdom of Mysore consisted of 4381 European and 10,695 native infantry; 884 European and 1751 native cavalry, with 608 gunners; forming in all 18,319 fighting-men, with 104 pieces of cannon, and 2483 lascars and pioneers. To these were added 10,157 infantry and 6000 horse belonging to the Nizam, and which, under British command, now formed an effective body of troops. In the meantime General Stuart, a veteran in Indian warfare, was advancing with 6420 men from Malabar to join and co-operate with the main army.

General Harris was furnished with the plans of two treaties, to be selected according to circumstances. The first, which was to be produced in the event of the army merely arriving before Ser-

ingapatam, required the cession to Britain of the coast of Malabar, and an equal extent of territory to each of the two allies ; the reception of a resident ambassador ; the expulsion of all natives of European countries at war with Great Britain, and the payment of 150 lacks of rupees. In case, however, the events of the campaign should not open the prospect of a successful termination this season, these terms might be modified according to circumstances ; but every effort should be made to inspire the sultan with fear, from which alone any concession could be hoped. If again the trenches were actually opened before the capital, with the prospect of its speedy reduction, the second treaty was to be produced, in which peace was to be granted only upon the cession of half his dominions.

Tippoo, anxious to strike a blow at the commencement of the campaign, had the penetration to discern the advantage which he derived from the detached state of the invading armies proceeding from Malabar and Coromandel. He might thus attack the former, when it had just ascended the Ghauts, and taken a defensive position amid the hills and forests which enclose the territory of Coorg. Accordingly, by a rapid movement to the westward, he arrived, on the 5th March 1799, very unexpectedly in their neighbourhood ; and the English, who conceived that the main force of the enemy was still on the opposite side of India, were somewhat disconcerted. General Stuart had stationed a corps under Colonel Montresor eight miles in advance, on the hill of Sedaseer, to observe any signal which might be made by the Eastern army. Much surprise was felt when a number of tents appeared on the ground in front, which gradually swelled to several hundreds, and composed a formidable encampment. Among others, belonging apparently to chiefs of distinction, there was a very large one covered with green, which was concluded to be that of the sultan himself ; and yet so contrary was this to all previous intelligence, that Stuart merely reinforced the party on the hill with a single battalion, and waited to act according to circumstances. At daybreak, General Hartley, from a height, discovered an appearance of activity among the opposite troops. It

does not appear very clear why the commander did not immediately concentrate his forces, by either marching forward himself, or ordering the advance under Montresor to fall back. In fact, the Indian army penetrated through the jungle with such secrecy and expedition, that between nine and ten in the morning they had completely surrounded that officer's brigade, attacking it at once in front and rear. It maintained most gallantly an arduous conflict till after two o'clock, when General Stuart came up, and after a brisk charge obliged the enemy to retreat in all directions through the thicket. The advanced corps being immediately withdrawn, Tippoo had a pretence for claiming a victory; but the casualties on our side, which amounted only to 29 killed, 98 wounded, and 16 missing, sufficiently showed that he had failed in his object of striking a decisive blow. Even by his own statement, his loss included several chiefs of rank; and this was the last action in which he displayed any military genius. He effected a complete surprise, and the destruction of the English corps was averted only by its own extraordinary valour, and the inferiority of his troops in a pitched battle.

The sultan hastened back to oppose the main army, advancing against him from Coromandel. It might now have appeared evident that his only resource was, by recurring to the ancient military policy of his house, to throw a strong garrison into Seringapatam, to keep the field with large bodies of cavalry, and by continual movements to intercept the enemy's communications, cut off his supplies, and surprise his detachments. He might thus either have defended his throne, or have remained powerful after its fall. His plan, however, appears to have been to contend with the English according to their own method, in regular warfare and by pitched battles. To this system he had been partial ever since Lord Cornwallis's first retreat after the engagement fought near his capital. But even there Tippoo was beaten; and the subsequent retreat had been occasioned solely by the want of supplies and equipments, produced by the desultory warfare previously waged. During the peace, he made great exertions to assimilate

his force to a European army, and his success had been such as to render him an overmatch for any of the native powers; but the cavalry, the instrument by which all the triumphs of his family over the English were achieved, had been comparatively neglected.

The British were now advancing into the heart of his dominions; and the comprehensive mind of Marquis Wellesley instantly saw it to be his true policy not to detain himself with any secondary object, but to strike at once at Seringapatam, the reduction of which would be followed by the entire downfall of the sultan. All our writers agree in stating, that no army could be in a higher state of equipment than the one which now took the field under General Harris; yet the march, though he did not encounter any serious resistance, was very slow. He passed the frontier only on the 5th, and made the first united movement on the 10th March 1799, the time that had been fixed as the latest at which he ought to have arrived at the capital. Certain authors speak as if in this tardy progress there were some mystery which could never be developed; but the delay seems sufficiently explained by an allusion to the ample supplies which he carried with him. He conveyed, by means of sixty thousand ill-trained oxen and careless drivers, several months' provisions for his whole army, and a battering-train to reduce a fortress, the fall of which was expected to bring with it that of the whole kingdom.

When he had reached Malavilly, about thirty miles from the capital, the sultan's encampment was observed from the heights, and General Floyd, with the advance, having approached within a mile of that village, discovered their whole force posted on the elevated ground behind it. An attack being immediately determined on, it was led by Colonel Wellesley, supported by Floyd's cavalry, and directed against the enemy's right. A column of their troops advanced in perfect order and with great gallantry; but the English infantry, reserving their fire, received that of their antagonists at the distance of sixty yards, rushed upon them

and broke their ranks, when a resolute charge by the horse drove them off the field. The whole of the Indian line then gave way, and a general retreat ensued, which Harris, who was greatly inferior in cavalry and light troops, did not attempt to molest. The loss was not very serious on either side; but an additional proof was given how unable even the flower of the Eastern armies was to contend in pitched battle with the British.

Tippoo made another attempt to carry into effect his plan of desultory warfare. He had removed or destroyed all the forage, and almost every blade of grass on the highway between his enemy's position and the capital; and he hovered round, ready to fall upon their rear as they marched along this desolated route. But he was completely disappointed by the movement of General Harris, who, after leaving Malavilly, turned to the left, crossed the Cauvery at the fords of Sosilla, and proceeded to Seringapatam along the southern bank of that river, a resolution which, being wholly unexpected, no precautions had been taken to defeat. On seeing their last scheme thus baffled, the sultan and his principal officers were struck with deep dismay and despondency. Having assembled them in council, he said:—"We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the universal reply. A unanimous resolution was formed to try again the fortune of the field, with the alternative only of victory or death. All present were deeply affected; one of the chiefs, before taking leave, threw himself prostrate and clasped the feet of his master, the usual sign in India of the most solemn farewell. The latter could not refrain from tears; his example quickly spread through the whole assembly; and they parted as men who had met for the last time in this world. But the final crisis was not yet arrived. Tippoo had expected that the English commander would proceed to the *eastern* extremity of the island of Seringapatam, cross the branch of the Cauvery that enclosed it, and establish himself on the ground formerly occupied by Lord Cornwallis. But General Harris chose to make a circuit, which would bring his army opposite to the western

point of the island and fortress ; thus avoiding the wasted track prepared for him, and, at the same time, opening a more ready communication with the Bombay army under Stuart, and the fertile districts in the south. Besides, in that quarter he had every reason to expect a more favourable opportunity for attack. This expedient also enabled him to avoid the ground on which the sultan had purposed to give battle ; and that chief, thwarted in all his measures, threw himself into the town, with the resolution of defending it to the last extremity.

On the 5th April, the British took their station opposite the western front of the fortress, at the distance of about two miles. The position was strong ; their right resting on elevated ground, their left upon the river Cauvery ; and several *topes*, or groves of trees, afforded ample materials for the construction of the works. The enemy still occupied a defensive line behind an aqueduct, on which Colonels Wellesley and Shawe made a night-attack and were repulsed ; but, being reinforced, they carried it in open day. Meanwhile Floyd was detached to meet and escort General Stuart and the Bombay army. On the evening of the 13th, their signal-guns were heard ; and they arrived late on the 14th, having been beset on their way by the whole body of the Mysorean cavalry, yet without sustaining any serious loss. General Floyd then marched to the southward in search of provisions ; for an unexpected and alarming discovery had been made, that there was grain in the camp for only eighteen days' consumption. This extraordinary failure, into which Colonel Wilks mysteriously says, that after the lapse of nearly twenty years it was not yet time to inquire, did not, however, as supplies were obtained from various quarters, prove an impediment to the progress of the siege.

Meantime deep deliberation had been held as to the point whence the town might be most advantageously attacked. There was a south-western angle, by assailing which the besiegers could have obtained a lodgment on the island, and been thereby secured from the expected swelling of the Cauvery, while at the extreme west, the walls, extending along the very brink of that river,

could be reached only by crossing its channel. The fortifications at the first point, however, appeared both strong and complicated; while the most western angle projected beyond the main body of the fortress, and was not duly flanked or protected by the other defences. Besides, while regularly attacked from the south, it could be enfiladed from the northern bank of the Cauvery. The river, too, evidently appeared fordable, as both men and cattle were seen passing without difficulty; and it was confidently expected that before the monsoon had augmented its waters, the campaign would be over. In pursuance of these views, General Stuart crossed the stream, and notwithstanding a vigorous resistance, and one very brisk sally by the garrison, succeeded in gaining a position in which he could effectually co-operate with the main attack.

On the 9th April, Tippoo wrote a letter to General Harris, in which he merely asked why the English had entered his country, and made war upon him contrary to subsisting treaties, which he had never violated. The general in return briefly referred him to the communications of Marquis Wellesley, which had put an end to the correspondence. Wilks, who usually lets us into the interior of the Mysore councils, leaves us here in the dark as to the views by which the Indian chief was actuated. Meantime the trenches had been opened, and the works proceeded regularly and rapidly. On the 20th and 26th, two strongly-intrenched posts, which guarded the approaches to the wall, were carried by attacks under the direction, the one of Colonel Sherbrooke and the other of Colonel Wellesley. Before the second of these actions, the sultan, seeing his defences successively fall, and the siege quickly advancing to its termination, resolved again to solicit peace, though sensible it must be purchased with extensive sacrifices. He wrote, referring to the despatches of the governor-general, and proposing a conference of ambassadors. General Harris, in reply, after taking a view of recent events, announced, as the positive ultimatum, the cession of half his dominions, the payment of two crores of rupees, one immediately, and another in six months;

finally, the delivery of four of his sons and four of his principal chiefs as hostages. These conditions were to be accepted in twenty-four hours, and the hostages and specie delivered on the following day; otherwise he reserved the right of extending these demands, till they should include even the provisional occupation of Seringapatam.

These terms, certainly not favourable, roused in the proud mind of Tippoo a violent burst of indignation. He raved against the arrogance and tyranny of the English, and declared his determination to abide the worst decrees of fate, and rather to die with arms in his hands than drag a wretched life as a dependant upon infidels, thereby swelling the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs; he resolved, in short, not to give a reply. But six days afterwards, when the parallel had been completed, and nothing remained except the erection of the breaching-batteries, he again brought down his mind to the attempt to gain either delay or mitigation in the conditions of the treaty. A communication was received from him on the 28th, acknowledging the letter of General Harris as a friendly one, but adding, that as the points in question were weighty and not to be concluded without the intervention of ambassadors, he proposed to send two vakeels, or confidential messengers, to treat upon the subject. The general, however, was fully determined not to admit any such overture. In his reply he claimed credit for not making an advance on the terms already proposed, when by non-compliance they had been virtually declined. They were still offered; but no ambassadors could be admitted, unless accompanied by the hostages and the treasure; and the time during which they would be received was to terminate next day at three o'clock. On perusing this answer the energies of his mind seemed entirely to fail. Yielding to despair and grief rather than rage, he sunk into a state of stupor, alternating with paroxysms of extravagant and groundless exultation. He no longer took any steady view of his danger, or rationally followed out the means by which it might still have been averted.

At sunset, on the 28th, the place was marked out for the breaching batteries; and, as they were only four hundred yards from the wall, no doubt was entertained of their speedily effecting their object. Two, of five and of six guns respectively, were erected, seventy yards distant from each other; but as only one could be completed by the morning of the 30th, its shot was directed, not against the spot intended to be breached, which it was not desirable the enemy should yet know, but against the adjoining bastion, whose fire might have taken the assailants in flank. Enfilading batteries were also constructed, which were expected to render it impossible for the enemy to remain on the walls during the assault. On the 2d May, the two principal batteries were completed, and opened their full fire upon the part of the wall called the curtain. In the course of that day the works sustained extensive damage, and in twenty-four hours the breach became nearly practicable: in which view fascines, scaling-ladders, and other implements of storm, were brought into the trenches. During the previous night Lieutenant Lalor had crossed the river, which he found easily fordable, with a smooth rocky bottom, the retaining wall of the fortress being only seven feet high, and presenting no obstacle whatever to the passage of troops. On the night of the third there was a practicable breach of a hundred feet wide, and one o'clock on the following day was fixed as the hour of assault.

The sultan, meantime, as the term of his life and empire approached, instead of employing the usual means of deliverance from this extreme peril, occupied himself only in superstitious and delusive modes of prying into futurity. He had recourse, in his despair, even to the hated and persecuted Bramins, whom he desired to practise, though at immense cost, their wild and mystic incantations. All the astrologers, whether from hostile feelings to his highness, or from seeing that their credit could not be otherwise supported, announced the most imminent danger; prescribing, however, some absurd ceremonies and oblations by which it might possibly be averted. Under their directions he

went through a solemn ablution, offered a pompous sacrifice, and steadily contemplated his face reflected in a jar of oil. Somewhat reassured by these sage precautions, and persuading himself that no attempt would be made during that day, he had sat down to his forenoon meal, when tidings arrived that the enemy were scaling the ramparts. He ran to meet them.

The morning of the fourth day of May 1799 had been busily spent by the English in completing the breach and making preparations for the assault. The storming-party was composed of upwards of 4000 men, divided into two columns, who were instructed, after entering the breach, to file to the right and left along the top of the rampart. The command was intrusted to Sir David Baird, who had been nearly four years immured as a captive in the gloomy dungeons of that fortress which he was now about to enter as a conqueror. The troops, in silent and awful expectation, awaited the decisive moment. A few minutes before one o'clock, Baird sent orders to the several regiments, desiring every man to be ready at an instant's notice. When the crisis came, he mounted the parapet, and stood in full view of both armies, in an heroic attitude, heightened by his noble and commanding figure. He then said, "Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers!" Both columns sprung forward like lightning; and seven minutes had not elapsed, when, in the face of a dreadful cannonade, the foremost assailants had crossed the river, leaped over the ditch, mounted the breach, and planted their colours on its summit. They were met by a gallant band of Mysoreans, from whose attack they suffered severely; but the breach was soon crowded with our soldiers, who overcame every obstacle, and established themselves on the rampart. Then, according to the orders received, they pushed on to the right and left along the top of the wall. The right detachment being supported by a powerful enfilading fire from the batteries, drove before them the enemy, who, scarcely making any resistance, fled out of the fort in great numbers,—and many, letting themselves drop from the wall by their turbans, were dashed against the rocky

bottom and killed. The English thus cleared the whole of the southern rampart, and arrived at the eastern, where their advanced guard came in view of the palace.

The left column, meantime, encountered much more serious obstacles. On reaching the top of the wall, they discovered, to their surprise, a deep ditch separating it from an inner rampart, where the enemy, in great force, kept up a destructive fire. The garrison at this point, too, animated by the arrival of the sultan in person, gallantly defended successive traverses, formed across the path of the assailants. The situation of the latter now became critical; all the commissioned officers who led the attack were either killed or wounded; and Lieutenant Farquhar, having assumed the command, immediately fell, and was succeeded by Brigade-Major Lambton. Meantime, Captain Goodall, with a detachment from the right, had forced his way over the ditch, seized the inner rampart, and commenced upon the enemy a flanking-fire similar to that with which they had so severely annoyed his countrymen. The Mysoreans were accordingly driven to a spot where they beheld in their rear the other column which had advanced in the opposite direction. Seeing themselves thus completely hemmed in, they fled tumultuously, escaping by every possible outlet from the fortress, which was thus left completely in the hands of the besiegers.

General Baird, meantime, after the triumphant success of the right column, had allowed his troops an interval of rest, when certain officers brought notice that they had discovered the palace, and seen in a species of durbar or court a number of persons assembled, several of whom appeared to be of high consideration. The commander immediately directed Major Allan, who seems to have been well qualified for this delicate task, to summon them to an immediate surrender, in order to avert the calamities that would be inevitable were the royal residence to be taken by storm. This officer, on going towards the palace, saw several persons on a sort of balcony, to whom he announced his message. They manifested the greatest consternation, and soon brought the killedar or gover-

nor, who appeared much embarrassed, and endeavoured to gain time; but the major insisted upon entering with two other officers, by a broken part of the wall. He found a terrace, on which there was a numerous assemblage of armed men, before whom he laid his conditions, and laboured to tranquillize their minds, not only by presenting a white flag, but by placing his sword in their hands. They appeared alarmed and irresolute, positively declaring that Tippoo was not in the house, though his family and two of his sons were; but, on the major's urging the necessity of speedy decision, they withdrew as if for consultation. Persons were observed moving hastily backward and forward through the halls, in a manner that caused some anxiety; but Major Allan, fearing to excite suspicion or betray any symptom of doubt, declined the advice of his companions to take back his sword. At length, on his urgent solicitation, he was admitted to see the princes, whom he found seated on a carpet, surrounded by numerous attendants. "The recollection," says the major, "of Moiz-ad-Dien, whom on a former occasion I had seen delivered up, with his brother, hostages to Marquis Cornwallis,—the sad reverse of their fortunes,—their fear, which, notwithstanding their struggles to conceal, was but too evident,—excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind. I took Moiz-ad-Dien by the hand, and endeavoured by every mode in my power to remove his fears." This prince concurred with the others in giving assurance that the *padsha* was not in the palace,—and, on the urgent representation of the English officers, he agreed, with strong reluctance, that the gate should be thrown open. General Baird had already approached with a considerable force, and instantly sent back the major with Colonel Close to bring out the princes. After expressing much alarm and many objections, they allowed themselves to be conducted into the presence of the British commander. The general was greatly irritated, from having just heard that thirteen prisoners had been murdered during the siege; and his feelings were probably heightened by the recollection of his own sufferings in the same place; but when he saw these unfortunate youths led out as

captives, every harsher sentiment yielded to that of pity, and he gave them the most solemn assurances that they had nothing to fear. They were escorted to the camp with arms presented, and all the honours due to their rank.

Sir David's object being now to obtain possession of the person of the sultan, he proceeded with a body of troops to make the most diligent search in every corner of the palace. He forebore, indeed, to enter the zenana, but strictly guarded every passage by which any one could leave it. No trace of the individual he sought could anywhere be found; till at length, by severe threats, a confession was extorted from the killedar, that his royal master was lying wounded, as he supposed, in a gateway, to which he offered to conduct the conqueror. The latter immediately accompanied him to the spot, where he beheld a mournful spectacle: it was here that the fiercest combat had raged; the wounded and dead were lying piled in heaps over each other; while the darkness which had just fallen rendered the scene still more dismal. It was indispensable, however, immediately to ascertain the fact; torches were brought, and the bodies successively removed till they discovered the sultan's horse, then his palanquin, and beneath it a wounded man, who was soon recognised as a confidential servant, and who pointed out the spot where his sovereign had fallen. The body was found, and forthwith identified by the killedar and the other attendants. The features were in no degree distorted, but presented an aspect of stern composure; the eyes were open, and the appearance of life was so strong, that Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan could not, for some time, believe him actually dead. It appears that, after having issued armed from the palace, with a band of trusty followers, he saw the English advancing along the rampart, and his men fleeing. He rallied them by the utmost efforts of his voice and example, shooting several of the enemy with his own hand; and he thus called forth that resistance which had proved so formidable. At length, when the determined valour of the British troops prevailed against all opposition, he was left at one time almost alone, and obliged to accompany the fugitives;

but, with a few resolute adherents, he maintained the combat, till, being exposed to a fire from different quarters, he received two musket-balls in the side. His horse was killed under him; and, becoming faint with loss of blood, he was unable to make his way through the crowd. He was overtaken by a party of the conquerors, when one of his attendants besought him, as the only means of saving his life, to make himself known; but he peremptorily forbade the disclosure. An English soldier then made an attempt to detach his sword-belt, when the sultan, with all his remaining strength, made a cut at him, and wounded him on the knee. The man presently fired, the ball entered the temple, and the wound proved speedily mortal. The body was carried to the palace, and was afterwards interred, with royal honours, in the splendid sepulchre of the Lâll Baug, erected by Hyder.

Thus terminated a dynasty, which, though short, and limited in respect of territorial dominion, was undoubtedly the most vigorous and best organized of any that had sprung out of the wreck of the Mogul empire. It arose, indeed, from the distracted state of India, and rested almost entirely on the personal character of its two rulers, the qualities of whose minds, striking though dissimilar, we have had repeated occasion to describe. It may be farther noticed, however, that, while Hyder entered on his career unable to read or write, and remained always a stranger to these primary elements of human knowledge, Tippoo, amid the most active cares of government, retained the habits and character of a man of letters. He read and wrote almost incessantly, carried on an extensive correspondence, and became the historian of his own exploits. Yet the adoption of hasty and superficial theories, in preference to the practical good sense which had guided his predecessor, led him often into crude and rash innovations, which were followed by disastrous consequences. The absolute indifference with which the subject of religion was viewed by Hyder, though marking a degraded state of moral feeling, induced him in his administration to adopt the wise measures of general toleration. His son's mind, on the contrary, was occupied and almost

engrossed by his Mussulman zeal, which became the chief source of his crimes and follies. He fancied himself a sort of militant apostle, who was to spread his faith over the world. Combining this design with his projects of ambition, he waged sacred wars on every side; against the Nazarene English, against the Bramin Mahrattas, and against the Pagan and licentious Nairs. Ultimately, as we have seen, he sunk into the most childish superstition, calling not only upon the Mohammedans, but the persecuted Hindoos, to practise their arts of divination. After the capture of Seringapatam, when his repositories were searched, along with treaties, state-papers, and political correspondence, there was found a record of his dreams and their interpretation, of which Colonel Beatson has preserved some curious specimens. At one time, when he was threatened with an invasion of the Mahrattas, he dreamed that a young man came up and accosted him, who in the course of conversation proved to be a female. Hence he sagely inferred that his enemy, who at first had a manly and formidable appearance, would in battle prove no better than women. On another occasion, when he was about to make war with the native Christians, he was favoured with the vision of a cow and a calf, the former resembling a tiger in aspect and fierceness; it had a slight motion in its fore-legs, but no hind-legs. He resolved to kill this cow, but awoke before he could accomplish his purpose. Hence, however, he thought himself entitled to infer, that he would kill the Christians as he had proposed to kill the cow; that the slight movement of the fore-legs indicated faint attempts at resistance, while the absence of the hinder-legs proved that they would have no alliances to support them. These lucubrations form a strange contrast to his display of talent on other occasions; nor can it be wondered that public measures resting upon such conclusions should not always have proved very prosperous.

This prince, owing to his long wars with the English, his cruel treatment of the captives, and the embittered enmity which he manifested, was regarded by them almost as a monster in human shape. Yet when their armies penetrated into the interior of his

kingdom, they found it flourishing, highly cultivated, and seemingly well governed. His people always showed a strong attachment to him, and the inhabitants of the ceded districts were ever ready to embrace his cause. But to the conquered nations he was at all times a cruel master, and rendered himself the object of their inextinguishable hatred; a cause to which his downfall may, in a great measure, be attributed. It has been said, with the general approbation of British authors, that "Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one;" yet it may be observed, that he maintained a complete ascendancy over all the native states, some of which had matched, and even overmatched, his father. He fell beneath the English power, employed on a scale, and wielded with an ability, of which, in the course of Indian history, there had been no example.

Mysore, having been thus completely conquered, was placed, as to its future arrangements, entirely at the disposal of the British government. The Mahrattas had taken no share in the expedition, and the Nizam knew that he must content himself with whatever the victors might choose to give. The governor-general took for the Company, in full sovereignty, the coast of Canara, the district of Coimbatore, the passes of the Ghauts, and Seringapatam itself, the capital and main channel of intercourse. He thus secured the whole sea-coast, and an easy communication across the peninsula. To the Nizam was assigned a large tract of territory adjoining to his dominions. Another portion was reserved for the purpose of being offered to the Mahrattas, on conditions which, however, as will be hereafter seen, they did not choose to accept. There remained yet an extensive district in the interior of Mysore, which Marquis Wellesley judged most expedient not to partition, but to form it into a native kingdom under the protection and control of Britain. The question then arose, as to the prince in whom the supreme dignity was to be vested. The governor-general would not have been disinclined to bestow it on one of the family of Tippoo; but he justly considered, that the recollection of the recent greatness of their house must have

rendered them always hostile to the power by whom its downfall had been achieved. It appeared, therefore, more advisable, after making a liberal provision for these princes, to draw forth from their deep humiliation the ancient race of rajahs, to whom the people were still fondly attached. The representative of this house, a minor of five years old, and his mother, were found in great poverty and neglect; from which, amid the applauses of their countrymen, they were raised to the splendour and to some share of the power of Asiatic royalty.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## MAHRATTA WAR, AND CONQUEST OF CENTRAL HINDOSTAN.

Great Power of the Mahrattas—Shao succeeds as Rajah—Able Administration of Baliajee Wishwanath—Bajee Rao succeeds—Rise of Holkar and Scindia—Great Power of the Peishwa—Reduction of the Pirate Angria—Madoo Rao becomes Peishwa—His able Government—Ragoba—He is expelled by the Ministers—Forms an Alliance with the Government of Bombay—Keating's Expedition—Proceedings at Bombay disallowed—Treaty—War renewed—March against Poonah—Shameful Capitulation—Campaign of General Goddard—Exploits of Popham and Camac—Mahrattas allied with Britain—Increased Power of Mahadajee Scindia—His Death—Death of Madoo Rao—Various Intrigues—Jealousies of Britain—Dissensions of Scindia and Holkar—Defeat of Scindia and the Peishwa—Subsidiary Alliance with Britain—Opening of the Campaign—General Wellesley enters Poonah—Negotiations with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar—Hostilities commenced—Battle of Assaye—Of Argaom—Siege of Gawilghur—Treaty with the Rajah of Berar—Force of the Enemy in Central Hindostan—Battle of Coel—Capture of Allghur—Reduction of Delhi—The Mogul Emperor—Final Defeat of the Enemy—Treaty with Scindia—Rupture with Holkar—Retreat of Colonel Monson—Siege of Delhi—Defeat sustained by Holkar—Siege of Bhurtpore—Repulse of the English—Treaty—Hostile Conduct of Scindia—New System of Policy in Britain—Marquis Cornwallis comes out as Governor-General—Dies, and is succeeded by Sir George Barlow—Treaties with Scindia and Holkar—Lord Minto's Administration.

IN prosecuting, without interruption, the train of British conquest in Southern India, we have lost sight of the Mahrattas, except in reference to their relations with the government of Mysore. The reader, however, will recollect the steps by which that people raised themselves on the decline of the Mogul empire, and became the most powerful instrument in its overthrow. They would even have occupied its place, had they not encountered the more regular and formidable armies of the Afghans, from whom they sustained two such mighty defeats as would have annihilated any force which did not possess in itself a strong principle of vitality. But they soon recruited their strength out of the warlike and roving population of their mountain-districts; and as the Afghans did not attempt a permanent establishment in the Indian peninsula, the Mahrattas acquired again a decided preponderance among the native states. Only Mysore, in the height of its greatness, for a short time disputed their supremacy; but when that throne was

first shaken, and then subverted, the foreign power by which this triumph had been achieved became the only rival to them; and the question soon arose, which of the two was to rule Hindostan. Before coming to the decisive struggle, however, some internal movements of this government, and some previous transactions with the English presidencies, seem to demand our notice.

Sevajee had exercised a power nearly absolute over his rude followers, and the reverence cherished for his name enabled him to transmit the Mahratta sceptre to his posterity. But the princes born to his throne did not possess the active and daring hardihood necessary for treading in the steps of such a progenitor. Indulging in ease and voluptuousness, they gradually intrusted the arduous concerns of government and war to their ministers and generals. Then followed a consequence almost inevitable in oriental dynasties; the minister, or still more the general, in whose hands the actual administration was lodged, and who had the disposal of all favours and offices, soon became the real depository of power, whom the sovereign would have sought in vain to displace, being in fact his master and that of the kingdom. Yet a certain veneration attached to the original race, and the recollections connected with the history of its founder would have made it unsafe actually to depose the legitimate rajah. It was much easier as well as safer to maintain him in ease and luxury, as a splendid pageant, while all the real authority was exercised in his name by the individual who presided in the council or army.

This consummation, which always took place in the course of two or three generations, was, in the case now before us, precipitated by a remarkable accident. At the capture of Rayree, in 1690, by the troops of Aurengzebe, the grandson of Sevajee and his mother, having fallen into the hands of the conquerors, were carried to the Mogul country, where Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, took an interest in the young captive, and obtained permission to educate him under her own eye. His majesty, when visiting the princess, contracted a great fondness for the youth, whom, instead of his proper name of Sevajee, he used to address

by that of Shao, which alluded, in an ironical manner, to the thievish vocation of his ancestors. He married him successively to the daughters of two considerable chiefs of his own nation, and celebrated his nuptials by rich presents, among which was the sword of his father, taken in his capital, and distinguished in the East under the name of Bhowanee.

After the death of Aurengzebe, Shao remained with that emperor's son, Azim, who, wishing to excite divisions in the Mahratta nation, then carrying on a furious predatory warfare against the Mogula, sent home the young prince. During his absence the regency had been held by his cousin, Rajah Rama, and afterwards by the widow of that officer, Tara Bye, who felt exceedingly inclined to continue in the exercise of her high functions; but the people retained such an attachment to the direct line of Sevajee, that she was obliged to give way, and Shao, in March 1708, was seated on the throne of his ancestors. During a long reign he displayed some ability, and did not absolutely sink from his place as a sovereign; yet the debilitating influence of oriental habits was heightened in his case by his education in the Mogul seraglio. He soon discovered a lively taste for pleasure, and a disposition to impose upon others the burdensome cares of government; but fortunately for himself, or at least for the greatness of the state, he placed his chief confidence in Ballajee Wishwanath. This future head of the Mahratta confederacy occupied originally an inferior situation in the revenue department; and at his first rise had so little of the adventurous character of his tribe, that he could not sit upon horseback without a man on each side to support him. His consummate talents and address, however, soon raised him to high consideration with Shao, whose object was rather to re-establish order and cement his power by a conciliatory system, than to lead his countrymen in their predatory campaigns. By a very able negotiation, this minister extricated his master from a quarrel with Angria, and induced that powerful chief to own his supremacy. Shao was so highly pleased with him on this occasion, that he raised him to the dignity of *Peishwa*, usually

translated general; but which, embracing as it did all the branches of administration, seems to have had more analogy to the office of vizier in the Ottoman empire. Ballajee soon engrossed the whole power, and ruled successfully, but rather as a legislator than a warrior. He contrived, by ties of common interest, to unite together the somewhat discordant elements of which the Mahratta confederacy was composed, and to fit them for those united efforts that afterwards rendered them so formidable. He introduced order into the finances, encouraged agriculture, and brought all the branches of the administration into a regular system.

After a brief government of six years, which, however, was found sufficiently long to effect these important objects, Ballajee died in October 1720, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom, Bajee Rao or Row, had been trained under his own eye both to business and arms, and had proved himself in the former equal, in the latter superior, to his parent and preceptor. He urged his master to much bolder schemes of ambition than had occupied the views of Wishwanath; drawing his attention to the Mogul empire, in which all the Indian ideas of greatness were centred, reduced now to such a state of weakness and disunion, that it must present an easy prey to the first bold assailant. Shao, though not personally a soldier, was dazzled by these prospects of dominion, and gave his entire sanction to the designs of his minister. The Peishwa, however, disturbed by domestic rivalry, and involved in a contest with the Nizam, or Soubahdar of the Deccan, could not for some years follow out his scheme of aggrandizement; and when at length he assembled his forces, and began his march to the main seat of Mogul power, he was seized with a sudden illness, and died on the banks of the Nerbudda in 1740, after holding office nineteen years. Under him two chiefs, Holkar and Scindia, who, with their posterity, were destined to dispute the sovereignty of Hindostan, rose from very low stations into considerable importance. The former, who sprang from the class of Sudra or labourers, had, by his military talents and spirit, collected a small party of horse, with which he attached himself to the army of the Peishwa. Scindia, though

claiming descent from a family of the high-born tribe of Rajpoots, belonged to a decayed and illegitimate branch, which had sunk so low that he began his career by carrying the general's slippers; yet, by the diligence and dexterity with which he executed this menial function, he attracted the notice of that commander, and laid the foundation of his own greatness. These two chiefs, having distinguished themselves by several daring exploits, rose gradually, till at length they were intrusted with separate commands; and favoured by the general propensity of the Hindoos to obey only their immediate superiors, they subsequently acquired an independent political power.

The office of Peishwa was now nearly established as hereditary, and the eldest son of Bajee Rao, who prefixed to his father's name that of Balajee, after some opposition from Raghojee Bhonslay, another aspirant, succeeded to that high station. The disputes with this last chieftain, however, and other occurrences, suspended the design of subverting the imperial throne. The ordinary exaction of *chout*, or a fourth of the tribute, was stipulated to be paid by the Mogul, while Raghojee made the most desolating inroads into Bengal. In 1749 Shao died, when the dignity of rajah, which had been in some degree maintained by his personal character as well as his descent from Sevajee, sank into total insignificance. Ballajee even intended to suppress it altogether, especially as there was some doubt as to the legitimacy of the young prince nominated to the succession; but after some consideration he determined to preserve, though with reduced state and expense, this shadow of royalty. His measures were strenuously opposed by Suckwar Bye, the favourite wife of the late rajah; but that lady, among other manœuvres, had rashly announced an intention to devote herself to the flames on the death of her husband. The Peishwa contrived, even while apparently dissuading her from fulfilling this design, to bring it before her family and the public in such a manner as made it impossible for her, according to Indian ideas, to avoid this dreadful sacrifice. Having gained over Raghojee Bhonslay, and transferred the seat of govern-

ment from Satara to Poonah, the Peishwa became the sole and undisputed head of the Mahratta confederation. For several years he was involved in foreign connexions, the wars and politics of the Deccan and Carnatic, and the reduction of the piratical power of Angria. The last of these objects gave rise to certain achievements of a memorable description, in which the English bore the most conspicuous part.

The coast of the Concan, between Bombay and Goa, which belongs to the Mahratta territory, has always been the seat of tribes who exercised in piratical expeditions those predatory habits which elsewhere impelled them to inroads by land. In the middle of the seventeenth century, during the first rise of the Mahrattas, and while they were carrying on a maritime war with the Mogul, one of their officers, Conajee Angria, conceived the design of founding an independent kingdom. He was greatly aided in his project by the barrier of precipitous rocks, which on this coast rise out of the sea, like the hill-forts from the Indian plain. On the two insulated cliffs of Gheria and Severndroog reigned this chief and his successors of the same name, where they became more and more formidable, till at length they felt themselves able to cope with the greatest European powers, and even aspired to the dominion of the adjacent seas. They made many valuable captures from different nations, who, through dread of their ravages, could not proceed along the shore without a convoy. In February 1754, a Dutch squadron of three ships, carrying 50, 36, and 18 guns respectively, was attacked, and the whole either burned or taken. The British then considered themselves called upon to take vigorous steps for putting down this growing and dangerous power; and the Mahrattas willingly afforded their co-operation. In March 1755, Commodore James sailed with a squadron against Severndroog, where Angria's ships were stationed; but these last, on the approach of the enemy, slipped their cables and ran out to sea. They were of light construction, and the crews, by fastening to flag-staves their robes, quilts, and even turbans, caught every breath of wind, and completely outsailed the English. The commodore

then steered for the place itself, which was found to consist of several forts on the island and opposite coast, the works of which were either cut out of the solid rock, or strongly framed of blocks ten or twelve feet square. By throwing in bombs, however, which blew up a large magazine, and caused a general conflagration in the principal stronghold, he spread such an alarm, that the inhabitants and garrison successively evacuated the different posts. Rear-Admiral Watson having arrived with a much larger fleet, proceeded to the attack of Gheria, the capital, which Colonel Clive undertook to blockade on the land-side. On the 11th February 1756, the several ships took their positions, and next day opened so tremendous a fire that the batteries were soon silenced. On the 18th the enemy delivered up the town, solely, as it appeared, through terror at this overwhelming discharge of artillery; for the fortifications were of such strength, that no weight of metal could ever have effected a breach. The treasure, vessels, guns, and everything constituting the strength of this piratical state, fell into the hands of the victorious squadron.

The influence of the Mahratta confederation continued constantly to increase. Scindia and Holkar, on the invitation of the Nabob of Oude, had crossed the Jumna, and invaded the Rohilla territory, which they soon overran, but were obliged to retire on the approach of the Afghan monarch. But it was not till 1760 and 1761 that several grand expeditions were undertaken, which promised at first to make them masters of the Mogul throne, and extend their dominion over the whole of India. Having, however, provoked the resentment of Ahmed Abdalla, they experienced those signal overthrows, particularly in the battle of Paniput, which we have already noticed in tracing the fall of that empire. The tidings of that fatal day filled all Maharashtra with mourning; and the disaster pressed with peculiar weight on Ballajee Rao, who, having suffered for some time under declining health, now sunk under a load of grief, and died in June 1761.

As the office of Peishwa had become quite hereditary, Madoo Rao, son of the deceased minister, was immediately elevated to

that distinguished rank, under the regency of his uncle, Ragonaut Rao. This chief, afterwards well known to the English under the familiar name of Ragoba, had already acquired considerable military reputation. Four years, however, had not elapsed, when his young nephew showed a power and decision of character which fitted him for executing in person the duties of his exalted station. In 1764 and 1765 he undertook his celebrated expedition against Hyder, the triumphant issue of which displayed at once his own abilities, and the almost inexhaustible resources of his military system. He carried on, also, chiefly through the agency of his general, Trimbuck Mama, the other enterprise against the same ruler, which is mentioned in the history of Mysore. Finally, towards the close of his reign, the Peishwa again undertook to establish his supremacy in the very centre of the imperial dominions. A great army under Scindia overran Rohilcund, and Shah Allum, who inherited the mighty name of Great Mogul, having exchanged the protection of the English for the aid of the Mahrattas, enabled the latter people to seize all that was left of the power which had so long been held supreme over India.

The young ruler made considerable improvements in the different branches of the state, especially in the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice. He could not extirpate the corruption so deeply rooted in all Indian governments; but he studiously afforded protection to agriculture, which, allowing for the inferior fertility of the country, was then more flourishing in Maharashtra than in any other part of Hindostan. The revenue drawn from the people is estimated by Mr. Grant Duff at ten millions sterling, though little more than seven is understood to have entered the treasury. The army consisted of 50,000 good cavalry, while the contingents of Scindia, Holkar, and other feudatory chiefs, raised it to about 100,000. They were followed to the field by crowds of irregular infantry, who were little better than camp-followers, and by bands of Pindaree horse, fit only for plunder, but very eminently skilled in that vocation.

Madoo Rao died in 1772 without issue, and was succeeded by

his next brother, Narrain Rao, a youth not more than seventeen. He was placed in a difficult situation; for the office of Peishwa, after having crushed beneath it that of rajah, was itself beginning to lose its influence. His uncle, Ragoba, was not likely to view without jealousy the elevation of so young a rival; while a body of experienced ministers, trained under successive Peishwas to a thorough acquaintance with the affairs of state, were beginning to contend for the supreme direction. In these circumstances, a temporary and apparent calm was followed by a dreadful commotion. On the morning of the 30th August 1773, Narrain Rao, having observed some unusual agitation among the troops, desired one of the ministers to be on the alert; but the warning was neglected. The unfortunate prince had gone in the afternoon to repose in a private chamber, when a band of soldiers burst by an obscure entrance into the palace. They at first pretended that they came to demand arrears of pay, about which they had for some time been clamouring; but it soon appeared that they were impelled by a much darker purpose. Narrain, roused from slumber, ran into his uncle's apartments, and threw himself into his arms, entreating that he would save him. The latter at first appeared to interpose in favour of his relative; but Somer Sing, the ringleader, said,—“I have not gone thus far to ensure my own destruction; let him go, or you shall die with him.” He then extricated himself from the grasp of the youth, whom, as well as a faithful servant that had also clung round his neck, the conspirators instantly despatched with their swords.

All eyes were turned to Ragoba, as the person by whom this crime must have been suggested. For some time no proof could be obtained, till Ram Sastree, one of the most respectable and upright of the ministers, having accumulated a mass of evidence, brought the charge so home to him, that he at length confessed he had signed the order to seize the person of his nephew, but denied having in any degree sanctioned his death. A numerous body of Indian politicians still believe that such was the truth, and that a more criminal hand made an alteration in the writing,

of which traces were asserted to be visible. In these cases, however, the strong feelings of the public always adopt the darker belief; yet Ragoba mounted without opposition the throne to which he had thus cleared the way, and soon after departed on an expedition against Hyder, who was in the field attempting to regain some of the territory lost in the former war. But during his absence on this occasion, the ministers, partly sharing the indignation of the public,—partly seeing the opportunity of drawing into their own hands the supreme authority,—entered into a combination for raising to the office of Peishwa the unborn son of Gunga Bye, widow of the late Peishwa, who had been left in a state of pregnancy. The lady was conveyed to the fortress of Poorundur, accompanied, it is alleged, by a number of Bramins' wives in the same condition, that in the event of the issue proving a female, a male child might be immediately substituted. Ragoba, meantime, had been completely successful in his warlike enterprise; but learning the dangers to which he was exposed at home, hastily concluded a peace, and having endeavoured, by extensive concessions, to conciliate the Nizam, hastened back towards Poonah. The ministers sent against him Trimbuck Mama, the most martial of their body, who confidently expected to raise his military fame still higher by the defeat of the Peishwa; but he was fatally disappointed. That ruler, though with an inferior army, charged in person at the head of a select corps of ten thousand men, and in twenty minutes completely routed the army of Trimbuck, who fell mortally wounded into the hands of his adversary. Had the conqueror proceeded direct upon Poonah, where, on the arrival of the tidings, the utmost confusion and consternation prevailed, he might probably have resumed, almost without opposition, his wonted power and dignity. But, on the contrary, he marched northward towards the Nerbudda, in hopes of being joined by Holkar and Scindia, who had encamped in that quarter. By this step he lost a favourable opportunity; the government of Poonah recovered from its panic, and collected a force of 50,000 men, while by intrigues and high offers they had induced the

Nizam to break his treaty with their enemy, and to co-operate in their designs. To crown their good fortune, Gunga Bye produced a son, declared, indeed, by the opposite party to be supposititious, but now believed to have been the genuine offspring of Narrain Rao. At the age of forty days, the infant was formally inaugurated in the office of Peishwa.

Ragoba's own army were so disgusted with the course he had followed, that they deserted in great numbers, and, after passing the Nerbudda, he found himself at the head of only 7000 cavalry. At Indore, notwithstanding, he met Scindia and Holkar, from whom he received a cordial reception and liberal promises, and was empowered to recruit his thinned ranks from their territory. He then advanced to the banks of the Taptee, with the view of completing the negotiation into which he had entered with the English government at Bombay.

It was at this period a very favourite object with the Company to secure their possession of that settlement, by adding to it the port of Bassein, with Salsette and several smaller islands in its vicinity. Permission had been given to maintain an envoy at the court of Poonah, who was instructed to watch every opportunity of obtaining these much-desired cessions; and the Bombay government, on receiving the application from Ragoba for aid to restore him to supreme power, determined to employ it as the means of accomplishing their own purposes. It was contrary, indeed, to the orders and policy of the Directors to interfere in the internal disputes of the native powers; and the support of a usurper and assassin was no very creditable mode of realizing their objects. But these considerations were overlooked; and, indeed, on this last point their defenders assert that they were very imperfectly informed, and really believed the Peishwa innocent of the murder, and the infant illegitimate. Even that prince, however, started when he heard the enormous conditions which his new allies attached to their assistance, particularly the cession of Bassein and Salsette. But seeing that Scindia and Holkar, on whom he placed much dependence, had been gained over by his enemies, he

felt the necessity of submitting to every demand of the English, who, in the meantime, had taken the liberty of possessing themselves of Salsette and its dependencies. In respect to their requisition, indeed, of a large sum of money, he was obliged to profess, what his circumstances rendered exceedingly probable, an absolute inability to furnish it, but deposited jewels to the value of six lacks of rupees, and stipulated the cession of an extent of territory, from which the sum demanded might afterwards be drawn.

With a view to the fulfilment of this treaty, Colonel Keating landed at Cambay with a force which was raised to 2500 men. Having begun his march, he was joined by an army, or rather mob, under Ragoba, amounting to about 20,000, bearing a very martial appearance, though quite incapable of acting with effect in combination with regular troops. The Indian chief was inclined to delay offensive operations; but the English urged the propriety of advancing upon Poonah, as the only course by which the war could be brought to a decisive issue. They proceeded accordingly as far as Arass, where they were attacked by a large Mahratta force, composed chiefly of cavalry. The enemy made several desperate charges, and the battle continued long with various and even doubtful fortune, though at length it ended in the complete repulse of the enemy. Keating's loss was, however, so severe, amounting in his small detachment to 222, including eleven officers, that he suspended his intention of advancing at present upon the capital, and awaited at Dubhoy the termination of the rainy season and the arrival of further reinforcements. This partial success, meanwhile, produced an impression favourable to the British and their ally. Several of the late adherents of the ministry espoused their cause,—even the Nizam began to waver. The next campaign was therefore expected to open under very promising auspices, when circumstances occurred which gave an entirely new turn to affairs.

The Company, who had hitherto left the three provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, separate and independent, were now induced, by the inconveniences which had arisen from this

arrangement, to establish one central authority. They vested in the governor-general and council of Calcutta a controlling power over the two other presidencies. The latter, however, were not as yet much inclined to acquiesce ; and that of Bombay in particular had, in the late transactions, made very little reference to their new superiors. The supreme council, on being apprized of their proceedings, strongly condemned them, as unjust in themselves, and contrary to the policy inculcated by the Company, of avoiding all interference in the internal concerns of Indian states. This step is generally blamed by English politicians, though, as it appears to us, without any good reason ; but there does seem room to question the propriety of superseding entirely the Bombay government, and sending Colonel Upton direct from Bengal to conclude a fresh treaty. This had certainly the effect of placing the inferior presidency in a disadvantageous position, and of exposing it to the contempt of the native powers. It has also been observed, that the Hindoo courts interpret every conciliatory step as a sign of weakness, and immediately rise in their demands. Nana Furnavese, a Bramin minister, who had attained an entire ascendancy at Poonah, assumed a lofty tone ; and, indeed, as the English continued to demand the cession of Bassein and Salsette, he complained, not without some cause, that, after having frankly admitted the unwarrantable ground on which their claim to these places rested, they should still wish to retain possession of them. In short, the negotiation took so unfavourable a turn, that Colonel Upton announced to the councils, both of Calcutta and Bombay, that in all probability it would be immediately broken off. Suddenly, however, the Mahratta minister, seeing that the British authorities were really determined to renew the war, and consequently had in no degree been actuated by fear, yielded almost every point in dispute. A treaty was concluded in Poorundur, by which they obtained all the places demanded ; while a month was fixed as the period within which the army of Ragoba was to be reduced, and their protection entirely withdrawn from him.

Affairs seemed amicably settled, when the wheel of events

brought round another remarkable change. The Court of Directors at home, on being apprized of the arrangement made by the government of Bombay with that chief, were more swayed by its immediate advantages than by their general principles, and sent out a cordial approbation of the measure. Their despatch to this effect arrived immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Poorundur. It was impossible at once to annul so solemn a transaction; but the council at Bombay exulted in an extraordinary degree over the superior presidency, which had so harshly censured their conduct, and became accordingly disposed to find pretexts for placing themselves again in a hostile attitude towards the administration at Poonah. They by no means withdrew entirely their protection from Ragoba; they even derived encouragement from intrigues carried on to re-establish his influence, which, however, were baffled by the profound political skill of Furnavese. The latter received with great favour a Frenchman named St. Lubin, who appears to have held out to him the expectation of a strong military force from Europe. It was concluded, on the whole, that Nana had shown a hostile disposition; and Mr. Hornby, the governor of Bombay, entered on the minutes a general review of Mahratta affairs, in which he concluded that they were fast verging to a crisis that would compel the English either to take some active and decisive part, or to relinquish for ever the hopes of improving their own condition in the west of India. Mr. Hastings, too, though he had concurred in the censure on the Bombay government, now began to think that better terms might have been gained by the treaty of Poorundur. He granted authority to them "to assist in tranquillizing the dissensions of the Mahratta state;" to promote which object he sent Colonel Leslie with a strong detachment to march across the centre of India, from Bengal to the western coast.

The authorities at Bombay were not only highly elated by the sanction thus given to their schemes, but even adopted the rash resolution of accomplishing them with their own resources, lest the glory should be shared by the troops under Leslie. In vain

did Mr. Draper represent to them the importance of delay till their forces should be concentrated. Mr. Carnac, who had now the lead in the council, not only carried his point of immediately opening the campaign, but was himself placed at the head of a committee to aid in the direction of military operations. The command, in consequence of the claims of seniority, devolved on Colonel Egerton, whose health was extremely infirm, and who had acquired all his experience, as a soldier, in Germany, so that an Indian war presented a scene altogether new to him. However, a force of 3900 men, of whom only 600 were British, landed at Panwell, and advanced to attack the capital of the Mahratta empire. The march of an army in that country, encumbered with baggage, bullocks, and beasts of burden, is always slow; but the tardiness of this movement was altogether unprecedented. In eleven days they had not proceeded above eight miles. A week more brought them, on the 9th January 1779, to the village of Tullygaom, where they found in front a mass of about 50,000 men, who began to skirmish in their usual desultory manner. They did not, however, venture on a serious attack; but though nothing had occurred which might not have been foreseen with the utmost certainty, Mr. Carnac and Colonel Cockburn, who, in consequence of Egerton's sickness, had succeeded to the command, formed the fatal determination, from which nothing could dissuade them, of immediate retreat. Such a step, in the face of a Mahratta host, with clouds of cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. The English troops had scarcely begun to fall back, when their rearguard was assailed by the whole force of the enemy. Fortunately it was commanded by Captain Hartley, a young officer of high and rising reputation, who gallantly withstood several most furious charges; and they were finally unable to make a serious impression on any part of the line. The loss, however, was very severe, amounting to upwards of three hundred, among whom were fifteen European officers.

After this action, the military authorities decided that even retreat was no longer practicable, and consequently that there

remained no resource but negotiation. This, in such circumstances, was equivalent to offering the enemy a *carte blanche* as to the terms on which the invaders should be allowed to return to Bombay. In vain did Hartley remonstrate against that humiliating step, and point out a course by which the retreat might have been effected; in vain did Carnac advance objections, which, however, he forbore to press; nothing could shake the pusillanimous determination of the commanders. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba, had not that chief made a private agreement to surrender himself to Scindia. The British themselves, by treating with the latter, obtained somewhat more favourable terms: still the convention of Worgaom, if not the most disastrous, was much the most disgraceful event which had marked the annals of our army in India. All the points in dispute were yielded; all the recent acquisitions were to be restored; and orders were sent that the troops now marching from Bengal should proceed no farther.

Both at Bombay and at home the utmost indignation was felt at this convention. Mr. Carnac, Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, were all three dismissed from the service. Their conduct in the present instance certainly appears quite indefensible, and it is not a little remarkable that it formed a decided contrast to their characters as displayed on former occasions. Cockburn, in particular, had distinguished himself by exploits of the most daring valour, and was considered one of the best officers in the service; but the qualities which had fitted him for a secondary part proved insufficient to guide his judgment in this higher and more arduous station. The treaty was immediately annulled, as having been concluded without sufficient authority, and the arrival of Colonel Leslie with his detachment was alone waited for in order to commence offensive operations. This officer, however, had not made the despatch which was expected. His march being harassed by some of the Rajpoot chiefs, he absurdly allowed himself to be drawn into several petty contests, and in the course of five months had not proceeded above a hundred and twenty miles. Mr.

Hastings was obliged to supersede him, and send in his place Colonel Goddard, who, by passing over three hundred miles in twenty days, reached Surat, having avoided the snares formed by the enemy to interrupt his progress.

This commander, who, though acting on a conciliatory system toward the Bombay government, was invested with a jurisdiction nearly independent, began with an attempt to negotiate. This being found impracticable, on account of the lofty tone assumed by the cabinet of Poonah upon its recent success, hostilities were immediately commenced; and the English appeared no longer as auxiliaries to Ragoba, but as principals. On the first of January 1780, Goddard, now a general, crossed the Taptee, and before the end of the month reduced Dubhoy, and carried by storm Ahmedabad, the great but decayed capital of Guzerat. Then, however, he received notice that Scindia and Holkar, with upwards of twenty thousand horse, had passed the Nerbudda, and were advancing against him. The former chief opened a negotiation with the British, for whom he professed a warm attachment. But, as it was soon perceived that he sought only to gain time, Goddard determined if possible to bring him to a general action; and attacking his camp by night, he succeeded in surprising some of his outposts. The day, however, dawned in time to enable the main body to mount their horses and present themselves in order of battle: they even made a movement as if to charge, but being received with a brisk fire, they galloped off and were soon out of sight. The English commander, who imagined he had gained a decisive victory, soon learned with surprise that they had taken a fresh position quite entire, at a little distance. He again endeavoured to bring them to action; but on his near approach they merely discharged a flight of rockets, and disappeared as before. Wearied with these fruitless and harassing operations, he at length removed his army, and placed it, during the rains, in cantonments on the Nerbudda.

In the course of the dry season, which commenced in October, the general employed himself in the siege of Bassein, while Colonel

Hartley covered his operations, spreading his force over a great part of the Concan, whence he drew both supplies and revenue. This campaign was very successful; Bassein surrendered on the 11th December, while Hartley, taking a judicious position, completely repulsed the whole combined force of the Mahrattas, which attempted to overwhelm him. Thus the English affairs were beginning to assume a prosperous aspect, when Goddard was apprized of an intention on the part of government to open an immediate negotiation. He was directed, therefore, to hold himself in readiness to cease hostilities as soon as intelligence should be received from Poonah of a corresponding disposition. This resolution was connected with certain events of the war in the south of India related in a former chapter. Hyder, having formed an alliance with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, had made a terrible irruption into the Carnatic, and was threatening the very existence of the British establishment at Madras. Under these circumstances, it was determined to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order to detach the court of Poonah from this formidable confederacy. The treaty, however, proceeded slowly, especially after tidings had arrived of the catastrophe that had befallen Colonel Baillie's detachment. In these discouraging circumstances General Goddard conceived that an advance with his army beyond the Ghauts, and the placing it in such a position as to menace the Mahratta capital, might produce a favourable effect. Accordingly, with about 6000 men he succeeded in penetrating the barrier of hills. Nana Furnavese, however, still refused to separate from his ally; and the general was so harassed by attacks on his rear, by having his convoys intercepted, and by seeing the country laid waste around him, that he felt at length the necessity of retreating to Bombay. In this march he was assailed by the enemy with so much fury, that although he reached the coast without dishonour, he sustained a loss more severe than had been incurred in the campaign which terminated in the convention of Worgaom.

Mr. Hastings, meantime, attempted to influence the war by military movements from Bengal, directed towards the very heart

of India. Captain Popham, with 2400 men, crossed the Jumna, and attacked the fort of Lahar ; but finding it much stronger than was expected, and labouring under the want of a battering-train, he could effect only a very imperfect breach. He determined, however, to storm it ; and, though both the officers who led the assault fell, the troops followed with such intrepidity that the place was carried with the loss of 125 men. But the most brilliant exploit was that against Gwalior, a stronghold repeatedly mentioned as being considered in Hindostan Proper the most formidable bulwark of the empire, though it could not rank with the impregnable hill-forts of the south and west. After two months of observation and contrivance, on the 3d August 1780 a party was employed to make a night-assault. They mounted the scarped rock by a regular escalade, then ran up the steep face of the hill, and by ladders of rope ascended the inner wall, thirty feet high, when they found themselves within the place ; and though some of the men gave the alarm by firing prematurely, they nevertheless stood their ground. The garrison were panic-struck ; and the sun had scarcely risen when the British, with almost no resistance, became masters of this celebrated fortress.

In pursuance of the same system, Mr. Hastings sent Colonel Camac to carry the war into the territories of Scindia. He penetrated without difficulty into Malwa ; but the Mahratta chief then hastened to oppose the invasion, and by the rapid manœuvres of his numerous cavalry, soon reduced the British to great distress ; keeping up an incessant cannonade during the long period of seven days. The colonel, however, by remaining for some time inactive, lulled the suspicions of the enemy, then suddenly burst by night into his camp, and defeated him with great loss. This success, although he was not able to follow it up, raised considerably the reputation of the English, who also succeeded, by a large sum of money, in detaching Moodajee Bhonslay, rajah of Berar, from the other Mahratta leaders. Thus, after various transactions, a separate convention was first concluded with Scindia on the 13th October 1781 ; and finally, on the 7th May following, a

general peace was signed at Salbye, on terms as favourable as the chequered events of the war could give room to expect. The limits of the respective territories were fixed nearly on the same footing as by the treaty of Poorundur; and a monthly pension of 25,000 rupees was assigned to Ragoba. Thus closed the first Mahratta war, by which our countrymen, it must be confessed, had earned very little either of glory or advantage.

From this time the relations of that people with our government were for many years those of amity and alliance; a union which was produced by a common dread of the exorbitant power and pretensions of the house of Mysore. We have seen them joined with the British in successive leagues, and affording a tumultuary aid in the contests which brought to an end the power of Tippoo. The history of the confederation, however, was remarkably distinguished by the rise of Scindia to a pre-eminence which made him decidedly superior to all its other leaders. His territory being contiguous to the southern states and to the fragments of the Mogul empire, he added to it successively these different possessions. On the east he subdued Bundelcund; on the west he rendered tributary the warlike princes of Rajpootana; and at length, amid the dissensions of the imperial court, Shah Allum, who still retained the name, revered even in its downfall, of Mogul emperor, placed himself under his protection. In this manner that chief became master of Agra, Delhi, and the surrounding territories; while he exercised all that now remained of imperial power. He was so elated by these successes, that he ventured upon a demand of *chout*, or tribute, from the government of Bengal; a claim which Mr. Macpherson, then governor, repelled with the highest indignation, and insisted upon its formal renunciation.

Scindia's elevated position was in other respects precarious and difficult. Labouring under an extreme deficiency of funds, he was obliged to levy exorbitant contributions from the Rajpoot chiefs. That proud race rose in insurrection, and were joined by Mohammed Beg and Gholaum Kadir, to whom, as well as to the

emperor himself, the domination of the Mahratta ruler had become odious. In an invasion of Rajpootana, he was completely defeated, and though the feudal bands of that country, as usual after a victory, dispersed and went to their homes, he was no longer able to resist the power even of the Moslem princes. He was again worsted, and reduced to the greatest extremity, when he entreated, though with little success, that Nana Furnavese would forget all grounds of quarrel and jealousy, and aid him in the general cause of the Mahratta confederation. He was extricated by the savage violence of Gholaum Kadir himself, who, having obtained possession of Delhi and of the emperor's person, treated him, his family, and adherents, with the most wanton barbarity. With his own hand he used the point of a dagger to put out Shah Allum's eyes; and committed other cruelties which rendered him the object of general horror and disgust. At length his own associate, Ismael Beg (who had succeeded to Mohammed), went over to Scindia, who also at length obtained a reinforcement from Poonah. By this means he was enabled to enter Delhi, and pursue Kadir, who was taken and put to death; and having thus regained almost the entire plenitude of his dominion, the Mahratta chief sought to strengthen his military power by means not resorted to by any of his predecessors. He enlisted into his army the various warlike races in the north of India,—the valiant Rajpoot horsemen, the Goseins, a religious sect, whose tenets did not prevent them from taking arms, and even Mohammedan soldiers who had been thrown out of the Mogul service. But the force on which he chiefly relied was a corps of regular infantry, organized and disciplined in the European manner by a French adventurer named De Boigne. This body, at first consisting only of two battalions, had been rapidly augmented, till it amounted to three brigades, each comprising 5600 infantry, 500 cavalry, and forty pieces of cannon. He had besides a separate train of artillery, and was supported by a mass of irregular foot. A considerable territory was assigned for the support of this corps; which included officers of all nations, among whom was a considerable proportion of English.

Having thus rendered himself the most powerful among the Mahratta princes, Scindia's next object was to acquire a preponderance at the court of Poonah. He proceeded thither with the professed purpose of conferring on the Peishwa the dignity of Vakeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme deputy, which he had caused the Mogul to bestow; a most unwelcome visit, which Nana Furnavese sought in vain to decline. He arrived at length, and was received with every mark of outward respect. The Peishwa, amid great state, was invested with this new title, which was considered an addition to the splendour even of his rank; while the gallant warrior, being appointed his perpetual deputy, with the right of nominating a successor, acquired all the real power attached to the function. Besides dazzling the eye of the youthful prince by the pomp of this ceremony, he gained his favour by inviting him to field-sports and other amusements, from which he had been in a considerable degree withheld by the austere maxims of the aged Bramin, his minister. In short, Scindia seemed about to supplant Furnavese as the arbiter of the Mahratta state, when he was seized with a violent illness, which terminated his life on the 12th February 1794.

Mahadajee Scindia, who had been the chief instrument in raising his house to be the first in Hindostan, was a person of very great activity and address, long experience, and of so much principle as to be supposed incapable of committing any very enormous crime,—a praise which cannot often be bestowed on the great men of India. His death at the present moment, when a danger of the greatest magnitude impended over the state, may probably be considered as the main cause of the ultimate decline of the Mahratta power. Dying without issue, he adopted as his successor, not the nearest heir, but Dowlut Rao, his nephew, the son of his youngest brother; a youth not more than fifteen years of age, who, though possessed of talents and enterprise, was without that knowledge which would have been necessary to guide him through the difficult circumstances in which he was soon placed.

Nana Furnavese, on the death of his rival, seemed again re-

placed in the supreme direction of affairs; but the very eagerness with which he clung to power soon involved him in a deeper calamity. While he kept Madoo Rao, the Peishwa, in very strict tutelage, he held also in close confinement Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, who, on approaching manhood, displayed high accomplishments and engaging manners, which rendered him an object of general interest. This was particularly felt by his cousin, Madoo Rao. An epistolary communication was opened, and a romantic friendship formed by these two young men, who stood in a position of such deadly rivalry. In their correspondence they were wont to anticipate the moment when, delivered from their present thralldom, they might form a personal intimacy, and emulate the great actions of their ancestors. This innocent exchange of sentiment, being discovered by Nana, excited his most violent rage. He increased the rigour of Bajee's confinement, and, at the same time, loaded Madoo with the severest reproaches. The high-spirited youth, in a paroxysm of grief and indignation, threw himself from a terrace in the palace, and died in two days. This was a most disastrous event to Furnavese; for Bajee, whom he had done so much to make his enemy, was, in fact, the legitimate heir. The minister attempted at first to parry this fatal circumstance, and proposed that the widow of the deceased prince, though she had not reached the age of womanhood, should adopt a son, whom he might establish as Peishwa, and in his name conduct the government. He found this measure, however, to be quite repugnant to public feeling; and learning that Scindia had declared in favour of the imprisoned youth, endeavoured to make the best of his situation by employing his influence in raising the latter to the vacant dignity. Bajee Rao, on this intention being announced to him, was so much surprised, that he obliged the messenger to take hold of a cow's tail, and swear by the holy waters of the Godavery that no stratagem was intended. He then repaired to Poonah, and was placed on the musnud. The reconciliation, however, could not be durable. The court from this time became a complete chaos of political intrigue, between the Peishwa, who en-

deavoured to exercise his own authority, and Nana, Scindia, Purseram Bhow, and other chiefs, who sought to administer it in his name. These individuals appear in the confused scene one day united in close alliance, the next plotting one another's destruction. We shall not now follow the thread of these intricate transactions, nor encumber our pages with the uncouth names of humbler individuals who, amid the general confusion, contrived to thrust themselves into notice. Some attempts were even made to employ as an instrument the long-imprisoned rajah, whose title was still dear to the Mahratta people. Nana Furnavese, after passing through various fortunes, and being reduced to the greatest distress, was restored to some share of his former power, but died soon afterwards, leaving the reputation of one of the ablest and most skilful politicians that India had ever produced; and there remained no individual possessed of those comprehensive and statesman-like views, which were soon much wanted to direct the affairs of the confederation.

Even before the death of Furnavese, the court of Poonah had been placed for some time in a critical situation. It was united in a triple alliance with Britain and the Nizam, against the power and pretensions of the house of Mysore, and had repeatedly co-operated, though in an irregular and unsatisfactory manner, with the English in their wars with that dynasty. Lord Cornwallis, though he had much reason to complain of the conduct of their army, so far from expressing any anger, granted to them a third, or equal share with the Company and the Nizam, of the ceded lands; and Marquis Wellesley afterwards, when he entered upon the last and decisive contest with Tippoo, called upon the Mahratta government to fulfil the stipulations of this alliance. By that time, however, they had begun to cherish a deep and not ill-grounded jealousy respecting the rapid progress of the British power; and although they chose to temporize, their wishes were now completely in favour of Mysore. Nana strongly shared this feeling; nevertheless he decidedly objected to any measure which might commit the state in a war with so formidable a nation. But

Scindia and the Peishwa, those young and ardent spirits, embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the sultan; a fact which was proved by a correspondence found at Seringapatam, breathing unequivocal hostility, and leaving no doubt, that had fortune favoured the son of Hyder, he would at once have been joined by these chiefs. They were arrested, however, by the intelligence of the fall of that capital, the death of its ruler, and the downfall of his formidable dynasty. Then, indeed, every effort was made to excuse their inactivity as allies, and to explain away every symptom of a hostile intention.

Though the failure on the part of the Mahrattas had been undeniable, Marquis Wellesley declined showing any resentment; he even set apart for them a portion of the sequestered territory. But he determined to avail himself of his present commanding position to establish if possible an effective control over this great and turbulent state. He tendered to them a share in the spoils of Mysore, coupled with the condition, that the Peishwa, on terms similar to those of a treaty just arranged with the Nizam, should receive a British subsidiary force, and cede a portion of territory, the clear revenue of which might be sufficient for their maintenance. But this proposal, after some months of delay and evasion, was decidedly rejected. It evidently appeared that his highness would never agree to any such measure, unless under the pressure of an irresistible necessity; and the governor-general, entertaining sanguine hopes that such a crisis might ere long occur, carefully watched his opportunity. He calculated, that the distractions in the Mahratta confederacy, as they must increase, could scarcely fail of compelling that prince to have recourse to British aid; for, though the nominal head of the other chieftains, and himself a man of spirit and ambition, he saw his power every day more and more controlled by the pretensions of those military adventurers. Scindia began to act as the real sovereign of Maharashtra, commanding a force superior to that of his master, whom he evidently intended to treat as a mere state-pageant. Holkar, too, having assembled round him a vast predatory army, was not unwilling to

measure his strength with any rival, however mighty. Yet these turbulent elements continued for some time to ferment without producing an actual explosion; and hence more than three years elapsed from the conquest of Mysore, before the expected crisis arrived. Marquis Wellesley was even preparing to return to Europe in January 1803, when the unexpected intelligence induced him to remain. The convulsion which he had long waited for occurred on a greater scale, and in a form more favourable to his views than he had ever anticipated.

The rival houses of Scindia and Holkar, after recently emerging from the lowest obscurity, had for some time ranked nearly equal; but after the former had once risen to greatness, his family acquired a very decided preponderance. The power of the Holkars, however, revived under an illegitimate branch, Jeswunt Rao, who by boldness, enterprise, and a peculiar talent for predatory warfare, soon raised himself, notwithstanding the stain on his birth, to be the head of his house, and the leader of all who fought under its banners. Dissensions soon arose between him and Scindia, whose territory he did not spare in the course of his ravages. After various movements, the two armies engaged near Indore, Holkar's capital, when that chief was completely routed, with the loss of ninety-eight pieces of cannon; and his power was supposed to be so completely crushed, that the other very imprudently neglected any farther pursuit. No force is so easily or so rapidly recruited as that of the Mahrattas. The vanquished leader, having undertaken some inroads into the surrounding territories, soon rallied round him all the bold youths who delighted in plunder and adventure; large bands even from the ranks of his adversary, tired of an inactive life, flocked to his camp. In short, he soon found himself in a condition to march upon Poonah. Scindia and the Peishwa united their forces to oppose him; and there ensued in the vicinity of that city one of the most obstinate battles recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. Holkar fought with the utmost desperation, and led his men to successive charges with such fury, that the enemy were completely broken, and fled in every direc-

tion. Colonel Close, the British Resident, while the engagement lasted, hoisted his flag, which was respected by both parties; and next day he was asked to visit the victorious general. He found him in his tent, ankle-deep in mud, wounded both with a spear and a sabre. He received the colonel with the utmost politeness, professed a cordial attachment to the English, and expressed a wish that they would assist in adjusting his differences with Scindia and the Peishwa.

The latter prince, however, had already entered into engagements with the British. On the first approach of the crisis which had now overwhelmed him, he began to make overtures for a subsidiary force, though on the narrowest possible conditions. It was not even to enter the country, but to be posted on the frontier, ready to advance when circumstances might call for its services. His object evidently was, not to incur the odium and danger of introducing these powerful foreigners into his dominions, but by the mere dread of their approach to overawe the contending chiefs, and restore his own supremacy. The marquis was not, however, unwilling to close the arrangement, even under this jealous restriction; but the treaty for the maintenance of the corps was attended with great difficulties. An ample extent of territory was indeed offered, but being situated in Hindostan Proper, where the Peishwa had a mere nominal authority, it was really occupied by Scindia and Holkar, from whom it must be wrested by force of arms. The assignment was required of a tract of country over which the English could hold command; even money would be accepted, notwithstanding the uncertainties of obtaining payment. Thus the negotiation was spun out till the very day before the battle, when the prince, foreseeing that whoever prevailed he would be reduced to a state of vassalage, signed the compact. After Holkar's signal victory, he determined to throw himself entirely into the arms of the British. This intention he intimated from Singurh, to which he had fled, and was then invited to repair to the coast, where the arrangements could be conducted with security. Having repaired to Severndroog, he embarked

for Bassein, where he was met by Colonel Close; and at that place, on the 31st December 1802, was signed the celebrated treaty by which the alliance was settled on a more extended basis. The Company not only engaged to furnish 6000 men, for the support of whom was assigned a territory yielding twenty-six lacks of rupees; they engaged, moreover, to bring forward all the force they could command, and which might be necessary to re-establish the Peishwa in his full rights as head of the Mahratta confederacy.

In entering on the greatest war which England ever waged in India, and which was destined completely to establish her supremacy over that region, it is impossible to refrain from some inquiry respecting the necessity and the wisdom of this eventful measure. Mr. Mill, in a very masterly discussion upon this subject, argues, that the war arose out of the treaty of Bassein, which was manifestly the spontaneous act of the governor-general; and that the Mahratta chiefs, engrossed by their own contests for power, had no immediate intention or wish to involve themselves in hostility with the British government. The object of each was to obtain possession of the Peishwa's person, and to exercise in his name a general control over the whole state. But an arrangement which altogether withdrew that ruler from the control of all of them, and transferred to a foreign power the whole weight of his name and resources, besides humbling their national pride, presented a common obstacle to the ambitious views of each chief, and was therefore to all an object of equal resentment. He goes on to maintain that the Company might have safely looked on, and seen the different leaders waste themselves in internal conflicts, while, courted by each, they might have secured advantages to themselves, and held the balance between them. This part of the question, however, depends upon circumstances that are extremely complicated; and the arguments urged on the other side appear to be at least equally plausible.

It has never been denied, that a power which sees its neighbours engaged in war may be justified in interfering, either from

generosity to defend the oppressed, or from policy, lest any one state, by conquering the others, should attain a dangerous ascendancy. But the conflicts of the Mahratta chiefs now bore much less the character of internal disturbance, than of regular war between independent princes. The common national tie served little more than to inspire the design and hope of a general dominion, —the object which, it is clear, had kindled the ambition of the several aspirants. There was therefore, perhaps, a strong probability that ere long some one of these leaders would gain the supremacy, and wield the entire resources of the Mahratta power. It seems impossible to deny that in such a case an able warrior might have become very formidable to Britain, both by the great extent of territory which he would have commanded, and by the success which might have been expected from disciplining his troops after the European manner. He would also have enjoyed the prospect of being aided by the French, while the English would have had to dread the doubtful faith of the Nizam and other native princes whom they held in vassalage.

The Marquis Wellesley, from his confidential correspondence recently published, evidently cherished sanguine hopes that the mere influence of this treaty, without any actual appeal to arms, would have re-established tranquillity and a due balance of power in the Mahratta state. Scindia, it was hoped, after so overwhelming a blow, would have been happy to co-operate with him and the Peishwa, under the offered pledge of regaining all he had lost, and having its preservation guaranteed to him. Holkar's resources were considered too unsolid and ephemeral to make any stand against these three united powers. The only doubt respected Raghojee Bhonslay, who had become Rajah of Berar, and whose ancestor, as formerly mentioned, had even laid claim to the rank of Peishwa. He had, however, been observed to attach himself so very decidedly to the successful party, that there appeared little chance of his espousing a cause so desperate as that of Holkar. In fact, had these chiefs been guided by sound views of policy, they would have at least temporized till Scindia had

recruited his shattered forces, and till his rival, who had retired beyond the Godavery, and seemed disinclined to take any decisive step, could be induced to join the confederacy.

These hopes, though resting on plausible grounds, were not fulfilled. Scindia and Raghojee felt such a hatred and dread of British power, as not only suspended the strongest feelings of enmity between themselves, but impelled them to make precipitate efforts against a treaty which appeared to render the Company supreme over Maharashtra. Yet the former, who, after his defeat, had retired to Burhanpoor, where he had reassembled a considerable force, did not at first declare himself. Being invited to accede to the treaty of Bassein and to share its advantages, he expressed an intention to comply, only wishing previously to correspond with, and obtain some explanations from the Peishwa. Afterwards he declined acceding, but declared he would do nothing to obstruct its execution. Alarm was naturally excited by his continuing posted at Burhanpoor, which could apparently have no other object but that of regaining his ascendancy at Poonah; wherefore Collins, stationed as Resident in his camp, again pressed upon him the acceptance of the treaty, though intimating that his refusal would not be considered as a ground of offence. In that case, however, it was expected he would prove the absence of any hostile intention, by immediately recrossing the Nerbudda, to the north of which his own dominions lay. He made friendly professions, but urged that his present position was necessary to watch and keep in check the movements of Holkar. The Marquis afterwards intimated to the Resident, that if this should appear to be the case, he would accept any other unequivocal proof of pacific dispositions; and he continued long to cherish the hope that this warrior would not venture any opposition without the concurrence of Holkar and the Rajah of Berar. He wrote both to him and the rajah, assuring them of being left secure and unmolested in the possession of their dominions; at the same time, in allusion to certain unfavourable reports, he warned them, that all attempts on the part of any state or power to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bas-

sein, would place them in a state of hostility with Britain. The rajah replied, disclaiming any hostile views; though a letter was at the same time communicated, which he had written to a chief, Azim-ul-Omrah, expressing his desire to meet Scindia, and concert measures with him for opposing the fulfilment of the said treaty. Although this intention was denied, and amicable professions continued, yet the movements both of Scindia's army and that of Berar entirely corresponded to it. The governor-general therefore determined to place all his armies in such positions as might enable them to act with the utmost vigour, the moment it should be determined to strike the blow. General Wellesley from Mysore, Colonel Stevenson from the Nizam's capital of Hyderabad, and some regiments under Colonel Murray from Bombay, had been ordered to advance upon Poonah, and after re-establishing the Peishwa, to be ready if necessary to act against the turbulent Mahratta chiefs. Lord Lake, stationed with a large force at Cawnpore, on the Bengal frontier, had instructions, immediately on learning the commencement of hostilities, to advance. His objects were to conquer Scindia's territories in Hindostan Proper, capture the Mogul capitals of Delhi and Agra, obtain possession of the emperor's person, and open a friendly communication with the Rajpoot chiefs. At the same time, detachments were to be sent against Cuttack, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, and from Bombay against Baroach and the neighbouring coast of Guzerat. The success of these last expeditions would render the Company masters of the whole circuit of the Indian coast, and cut off all connexion between their European and native enemies.

On the 9th of March 1803, Major-General Wellesley marched from his position at Hurryhur, and on the 12th entered the Mahratta territory. Colonel Stevenson, at the same time, broke up from Hyderabad with the subsidiary force of about 8000 men, and 16,000 troops furnished by the Nizam. On the 15th April the two divisions united at Aklooss, about seventy miles south-east of Poonah. Holkar, on hearing of the approach of the English, determined not to involve himself in hostile proceedings, but

early in April retreated to Chandore, a place 130 miles to the northward of Poonah,—leaving Amrut Rao, whom he had invested with the dignity of Peishwa, with only a small detachment in that capital. Sir Arthur then judged it unnecessary to lead his whole army to a place where it could not without much difficulty procure subsistence; but being informed by Colonel Close that there was reason to apprehend Amrut Rao would set fire to the capital, where part of the family of the Peishwa still resided, he formed a select corps of cavalry, and advanced with such speed, that in thirty-two hours, on the 20th April, he reached Poonah, which Amrut had hastily quitted without attempting any violence. The English power being thus established in the Mahratta metropolis, the sovereign was escorted from Bombay by the detachment under Colonel Murray, and resumed his seat on the musnud amid the congratulations of the British and native armies.

General Wellesley now paused till he could ascertain the disposition of the other Mahratta chiefs. Though great difficulty was found in procuring supplies and the means of transport, no aid was derived from the Peishwa, who was either unable, or, as was strongly suspected, disinclined to command the exertions of his subjects for this object. However, by his own activity and the assistance forwarded from Bombay, the English leader was at length enabled to put his troops in marching condition.

As the conduct of the native rulers became daily more suspicious, the governor-general, to avoid the delays of communicating with Calcutta, invested his brother on the 26th June, not only with the supreme military command in the Mahratta territories, but with the decision of the question of peace or war. In the first capacity, indeed, he was still inferior to Lord Lake and General Stuart; but the former was on an entirely different line of operations, and the latter, it was understood, would not interfere. Sir Arthur hereupon instructed Colonel Collins urgently to demand from Scindia an explanation of his present menacing attitude, and to solicit his retirement into the interior of his own dominions. That chief gave the most positive assurances of a

peace disposition, and even of an intention to acquiesce in the treaty of Bassein; but as, in conjunction with the Rajah of Berar, he still maintained his menacing posture, and was understood to be issuing orders to his officers to hold themselves in readiness to act on the shortest notice, it was judged farther necessary to require that he and the rajah should withdraw their troops to their ordinary stations in the centre of their respective territories, while a corresponding movement should be made on the part of the British army. To this demand, Scindia replied, that he expected in a few days to have an interview with the Rajah of Berar, when the Resident would be informed "whether it should be peace or war." This ambiguous expression, so strongly indicative of the latter alternative, induced the general to advance to Walkee, a strong post near Ahmednugger, whence he could with advantage commence military operations.

On the 3d June, the rajah arrived, and had a meeting with Scindia, though the principal conference did not take place till the 8th; and when the Resident, on the 12th, demanded to know the result, he was met only by delays and subterfuges. The two princes acknowledged themselves to be in some respects dissatisfied with the treaty of Bassein, but declared that their troops were in their own territory, without any hostile intention. They admitted, however, that they were intending to march towards the Nizam's dominions; and from this and other circumstances, the general formed the decided opinion that they were determined upon war, and were only desirous of waiting till their preparations should be completed, and the negotiation which they had opened with Holkar brought to a conclusion. Every delay, in fact, was in their favour. Colonel Collins was therefore instructed to demand, in a peremptory manner, that the Rajah of Berar should immediately retire to his capital of Nagpoor, and Scindia beyond the Nerbudda, provided the state of the rivers permitted; if not, at least to Burhanpoor. These remonstrances, seconded by a letter from General Wellesley, procured for the colonel an audience on the 25th July; though he obtained nothing beyond shifts and,

excuses till the 31st, when he threatened an immediate departure. He was then invited to the rajah's tent, and a proposal was made that the allies should retire to Burhanpoor, fifty-eight miles in their rear, provided the English commander would withdraw his troops to their usual stations at Madras and Bombay. This arrangement, which would have left the Mahratta territory entirely at the disposal of the confederates, was at once rejected; and they at length offered to march back to their respective capitals, provided the British army should commence a retrograde movement on the very same day. This proposition was judged worthy of being transmitted to the general. The letter, however, purporting to convey it, on being delivered, was found to contain no such offer, but merely the first and rejected proposition. The Resident then concluding that the sole object of the allies was to gain time, at once quitted the camp, and the war immediately commenced.

Sir A. Wellesley was at the head of 7000 infantry, 1900 cavalry, with 5400 native horse, independently of the corps of Colonel Stevenson, which covered the Nizam's frontier. He now with characteristic promptitude marched upon Ahmednugger, and on the 8th August 1803 summoned that fortress, which was considered one of the bulwarks of the Deccan. On the first day the town was stormed, and on the 10th a battery was opened against the fort, which on the 12th was evacuated by the garrison. He then proceeded to the city of Aurungabad. Meantime, however, the confederates with their numerous cavalry had passed Colonel Stevenson, and appeared resolved to cross the Godavery and make a rapid march against Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam. The British general, however, by a judicious movement, obliged them to return northwards; but as the flying warfare, which they seemed inclined to pursue, would have been exceedingly harassing, he resolved to bring them, almost on any terms, to close combat. With this view, the two English corps marched separately, though at a short distance, along the two roads by which the enemy was expected to pass.

The general had arranged that Stevenson and himself should

unite on the 24th September, and in concert attack the enemy; but as it was reported that their cavalry had begun to move, he pushed forward to reconnoitre, or to prevent their manoeuvre. His information, which in that hostile country was extremely imperfect, led him to suppose that they were posted at Bokerdun, twelve or fourteen miles distant; but after marching six miles, he discovered their whole force, consisting of 38,000 cavalry, above 18,000 infantry, and about 100 pieces of artillery, drawn up on the plain of Assaye. He could not now retreat without being pursued under a great disadvantage by their immensely superior body of horse, and without greatly dispiriting his followers. He determined, therefore, notwithstanding the vast disparity in the number of his troops, to lead them directly on to the attack. Far from being struck with any apprehension, they exultingly exclaimed, "They cannot escape us!" As they advanced, however, the enemy's artillery, the best organized part of their army, opened a most destructive fire, which greatly thinned their ranks. The general, being informed by one of the officers in command that his guns could not be got forward, owing to the number of men and bullocks that were disabled, said, "Well, tell him to get on without them." The British infantry continued to move forward in the face of this tremendous fire with a steady pace, and bore down all opposition. The Mahratta cavalry, meanwhile, on seeing the opposite ranks so much reduced, made a desperate attempt to break them; when they were encountered by a most gallant charge of the English horse, which soon compelled them to join their foot in a rapid retreat. The victory seemed complete, when it was for a moment rendered doubtful owing to a very unexpected incident. By a stratagem not unexampled in the East, a considerable number of Indians had thrown themselves on the ground, and been passed as dead by the advancing troops; they now started up, seized some of the captured guns, and commenced a brisk fire from behind, under favour of which a few of the fleeing squadrons rallied. Sir Arthur Wellesley, however, with his usual presence of mind, detached several corps, by whom this alarming resurrection was

soon put down; and the whole Indian host was forthwith involved in one promiscuous flight, leaving on the field 1200 dead, with 98 pieces of artillery. The loss of the conquerors was very severe, amounting to 409 killed and 1622 wounded. Much of this was occasioned by the mistake of an officer who led his corps direct against the formidable battery at the village of Assaye, instead of attacking another quarter, which being carried would have caused that post to fall of itself. Scindia's infantry fought better than Tippoo's, and his ordnance was so superior that it could be used by the British, while that taken in Mysore was found quite worthless.

Such was the battle of Assaye, which established the fame of the greatest commander of the age, and fixed the dominion of Britain over prostrate India. Yet his conduct on this occasion has been the subject of considerable controversy, and many consider that he led on his troops too daringly to an unequal combat. The panegyrists of the general, on the other hand, argue, that he availed himself of this apparent disadvantage as the only footing upon which the enemy could be induced to engage in regular battle. But this plea is refuted by one of his interesting letters to Sir Thomas Munro, where he disclaims any intention of acting separately from Colonel Stevenson, and admits himself to have been taken considerably by surprise when he discovered the whole Indian army assembled on the extensive plain. He judged, however, that, under existing circumstances, he could not retreat without disastrous consequences. Sir Thomas, rather a severe military critic, observes, "If there was anything wrong, it was in giving battle; but in the conduct of the action, everything was right. General Wellesley gave every part of his army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed at the very moment that it was most necessary." In regard to the result, also, it has been said, that the enemy suffered so little of actual loss as to render the battle very indecisive. But besides the capture of their formidable artillery, and the extensive dispersion which in

undisciplined armies always follows defeat, it appears probable that this triumph, achieved by such a disparity of numbers, produced a moral effect greater than would have arisen from a much more decisive victory gained under ordinary circumstances. There is something extremely sensitive in the Indian mind, that is acted upon with extraordinary force by whatever is strange or unexpected. Such displays of valour they never fail to exaggerate, attaching to them a mysterious efficacy which partakes deeply of the supernatural. It was on the field of Assaye that the spirit of India was vanquished; and Hindostan, after that fatal day, was viewed by its people as having passed into the hands of invincible conquerors.

After this defeat Scindia proceeded to make separate overtures; but as they were presented at first through private and uncredited channels, which he might afterwards disown, no proceeding could be founded upon them. The commander-in-chief directed Colonel Stevenson to reduce the great city of Burhanpoor and the adjoining fort of Asseerghur, which bore the reputation of being almost impregnable. The town yielded without opposition, and the fort after a surprisingly short resistance. The Mahratta chief then sued for peace in earnest, and the terms of an armistice were arranged for all his territories south of the Nerbudda. The British general next led his army against Berar, and found the rajah with his troops on the Plains of Argaom, where, contrary to the convention, he was still supported by a strong body of Scindia's cavalry. He attacked them without the slightest hesitation, and, after a contest less obstinate than at Assaye, gained a complete victory, taking 36 pieces of artillery, and losing only 46 killed and 308 wounded. Siege was then laid to Gawilghur, one of those hill-forts which are esteemed the bulwarks of India. It made a more vigorous defence than any of the other strongholds, and severe labour was required to plant the cannon on its steep sides; but in a very few days a breach was effected, and the outer wall was carried by storm. There remained still an inner rampart, which for some time defeated the efforts of

the assailants, till Captain Campbell (now Lieutenant-General Sir Colin), with a detachment of light troops, carried it by escalade, and opened the gate to the rest of the army.

Sir Arthur could now have advanced upon the rajah's capital, and completed the extinction of his power; but a vakeel had already arrived in his camp to solicit a conference preparatory to negotiation. This envoy endeavoured to prove that his master had never entertained any hostile intention; and after some unprofitable discussion on this question, asked the terms on which peace might now be obtained. The British commander demanded the cession of the maritime district of Cuttack, which was desirable for completing the Company's dominion over the eastern coast; also the surrender of a territory on the river Wurda, the authority over which had hitherto been inconveniently shared between the rajah and the nizam. Some further demands were made, but withdrawn; and the arrangements, being hastened by the fall of Gawilghur, were completed on the 16th, and the treaty signed at Deoghaun on the 17th December 1803.

Meantime, the central regions of Hindostan were the theatre of events equally memorable. Scindia's force there consisted almost exclusively of the large corps formed on the European model by De Boigne, who, having returned to France, had, as we have already stated, been succeeded by Perron. These troops were considered very formidable, consisting of 16,000 or 17,000 regular infantry, from 15,000 to 20,000 cavalry, a large body of irregulars, and a well-appointed train of artillery. General Lake, having been informed of the failure of the negotiation with their master, moved from Cawnpoor on the 7th August 1803; on the 28th he passed the frontier, and next day found the whole of Perron's horse in a strong position near Coel, a town in the Doab. He presently led his troops to the attack; when the native army, deemed so efficient and well equipped, after a short random fire, retreated with such rapidity that the English could not overtake them. The next object was the fort of Alighur, the main dépôt of the enemy. It was a very strong place, surrounded with a good

glacis, and a broad and deep ditch always filled with water. It would have been unassailable had the entrance been confined to a drawbridge; but a terrace had been imprudently formed for that purpose, over which Lake concluded his troops might force a passage. Colonel Monson, who led the storming-party, soon penetrated across the mound and over the breastwork; but the wall was so strongly guarded by spearmen, that he could not attempt escalade. A twelve-pounder was brought forward to burst open the gate; but before it could be pointed the soldiers remained exposed to a most galling fire, which severely wounded and disabled their leader himself. Major M'Leod succeeded to the command; and, after the first gate had been forced open, pushed his way through a long and intricate passage and two successive gateways to a fourth, against which, however, the gun was employed without effect. The situation of the assailants would now have been serious, had not the major succeeded in forcing the wicket, and thus opening an entrance to his countrymen, who soon became masters of the place.

It being understood that Perron was discontented with the service of Scindia, Lord Lake was authorized to make large offers on condition of his coming over to the English, and bringing his troops with him. In fact, a letter was received from him on the 7th September, requesting to be allowed to repair with his family, servants, and property, in safety to Lucknow, but without expressing any disposition to detach his army from their allegiance. His request was readily granted; and he afterwards stated his desertion to have been occasioned by the appointment of another officer to supersede him in the command.

After the capture of Alighur, Lake marched directly upon Delhi, the imperial capital, and the residence of him who still enjoyed the rank and title of Great Mogul. He had advanced within view of its walls, when he discovered the army, organized under French command, drawn up in a strong position to defend its approaches. Though he had only 4500 men to oppose 19,000, yet he determined to give battle without delay; but as the enemy could not

without difficulty and severe loss have been dislodged from their present ground, he used a feigned retreat as a stratagem to draw them from it. This delicate manœuvre was executed by the British troops with the most perfect order; and the enemy, imagining the flight real, quitted their intrenchments, and eagerly pursued. But no sooner were they fully drawn forth on the plain than Lord Lake faced about, and in a single charge drove them from the field, with the loss of three thousand in killed and wounded, as well as their whole train of artillery.

The British general now entered Delhi without resistance. He immediately requested and obtained an audience of the sovereign, with whom a secret communication had previously been opened. He beheld this unfortunate descendant of a long line of illustrious princes "seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his former state, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmities, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and marked with extreme old age and a settled melancholy." He is described as deeply sensible of the kindness of Lake, on whom he bestowed several titles, such as, "the sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war." All his adherents, and especially the inhabitants of Delhi, expressed delight on this occasion; and the journalists, in the language of oriental hyperbole, proclaimed that the emperor, through excess of joy, had recovered his sight. Mr. Mill derides these rather pompous descriptions of the "delivering" of Shah Allum, as he was in fact merely transferred as a state-prisoner from one custody to another; yet, besides having suffered the most barbarous usage from some of the native chiefs, he had endured from all of them very great neglect. The French officers seem to have been inclined to treat him with respect; but the funds obtained from Scindia for his support were exceedingly scanty. The English did not indeed restore any shadow of his former power; still they maintained him in comfort, and with some resemblance of the pomp by which the Mogul throne had been anciently surrounded. In return, they obtained for all their measures the sanction of a

name still venerated throughout the empire; in fact, they were thus virtually seated on the throne of India.

The conquerors now marched upon Agra, the rival capital, which still possessed the advantage of being defended by a strong fort, occupied by a large body of troops. Anarchy, however, prevailed in the garrison, and the officers, being chiefly of English extraction, had become objects of suspicion, and were thrown into confinement. At the same time seven battalions of Scindia's army, having been denied admittance, lest they should claim a share of the riches it contained, still kept their post in the town and principal mosque. It was considered necessary to begin by dislodging them, which was effected, though not without an obstinate resistance; and the soldiers, to the amount of 2500, immediately transferred their services to the victors. The Mahratta leaders meanwhile resolved to propose a treaty of surrender; but as the time for its ratification approached, they suddenly recommenced firing. The trenches were forthwith opened, and a breach being effected on the 17th October 1803, the enemy capitulated the same evening, stipulating only for the safety of their persons and private property. The treasure found here, amounting to no less than £280,000, was divided among the troops as prize-money.

There remained still in the field a corps composed of troops detached from the Deccan, reinforced by fugitives from the different armies. General Lake hastened in pursuit of this force; and, considering it only as a collection of runaways deserted by their officers, little apprehended that he was about to encounter the most obstinate resistance he had sustained during the whole campaign. This body, consisting of 9000 foot, 5000 horse, and a numerous train of artillery, were rapidly retreating, when, on the 1st November, he overtook them with his cavalry alone, and determined, by an immediate attack, to prevent their escape. The enemy, however, having their motions concealed by a cloud of dust, speedily threw themselves into an advantageous position at Laswarrig, which they strengthened by cutting the embankment of a reservoir in their front. The dragoons were led on, and had

gained some advantages, when they suffered so severely by the fire from a number of well-served guns, that it was judged necessary to withdraw them, and wait till the infantry should come up. That force accordingly advanced; but the 76th regiment and a few companies of sepoy, having arrived earlier than the others, were exposed to so destructive a fire, that the general deemed it his wisest as well as safest plan to lead singly to the charge "this handful of heroes." They accordingly carried all before them, though with severe loss; and when the Mahratta cavalry attempted to break their thinned ranks, the British horse triumphantly repelled the charge. The remainder of the foot soon appeared, and, after a desperate stand, the enemy, for the most part, were either destroyed or made prisoners. In short, by this brilliant success, the entire army, formed and disciplined under Scindia by British officers, and considered the finest possessed by any native power, was completely annihilated.

Besides these achievements, the expeditions detached under Colonel Woodington into Guzerat, under Colonel Harcourt into Cuttack, and under Colonel Powell into Bundelcund, were all conducted with the most favourable results; though we have already hinted our doubts whether these troops might not have been more advantageously employed in strengthening the armies in the principal seat of war, and rendering the success there more prompt and decisive.

Scindia, thus vanquished at every point, deserted by the Rajah of Berar, and seeing his finest levies destroyed, felt the necessity of relinquishing those expedients by which, till now, he had hoped to avert the necessity of a humiliating peace. On the 30th December 1803, a treaty was signed in General Wellesley's camp, by which he ceded the Doab, or territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, with considerable provinces beyond the latter river; surrendering thereby to the British dominion Delhi and Agra, the two capitals of the Great Mogul, and with them the person of the nominal emperor. He sacrificed also Baroach, with the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerat; while on the south