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OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

VOL. II.



Drawn by Sam. Lawrence.

Engraved by R. Pindon.

From the bust by Nolletkens.

Wellesley

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OUR INDIAN EMPIRE:

Its History and Present State,

FROM

THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH IN HINDOSTAN,
TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1846.

BY

CHARLES MAC FARLANE,

AUTHOR OF THE

"LIFE OF WELLINGTON," "LIFE OF MARLBOROUGH," THE "FRENCH REVOLUTION," ETC. ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS. A.D. 1786.

LORD CORNWALLIS, the second governor-general, was appointed governor-general and commander-in-chief of Bengal in 1786. Notwithstanding the unfortunate way in which he had ended the American War, he was still considered as an able general; and there seemed to be great advantages to be derived from intrusting the government of India to a tried soldier, and from uniting the highest civil with the highest military power. In every respect Cornwallis merited the eulogium which Dundas had pronounced upon him in the House of Commons in 1783. He was high-minded, disinterested in money matters, mild and equitable in temper, anxious to do good and prevent evil, steady and persevering in his application to business, and particularly distinguished by his sincere desire to promote the welfare of our Indian subjects, of whose wrongs and oppressions he had heard so much. Animated by these feelings, he began to introduce various internal changes as soon as he arrived at Calcutta; but though the motive was everywhere good, the new measures were occasionally characterized by a great unfitness for the purpose they were intended to serve. And Lord Cornwallis had not been long in India ere he found himself constrained to act, in politics and war, and with reference to the native princes, in much the same manner that Warren Hastings had acted. His lordship went to the banks of the Ganges with the intention and the hope of avoiding wars of conquest and extension of territory, and of keeping the whole of British India, and the states dependent upon it, in a happy,

undisturbed peace. It was a pleasant vision, but it soon vanished. There were, however, several material differences between the present situation of Cornwallis and the late situation of Hastings. Pitt's India bill of 1784, now in full operation, did much to set aside the vacillating and frequently rash and contradictory policy of the Court of Directors, and to vest the government of British India substantially in the British government. It gave to the Board of Control the powers of war and peace, and relieved the governor-general from many of those heavy responsibilities under which Hastings had laboured. In some matters there was still a want of unity of power and intention; but under the Board of Control, or with the direction of one of the secretaries of state, the correspondence with the governor-general and council and other authorities in India became very different from what it had been when directed solely by a few trading directors sitting in Leadenhall Street as a secret council or committee—it became more clear, more consistent, more honourable and elevated. In Warren Hastings's time it had too often been a dark and disgraceful riddle, difficult to be understood, and easy to be misinterpreted. Moreover the general situation of affairs in India was infinitely less difficult and perplexing now than it had been, and Hastings, by breaking the only European power capable of contending with us, and by consolidating the empire which the great Clive had founded, had rendered comparatively easy the task of all his successors. In working out those two great

ends, without aid from the government at home, without money or any assistance from the Company, Hastings had committed many questionable acts, and, perhaps, some few evil deeds; but those acts and deeds had fully answered their end, and had left no necessity for recurring to them. If the conscientious, scrupulous Cornwallis had been governor-general at the time of the trying crisis in 1780-1-2-3, India in all probability would have been lost to us, for his lordship would never have done what Hastings did or caused to be done at Benares, Lucknow, and Fyzabad; but now there was little likelihood or necessity for his lordship's conscience being put to so severe a test by his patriotism. The power and prestige of the French in India were annihilated; and although they made some feeble efforts to re-erect the system of M. Bussy, by renewing the struggle in Hindustan, they never again became formidable in that part of the world, their efforts being checked by their great Revolution, and their energy and ambition being employed in other channels by the Republican and Bonapartean wars.

By three bills passed in 1786 several parts of the act of 1784 were explained and amended, and the powers of the governor-general were at once enlarged, and better defined than they had been in Hastings's time. The governor-general was vested with a discretionary right of acting, in extraordinary cases, without the concurrence of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, being held solely and personally responsible for any consequences which might ensue from the measures adopted under such circumstances. This went to do away with that divided authority, and that almost constant collision between the governor-general and the council, which had tormented and tortured Hastings, and which, more than once, had placed in jeopardy our dominion in Hindustan. Under Cornwallis there could be no such men—or no members of council could do such deeds—as Francis, Clavering, and Monson. The success which attended the new governor-general in India was also promoted by the high consideration he enjoyed in England. "His rank and character, while it placed him above the

influence of the ministers of the crown or the fear of the Court of Directors, commanded a respect from the civil and military servants of the Company, which, added to the increased powers with which he was vested, freed him from every shadow of opposition. He was enabled from the same causes to stimulate to exertion, by the distinction which his personal favour bestowed, the first talents in India; and to combine the efforts of every ambitious and honourable mind in the support of the measures of his administration."* If we compare these advantages with the numerous disadvantages of Warren Hastings, our admiration and astonishment at the achievements of that extraordinary man must be greatly increased.

Mr. Pitt's government seemed fully determined to support Lord Cornwallis as the governor-general they had appointed, and to exercise and jealously guard all the powers which the India Bill of 1784 conferred upon them. In the year 1787, when a war with France was apprehended, the Board of Control, over which Dundas presided, resolved to send four additional regiments to India in the Company's ships; and this was unanimously approved by the Court of Directors. But when the alarm blew over, and pacific declarations had been exchanged with France, the gentlemen in Leadenhall Street thought that the additional regiments were not wanted, and that if the government wished to send them, it ought to defray the charges, and to pay and provide for them when in India. Ministers certainly did wish to send them—they were desirous, in fact, of forming a permanent establishment of king's troops in these distant possessions—but they did not wish to pay for them. The Board of Control and the Directors were again at issue.

The Directors quoted the act of 1781, by which it appeared that the Company was bound to pay for such troops only as should be sent out at their own requisition. The Board of Control quoted the act of 1784, by which they were invested

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.'

with the power to send troops, and, in case of the Company refusing to pay them when sent, to defray the expenses out of their territorial possessions. The Company consulted eminent lawyers; and ministers, being evidently doubtful of the law as it stood, brought in a bill to settle the question and establish the right they claimed. Pitt himself moved in the House, on the 25th of February, 1788, for leave to bring in a bill declaratory of the intention of the act of 1784. He said it was incomprehensible to him how respectable men of the law could have questioned the interpretation of the statute of 1784; that "in his mind nothing could be more clear than that there was no one step that could have been taken, previous to passing the act of 1784, by the Court of Directors touching the military and political concerns of India, and also the collection, management, and application of the revenues of the territorial possessions, that the commissioners of the Board of Control had not now a right to take by virtue of the powers and authority vested in them by the act of 1784." This was the same as declaring that no power was left to the Directors, and that all power was absorbed by the Board of Control or by ministers themselves. And yet Pitt himself had declared, in 1784, that it was not his intention, or the meaning of the bill, to impair the power of the Court of Directors, but only to define and regulate it. The magnates in Leadenhall Street must by this time have sighed for Fox's bill. Dundas, as became his functions as leading member of the Board of Control, employed more comprehensive language even than that of the premier, affirming that by the act of 1784 the Board of Control might, if it chose, devote the whole revenue of India to the purpose of its defence, without leaving the Company a single rupee! As doubts, however, had been entertained, he thought the best way of meeting them would be by the special act now proposed. The opposition maintained that this proceeding was highly unparliamentary; that the opinion of counsel, taken perhaps upon an imperfect state of the case, was not sufficient ground for a declaratory bill; that, if

such a practice were to obtain, declaratory acts would be multiplied *ad infinitum*; that the legislature ought never to have recourse to such an expedient, except when the wording of an act was so ambiguous as to stand in need of explanation, or where, in consequence of the clashing judgments of courts, or doubts expressed by judges from the bench, it became necessary for the legislature to propound anew its own meaning; that in all other cases parliament, by making declaratory bills upon previous acts, would quit its legislative and assume a judicial capacity, and, as in the present case, would decide in a cause in which it was, in some respects, interested as a party, and would be a gainer by its decision. If the minister, instead of submitting the claim of government to a legal decision, was resolved to supersede the question by an extraordinary declaration of parliament, what was it but to declare that he chose to remove the cause from the courts of law, where he knew he could have no undue influence, into the two House of Parliament, where he knew, and every one else knew, that he had an influence, and a great one? Surely such proceedings would amount to manifest and violent oppression. It was further argued that the measure proposed was liable to many political objections, and might be used as a precedent for the very worst purposes. A minister, strong in his majority, would have nothing to do but to bring in a bill for granting new powers, in doubtful and ambiguous words, and with clauses that had a double meaning—he would have nothing to do but to introduce this bill with a general declaration of its moderate principles and a sacred regard to the rights which it was intended to control. By these means the consent of the parties concerned might be obtained, and the alarm and unpopularity avoided; and then, when greater powers were assumed than were ever supposed to be granted, the minister might sweep away all objections and doubts by a high, over-ruling stretch of parliamentary authority, and declare that what he contended for was the law of the land. It was quite evident, they urged, that something of this sort

had happened in the present case; that the Company had been deluded into a consent to the bill of 1784; and that the minister, having obtained that consent, was now endeavouring to put his own construction upon the act. Mr. Baring, as a party interested, said that when the bill of 1784 was in agitation, it had not been intimated to the Directors that it gave any such power to the Board of Control as ministers were now contending for; and that, if the Directors had so understood the bill, they would not have given their support to it, as they would have seen it tended to annihilate the Company, and deprive them of all their rights and powers. After a long debate leave for bringing in the Declaratory Bill was granted without a division. On its second reading, on the 3rd of March, the East India Company were heard against it by their counsel, Messrs. Erskine and Rouse. The counsel endeavoured to prove that the construction now attempted to be put upon the act of 1784 was contrary to its true and original meaning; that such construction would vest in the Board of Control powers injurious to the rights and interests of the Company, and of a dangerous political nature. Mr. Pulteney, and some other members who had voted with the minister, declared that they supported him at the time from a conviction that the bill contained no such powers as were now claimed, for otherwise they would never have voted for it; that the construction attempted to be put upon it by this new declaratory bill made it as obnoxious as Mr. Fox's bill—with only this difference, that in Fox's bill all was open and without disguise, whereas Pitt's bill would work out its object by fraud and dissimulation. Mr. Powys said that in 1784 the House had no idea that any such meaning would be attempted to be given to Pitt's bill; and that if the House had conceived anything of the kind, the bill would have been rejected. Colonel Barré, whose ardour was cooled by years and a pension of 3000*l.*, affirmed that, having asked at the time one of the Directors why they had suffered the bill to pass unresisted, and with the sanction of their concurrence, the director had admitted that the bill

darkly and tacitly conveyed powers to the Board of Control as hostile to the rights of the Company as Mr. Fox's bill, but that they had a confidence in the administration which introduced it, and had no doubt of their exercising those powers with gentleness and moderation. If the Directors had acted upon any such persuasion, they must have been insane; but Mr. Baring, who was one of the Directors, and a better authority in these matters than Barré, declared that the Directors had never so understood Pitt's bill, or foreseen the powers which would be claimed by the Board of Control. Fox followed Barré in endeavouring to show that the Company had submitted to worse terms from Pitt than any that were included in his own much-abused bill. "It will now," said Fox, "no longer be clamoured through the country that I am the violator of chartered rights, or the usurper of the powers of the East India Company. Had the right honourable gentleman (Pitt) acted in the same open way in 1783 as he does now, all that abuse which I have sustained, all that clamour that has been excited, all that popular frenzy which disgraced the kingdom from one end of it to the other, never would have been provoked." The opposition also contended that this new or declaratory bill would leave at the mercy of ministers all the money the Company possessed either in India or in England, so that the very trade of the Company might be interrupted or annihilated whenever the government should be very poor or very rapacious. It was idle to talk of the commercial powers of the Company being left undisturbed, if the chancellor of the exchequer could withdraw that capital without which commerce has no powers. Strong objections were likewise urged against the particular measure which had brought on the struggle between the Directors and the Board of Control. Colonel Barré, Colonel Fullarton, Mr. Baring, and several other members said that it would have been much more just, and a great deal more economical, to have suffered the Company to raise four regiments, or to have sent over 2400 men, which were wanting to complete the king's regiments

already in India, than to send out four new regiments of king's troops; that it was besides impolitic, and tended to produce confusion in the Company's government in India, to put the power of the sword into two hands, and create jealousy and disgust in the minds of the officers in the Company's service. They contended that the administration had adopted the measure proposed, only with the view of extending their own influence and patronage in the distribution of commands and commissions. Colonel Barré remarked that, "before this plan for sending out king's troops, ministers had contended that there were already troops enough, and more than enough, in India, and had forced the Directors to adopt that opinion: "but," added he, "I have long seen, and I now see more distinctly, a system of patronage, a settled and digested plan at the bottom of the whole business. It is a regular progressive plan to grasp all the patronage of the Company, in order to use it in parliament." Barré conjured the House to look about them; declaring that if the present bill passed, a fatal stab would be given to the constitution. In the last place, doubts were started whether it was consistent with the principles of the constitution to allow the Board of Control to keep up an army of king's troops in India to any amount they chose, and take payment for them from the Company's territorial revenues, and without vote of parliament, it being declared that the king could have no troops but those for which parliament annually voted the money. It was represented that, if the Board of Control should be allowed to touch any part of the territorial revenues, there was no knowing how far they might go, or how great might be the influence they would obtain; and Sheridan reminded the House that those revenues amounted to nine millions sterling!* On the other side, Pitt urged that he had done nothing by stealth; that it was the declared intention of the act of 1784 to transfer the government of India from the Board of Directors to the Board of Control; and that he had never held a

language which admitted of any other interpretation: that all the fears and doubts expressed were visionary; and that, in order to do much good and prevent much harm, it was necessary that the influence of the crown should be felt in India. Dundas reminded the House that the Board of Control had already exercised the right of paying the troops out of the territorial revenues: thus, in 1785, when the pay of the army was greatly in arrear, and when the troops in consequence were almost in a state of revolt and mutiny, the Board of Control had sent out orders to postpone payments of every other description, and apply the Company's money to the satisfaction of the army. He insisted that without the powers in question the Board of Control would be but a useless institution, and that, as the members of the Board of Control were responsible to parliament for all their doings, there could be no great danger of their doing wrong, let their powers be as extensive as they might. Pitt ventured to say that he thought all the troops in India, of whatsoever description, ought to belong to the king; that there ought not to be two establishments, one the king's and the other the Company's; and that it was really in preparation for this reform that he was now sending out the four regiments. As to the constitutional question about keeping troops on foot whose pay was not annually voted by parliament, he said that the Bill of Rights and the Mutiny Act—the only positive laws we had on the subject—referred to troops within the realm, and were, besides, somewhat vague in their wording. Indeed, he thought that one of the advantages attending the present question would be to draw attention to that important but defective part of constitutional law; and he was ready to receive from any quarter suggestions upon that head, as also respecting the best means of preventing any abuse to which the army and the patronage of India might be liable. Still, however, this declaratory act seemed so different from the opinions Pitt had expressed in 1783 and in 1784, and the suspicions excited by it were so violent, that he saw his great majorities sliding

* At this time the revenue barely exceeded seven millions.

away from him. The motion for committing the bill was carried, on the 5th of March, only by 182 against 125. Two days after, when the bill was to be brought up, he rose and said himself that he felt it his duty to move for its being recommitted, in order to obtain the insertion of some salutary checks on the sending of troops to India without consent of parliament, and on any improper application of the territorial revenues. On the 10th the bill was recommitted, and Pitt moved four additional clauses:—

1. To limit the number of forces, for the payment of which the Board of Control were empowered to issue their orders to 8045 men of the king's troops, and 12,200 men of European forces in the Company's service; 2. To prevent the Board from increasing the salary of any officer in the service of the Company, unless such increase should be proposed by the Directors, and laid before parliament; 3. To prevent the Board from ordering the payment of any extraordinary allowance to any person on account of services performed in India, except with the concurrence of the Directors and parliament; 4. To oblige the Directors to lay annually before parliament an account of the produce of all their revenues, and of all their disbursements. These clauses were agreed to without debate. But resistance to the bill was not yet over. On the third reading, on the 14th of March, Sir Grey Cooper, Wyndham, John Anstruther, Francis, and others spoke strongly against the whole bill, endeavouring to show, by various arguments, that it was unparliamentary, illogical, and illegal. Sir Grey Cooper said that the bill had come out from the committee even more unparliamentary in its form than it was before: that it was inconsistent with the nature and principle of declaratory bills to superadd to the declaration of what was and is law, explanatory clauses, qualifications, and restraints; and that, if the present bill passed the House, it would have the effect of declaring that certain powers had been vested in the Board of Control, and yet not vested without certain conditions which previously had not had existence. Sir Grey added, that the new clauses pro-

posed by the minister to cover his rear were *preposterous* in the correct sense of the word; they were in their nature antecedent to the declaratory bill, and ought to have made a part of the act to be explained, if that act really intended to give the extraordinary powers which this declaratory bill assumed, but which the omission of these clauses clearly proved that it did not give. Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon, Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, Lord Mulgrave, Hardinge, Thornton, one of the Directors, Rolle, and others, defended the bill, and the motives and plans of Pitt in his great bill of 1784; and the third reading was carried, though by a majority of only 54, which at this time was considered a small majority. In the Lords the ministerial preponderance was more visible, yet there too the declaratory bill was warmly opposed. Lord Porchester moved that the opinion of the judges should be taken upon the construction and meaning of the India Bill of 1784. Lord Hawkesbury said that this would produce unnecessary delay and enormous expense to the Company, whose ships were detained in port, and might lose their voyage for the present year. The motion was rejected by a majority of considerably more than two to one, as was also a motion made by the Duke of Norfolk, for deferring the second reading a week, agreeably to the prayer of a petition which he presented from some of the proprietors of India stock. The Marquess of Lansdowne expressed his utmost astonishment that any man who recollected what had passed in that House in the years 1783 and 1784, in debating the India Bill of Mr. Fox and the bill of the present chancellor of the exchequer, could contend for a moment that the powers or principles of the present bill were contained in that of 1784. He showed that their lordships had rejected Mr. Fox's bill upon the ground that it contained such powers and principles; and yet the very act which they afterwards passed in 1784, as now attempted to be explained, contained the very same principles which had been so much reprobated in Mr. Fox's bill. If there was to be a preference, he, for his part, would have preferred that bill which

gave the government of India to parliament for four years. By this time it would have expired. But, if the powers proposed should once be given to the crown, what time and exertion would not be required to restore it, or to keep within due bounds the influence of the crown, when all the patronage of India would be added to that influence! His lordship concluded with objecting that this declaratory bill, in some measure, decided a point hitherto left suspended, namely, the public right to the territorial possessions in India. He allowed that some decision upon that point must soon be made, and a general system for the government of India adopted. He was ready to enter into a cool discussion of that most important system; but he could not think that they ought to place so implicit a confidence in the profound wisdom and great experience of his majesty's present ministers as blindly and precipitately to adopt all their projects. The third reading was, however, carried by 71 against 28. The Dukes of Portland, Devonshire, and Bedford, Lords Carlisle, Porchester, Derby, Sandwich, Loughborough, Fitzwilliam, and six other lords, signed a long and powerfully expressed protest.

No India bill had ever yet been framed that could stand without after-explanations and amendments. Such was the case, whether the bill provided for the administration of law in India, or provided for the powers of the Government to be exercised at home. The famous Regulating Act was not the only one which required repeated explanations and alterations. Without the three amending bills of 1786 and the Declaratory Bill of 1788 Pitt's India Bill of 1784 must have limped and halted. Hard and embarrassing was the fate of men who had to act under these defective and obscure acts of parliament! It sometimes happened that they were held responsible for what they had never rightly understood.

Lord Cornwallis was strengthened in almost every way during three years of tranquillity, and his government in India had acquired consistency and regularity before any serious conflict com-

menced. The principal event which occurred during his administration was the war with Tippoo Sultaun. On the 29th of December, 1789, Tippoo stormed the lines of the Rajah of Travancore, a prince who was acknowledged to be under the protection of the English Government, by the stipulations of the treaty which Tippoo had concluded in 1784. This unprovoked aggression was the origin of the war. Our opposition party in parliament—conspicuous among whom was now Philip Francis—did not hesitate to blame Cornwallis as they had previously blamed Hastings; and they took it upon themselves to honour and applaud, and afterwards to commiserate, Tippoo Sultaun, as an inoffensive ruler sacrificed to our ambition and thirst for conquest. Yet Tippoo was the cruel, faithless, ambitious prince that we have described him. Hyder Ali, though a barbarian, had several of the qualities of a great prince; but there appears to have been nothing great about Tippoo, except the power and resources which his father had left him.

After the peace of Mangalore, in 1784, the dominions of Mysore, of which Tippoo remained in possession, extended over a tract of country some 500 miles in length by 350 in breadth: it was nearly all an elevated table-land, intersected everywhere with rivers, and cooling, fertilising streams; the climate is, for India, very temperate, and the soil as fertile as almost any part of the great peninsula. It swarmed with population, the Mohammedans being almost as numerous as the Hindus, the more ancient occupants of the soil. Several of the towns, besides Seringapatam, the capital, were strongly fortified; and the region abounds in places of great natural strength, affording admirable advantages for a defensive war. Anticipating and providing for a grand struggle, Tippoo, assisted by European engineers, chiefly French and Italians, had erected many new fortresses. His annual revenue was estimated at about five millions sterling, and his father had left him a well-filled treasury. Besides European engineers and artillery officers, he had a considerable number of Europeans to train and disci-

pline his native troops : but these fellows were chiefly common soldiers that had deserted from the Company's service to escape punishment for crimes committed ; and, as Tippoo was a bigoted Mussulman, and fond of religious conversion, forced or spontaneous, they had all become renegades. He had clothed part of his regulars in uniform resembling that of the sepoy in the English service, and had armed them with French muskets. Their discipline, however, was very far from perfect, and their whole number inconsiderable, not exceeding three or four thousand. The rest of his infantry was a mere rabble, armed with old muskets, matchlocks, pikes, and scymetars. But his principal force was his cavalry—that Mysorean cavalry which had repeatedly rushed through the Ghauts like mountain-torrents, and swept the whole of the low country of the Carnatic. Yet the élite of this force, the Circar, or stable-horse, who were uniformly clothed and equipped, did not exceed 6000 ; all the rest being irregulars, who found their own horses and arms, and who did no military duty, except when called into the field on some emergency, or to make some plundering incursion into the territories of their neighbours. These fellows, however, were bold and clever riders ; and the rapidity of their movements often made up for their deficiency in other points. His artillery was more than respectable, the French having furnished him with guns of all calibres, many of which, being larger and longer than any of the guns of Lord Cornwallis, gave him a considerable advantage over the English in this war. He boasted that, in artillery practice, he had left his masters, the Nazarenes, far behind him ; “ although, like the salamander, they passed their lives in fire.” His heavier pieces were all drawn by elephants ; and, besides four hundred trained elephants, the best that could be procured in India, he had an immense train of the finest bullocks. According to a British officer engaged, a hundred pieces of ordnance were frequently moved, during these campaigns, with a rapidity not easily to be conceived, and far superior to the best speed the English artillery could make ;

and the velocity with which his large bodies of cavalry changed their situations, and the general rapidity with which his whole movements were executed, gave him another great advantage. When the war was carried into his own dominions, his irregulars, who had been accustomed to rely only upon plunder for their support and reward, were engaged by what Tippoo called regular pay : but he only engaged them by the month or moon ; and Tippoo lengthened months or moons beyond their natural duration to save his pocket. “ Thirty, forty, and even fifty days,” says Major Taylor, “ constitute their duration ; and the state of his treasury, or his own whim, regulates the calendar.” But in matters where the advantage is less evident, Tippoo indulged his whims to excess. He was a reformer or innovator of the most persevering kind, changing all old things, and liking nothing but what was new and of his own creation. It seemed as if the soul of a French democrat had been transfused into this Indian despot. He changed the dates of the ancient Mohammedan festivals ; he changed the name of everything in government, law, and military tactics ; he gave new names to the days and months, to weights, measures, coins, forts, towns, offices civil and military ; in short, to all things and persons, exhibiting “ a singular coincidence at nearly one and the same time, and in distant and unconnected quarters of the globe, between the extremes of unbridled democracy and uncontrolled despotism.”* He created a fleet, which never existed except upon paper, and made admirals, who had never seen the sea. He drew up a commercial code, and considered himself the chief and best merchant in his dominions. He drew up a civil and criminal code, which is said to have been the maddest and the worst ever devised by man. In the criminal part, “ he combined the terrors of death with cold-blooded irony, filthy ridicule with obscene mutilation, the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster.”† And whatever

* Colonel Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India.*

† *Id.*, *Id.*

the Tiger once did, he would never allow to be altered. Abbé Sièyes himself was not a greater formalist, or more given to rule-and-line work. Tippoo had a rigid method in all his madness, and he made laws and regulations for almost everything, however trifling. Besides keeping in pay a corps of authors to record his wonderful exploits, he was an author himself, and so busy a one, that the pen was for ever in his hand. His father and predecessor, Hyder Ali, was accustomed to administer justice sitting in his durbar, and smoking his pipe, and to pronounce sentence of death by waving his hand; or if he used words upon the occasion, they were only—"Take him away."—He thought no more of the subject, but proceeded coolly to other business.* Though summary and merciless, his decisions were generally equitable. But Tippoo delighted to give long explanations and reasons for his capricious sentences, to accompany his cruelty with insults to his victim and eulogiums to himself, and to record in the most inflated language every decision he gave in the durbar, and every monstrosity he committed. Hyder too was accustomed to do wrong among his neighbours without attempting to prove to the world that he was doing right: but Tippoo never executed or meditated an evil deed without writing himself, or causing to be written, some pedantic proclamation, or treatise, or book, to extol his project. So long as the Hindus he had conquered paid their tribute to him, Hyder cared little about their religion, but Tippoo resolved to convert by force all his subjects to the Mohammedan faith and to root out all the ancient usages of the country. In the year 1787, before marching with an army into the country of Calicut "to improve the *morals* of the people, and to realize the *revenue*," he issued a proclamation, stating that the poor Malabars were more shameless in their connections than beasts of the field, and that unless they forsook their sinful practices and lived like the rest of mankind, he would, in accordance with his repeated vows, honour all of them with Islam—that is, he

would convert them all to his own faith. "From the period of the conquest," said he, "until this day, or during twenty-four years, you have been a turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your rainy season, you have caused numbers of our Mussulman warriors to drink the sherbet of martyrdom. Be it so. What is past is past. But hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner." * He described his journey to the Malabar coast as the progress of an angel of light or envoy of the Almighty; and the butcheries he committed during his residence there, as acts of grace and heavenly inspiration. He was the "shadow of God"—his blood-stained steps were "propitious steps"—he claimed the gratitude of the Hindus for having slaughtered them or driven them from their country, for having destroyed their pagodas and burned their gods. His capricious but fierce persecutions of the Hindus, and his forcible conversions of some of them to Mohammedanism, made him odious to all that people; and his changes and innovations almost alienated his Mohammedan subjects, who loved change as little as the Hindus. It certainly could not have been from the people of Mysore or the Malabar coast that Francis and other opposition members drew the materials of the favourable character they made up for this Indian Sultaun.

Like Hastings, Lord Cornwallis found himself obliged to set up one native power against another, and to court the aid and alliance of the Mahrattas, themselves the most restless and unprincipled of men. After some delay, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against Tippoo Sultaun was concluded between the English government and the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, the Peishwa engaging to furnish cavalry to serve with the English army. A similar treaty had been previously concluded with the Nizam of the Deccan. "My dependance upon the support of both these powers," said his Lordship, "is grounded solely upon the expectation of their being guided by the common influence of passions, and by consi-

* Dow, Hist. of Hindustan.

* Colonel Wilks.

derations of evident interest, which ought to dispose them to seize a favourable opportunity with eagerness, to reduce the power of a prince whose ambition knows no bounds, and from whom both of them have suffered.* Before this the governor-general had made sundry attempts to negotiate with the Mysorean prince, and upon the failure of the attempts had declared that no policy would prove so fatal in India as a tame submission to insult or injury at the hands of Tippoo Suldaun. His lordship warmly expressed the indignation he felt at the conduct of the dependent government of Madras or Fort St. George, which had disobeyed his express commands in order to save money, and which had recommended his lordship to renew negotiations with Tippoo. "So far am I," said he, "from giving credit to that government for economy, in not making the necessary preparations for war, according to the positive orders of the supreme government, after having received the most gross insults that could be offered to any nation; I think it very possible that every cash of that ill-judged saving may cost to the Company a crore of rupees: besides which, I still more sincerely lament the disgraceful sacrifice made, by that delay, of the honour of our country, by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, which we were bound by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith to defend."† The two men, and the times and circumstances in which they acted, differed materially in many respects, yet was there much in the correspondence and general tone of Cornwallis to recall the recollection of the high national tone nearly always assumed by Hastings.

By the end of 1790, or early in 1791, the Rajah of Travancore was re-established in his dominions, and Tippoo was dispossessed of nearly all the dominion he had acquired on the Malabar coast. In the month of February, Lord

Cornwallis, the governor-general, who had taken the command of the army upon himself, laid siege to Bangalore, and took that important place by storm. His lordship then resolved to penetrate into the heart of Mysore, and to dictate his own terms of peace at the capital. He began his march in the first days of May. The native troops, as well as the British troops with him, burned with impatience to take their revenge for the atrocious and brutal degradation Tippoo had put upon their brothers in arms during the last war, and even after the conclusion of it. The news of the fall of Bangalore and of the rapid advance of Cornwallis filled the mind of the tyrant with alarm, and induced him to make arrangements for removing from his capital his women and treasure. To gratify his taste and his vanity, the walls of the houses in the principal streets of Seringapatam had been ornamented with rude paintings caricaturing the English. In one place there was a tiger seizing a trembling Englishman; in another there was a Mysorean horseman rivalling the feats of Antar, and cutting off two or three English heads at a blow; and in other places there were Englishmen put into positions and subjected to treatment which will not bear description. "The anticipation," says Colonel Wilks, "must have been acute which suggested the obliteration of all these favoured triumphs, and a positive order for carefully whitewashing the whole of the walls. The removal of these foolish indications of hostility and contempt was a conclusive testimony of his considering the capture of the place highly probable; but conscience suggested more serious terrors in the mass of living evidence, at Seringapatam and elsewhere, of his detention of prisoners in direct violation of the treaty of 1784. Of the English boys educated as singers and dancers* twenty still remained; a secret order was dispatched for the murder of these unhappy youths as the first victims, and then the other prisoners of the preceding war were

* Letter to Sir Charles Mallet, dated 20th Feb. 1790, as quoted by Sir John Malcolm, 'Political Hist. Ind.'

† Letter to Mr. E. J. Holland, acting-governor of Fort St. George, in id.

* The instruction, performances, and dress of these English boys were precisely the same as those of the Hindustanee dancing-girls!



Seringapatam.---From an original Drawing.

gradually and secretly put to death. It was difficult to obtain precise information regarding details in which no individual would acknowledge instrumentality, or even ascribe it to another: the bodies were carried out at the first opening of the gates, by the common scavengers, to places of distant sepulture, and the assassinations were supposed to have been perpetrated by Abyssinian slaves, by the well-understood practice of a sudden and violent twist to dislocate the vertebrae of the neck. The orders to the outposts were executed according to local circumstances, and the English army had afterwards direct evidence, even to exhumation, of murders so committed. . . . The horrible butcheries of this period exemplified the natural connection between cruelty and fear." Tippoo, however, took up a strong position on the main road, some miles in advance of his capital, behind the deep river Cavery, and seemed resolved to await there the attack of the English. The march of Cornwallis, and of General Abercromby, who moved in a different line, was excessively laborious. They had to make the roads by which they were to advance; and for fifty miles and more Abercromby's route was across steep mountains, where the battering-trains, provisions, and stores were moved with the greatest difficulty—"every separate gun being hoisted over a succession of ascents by ropes and tackle." They also suffered severely through a want of forage, Tippoo having carefully destroyed all he could; and in the latter part of their march, the periodic rains and bad food and long fatigue brought on sickness and disease. To complete their wretchedness, the small-pox broke out among the troops. Our Mahratta allies, who had solemnly engaged to co-operate with a great army of horse, came not at the time of their appointment, and most men doubted whether they would come at all, or, if they came, whether they were not as likely to join the Mysoreans as the English. Lord Cornwallis, however, arrived at Arikera, on the Cavery, and about nine miles from Seringapatam, on the 13th of May; and, crossing the river with difficulty, for it was swollen by the rains, he attacked

Tippoo, who had steadily waited his coming in a very advantageous position, on the 15th, before General Abercromby could join him or get near enough to co-operate with efficacy. The Mysoreans plied their artillery with great spirit, and preserved a very imposing countenance until the British bayonets were near their breasts; when they broke and fled. They were driven from rock to rock, and from mountain to mountain, and were at last obliged to seek shelter under the guns of their capital. The setting sun displayed a glorious view to the victors as they halted on a ridge of the hills. Right before them rose Seringapatam, the prond capital of Mysore, in all the grandeur of Eastern magnificence, adorned with mosques, minarets, pagodas, and other buildings, defended by immense fortifications, and skirted by superb gardens; the rapid Cavery winding round its walls, which seemed everywhere lined with forts, and filled with crowds of the routed army. The road was open, the prize seemed within their reach; but in the very hour of victory the English found it necessary to retreat. The force actually with Cornwallis, though strong enough to beat Tippoo's army in the field, was not strong enough to invest a place like Seringapatam; and they had with them neither provisions nor stores enough for a long siege. Moreover the draft bullocks were dying fast, the camp was half filled with sick, and the pitiless rains continued to fall in torrents. Cornwallis sent orders to Abercromby, who had reached Periapatam, about three marches from Seringapatam, to retire towards the coast; and, after remaining some days on the Cavery, near the scene of his victory, to cover Abercromby's retreat, Cornwallis burst the greater part of his battering-guns,—having no cattle to drag them off—and began his mortifying retreat also on the 26th of May. Towards the end of his first day's march Cornwallis was startled by the sudden appearance of a body of horse that rode right in on his baggage flank; but, instead of being enemies, they proved to be the advance of the long-expected Mahratta army; and they gave intelligence that the main body of that army,

counted at more than 20,000 horse, under the command of Purseram Bhow, a celebrated Mahratta warrior, and Hurry Punt, a brahmin of the highest rank, who was also charged to act as minister plenipotentiary to the whole Mahratta league, were not far distant. Cornwallis halted for a day or two, and was joined by the two great chiefs: but the swelling of the rivers, the sickly state of his men, and now the want of his battering-train, forbade all thoughts of besieging Tippoo in his capital that year; and he continued his retreat to Bangalore, there to prepare better means for another campaign. Few retreats have ever been more disastrous. "The army," says one who shared in the misery, "had suffered exceedingly from the inclemency of the weather, from wounds, and from extreme fatigue in bringing up the battering-train and stores."

. . . . The season of the year was unfavourable to the cattle: they were infected with an epidemic disorder, which killed them in vast numbers, and rendered the greater part of what remained of little service. The scarcity of grain was such, that the lower class of followers were reduced to the necessity of subsisting chiefly on the putrid flesh of the dead bullocks. . . . The tents and the clothing were nearly worn out; the arrack as well as the rice was almost expended; and, in this situation, the assistance of the troops was necessary to carry back part of the entrenching tools, which it might be difficult to replace, and to drag the field-pieces and tumbrils attached to their corps,—a task to which the surviving cattle were unequal in their weakly state. Great part of the horses of the cavalry were so reduced by want and fatigue, that they could no longer carry their riders, and many, unable to march, were shot at their picquets. The ground at Caniambaddy, where the army had encamped only six days, was covered in a circuit of several miles with the carcases of cattle and horses; and the last of the gun-carriages, carts, and stores of the battering-trains left in flames, was a melancholy spectacle, which the troops passed as they quitted this deadly camp.*

* Major Dirom, 'Narrative.' The major was deputy adjutant-general to the forces.

Tippoo now boasted that he had obtained the greatest of victories; nevertheless he immediately renewed some overtures for peace; but Lord Cornwallis demanded the same ample reparation to the Company and their allies which he had demanded at the beginning, and the negotiation fell to the ground. The governor-general had recourse to measures almost as summary and bold as some of the most censured acts of Hastings. Finding that the Mahrattas would not keep the field unless they were gratified by the immediate payment of a large subsidy, and having no money in hand that he could spare, his lordship ordered the governor and council of Madras to take the treasure out of the China ships, coin it into rupees, and send it to him with all possible dispatch.

During the following autumn immense preparations were made for renewing the war in the centre of Mysore. A fresh battering-train, one hundred elephants from Bengal, an immense number of bullocks, stores, and abundant provisions of every kind were collected on the Malabar coast. The Company had sent out 500,000*l.* in specie; and the English government had sent out reinforcements to the king's regiments in India, together with some fresh detachments of the royal artillery. The Mahrattas were steady and active in their co-operation, and rendered important services with their light, rapid cavalry. The passes which lead from Mysore into the Carnatic, through which Tippoo and his father had been accustomed to descend, and through which Cornwallis was to receive supplies and reinforcements, were now cleared, and several strong forts which Tippoo had erected in them were taken by storm. Oosoor, though a very strong place, was carried with little difficulty; nor was there much fighting or delay at Rayacottah, although it consisted of two forts, the one at the bottom, the other at the top, of a high and rugged rock. The rest of the forts which defended this pass—the Policade pass—surrendered upon summons; and this direct road from Madras was opened to an immense convoy which presently came through it, headed by elephants loaded with treasure, marching two abreast, with



Works and Petiah of Outtradroog.

No. 32.

the British standard displayed. Some hill forts, which interrupted Cornwallis's communication with the army of his other ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, were also reduced, none of them making a manful resistance except Nundydroog, which was built on the top of a mountain 1700 feet high, and apparently inaccessible to artillery. Here General Medows greatly distinguished himself. Guns were drawn up the steeps, breaches were made in the walls of the fort, and orders were given to storm. Some one cried out, in the hearing of the troops, that there was a mine near the breach. "If there is a mine," said Medows, "it is a mine of gold!" The troops, headed by the flank companies of the 36th and 71st regiments, rushed to the assault, entered the breach, and made the place their own. In another direction, in the mountainous wooded country that lies between Bangalore and Seringapatam, Savendroog, a place of extraordinary strength, was captured in the same manner, the bands playing "Britons, strike home," as the storming parties advanced to the breach. Ootradroog, another fortress of the same kind and in the same district, was also carried by storm; and before the end of December all the lines of communication for Cornwallis's ultimate operations were opened and rendered perfectly secure. Tippoo had sent a considerable army to keep open his communications with the rich provinces of Bednore and Mangalore, the only part of his dominions which had escaped the ravages of war; but his Mysoreans retreated on the approach of a division of the Mahratta army, and threw themselves into a thick forest, where, besides other natural defences, they were protected by the river Toom and some deep ravines. They were soon, however, attacked, defeated, and driven out of the forest, by Captain Little, with 750 men and two guns. General Abercromby, who, since the retreat from the upper country, had occupied cantonments at and round about Tellichery, began to move again towards Seringapatam early in December, but he was obliged to halt at the top of the Ghauts, as some Mahrattas, who were busily engaged in plundering, could

not be got together to accompany him. Early in January (1792) Lord Cornwallis united his main army under Ootradroog, where he was kept waiting more than a fortnight by the tardy Nizam, who was to join him with his army from Hyderabad. At last the Indian potentate arrived; and at the end of January the combined forces pressed forward for Seringapatam, while Abercromby was advancing to the same point by a different route. On the 5th of February Cornwallis once more got sight of Tippoo's capital, and saw that the Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. He encamped himself at about the distance of six miles from Seringapatam. That capital is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Caverry; the island being from three to four miles in length, and the fortress standing on the western angle of it. The eastern part of the island was fortified by redoubts and batteries, connected by strong intrenchments with a deep ditch. On the bank of the river, where Tippoo lay encamped, there was another line of works, and no fewer than six large redoubts. This first line was defended by 100 pieces of artillery, while the second line, or the island, its fortress, &c., was defended by 300 pieces of artillery. Tippoo's army, at the lowest estimate, amounted to 5000 horse and 40,000 foot. The sultaun's hope was that he should be able to protract the siege till the want of provisions and the return of the season of rains should force his enemies to retreat. But the British did not come to loiter. In the night of the 6th of February Cornwallis led them in three columns right into Tippoo's camp; and they took several of his redoubts on the river bank before the Mysoreans well knew that they were coming. Colonel Knox, with one party, even penetrated to the island, and drove the Mysoreans, out of some of their works there, at the point of the bayonet. When morning dawned, Tippoo, assisted by some Frenchmen who advised some skilful manoeuvres, endeavoured to envelope and bear down by weight of artillery and force of numbers one of the three columns of the British; but he failed in the attempt; and detachment after detachment rushed

across the Cavery, and got footing on the island. Tippoo fled across the river, and threw himself into the great fortress: many of his men immediately deserted; and 10,000 men, whom he had forcibly dragged from Coorg, the country his father had conquered, ran away in a body towards their native woods. The Mysoreans, who remained within the first line on the river bank, attempted to recover the redoubts which the British had taken; but they were repulsed with terrible loss. One of these redoubts, called the "sultaun's redoubt," was held by only 100 Europeans and 50 sepoy, who repulsed thousands after thousands. When the fighting on the river bank was over, and when Tippoo's people were all retiring to the island or to the bank of the river beyond it, 50 of the brave defenders of the sultaun's redoubt were either killed or wounded, and the rest were so exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and thirst, having no provisions with them, nor so much as a drop of water, that they could scarcely stand or hold their muskets. The loss of the English during the whole of this day's hard fighting amounted to 535 in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of Tippoo, in slain alone, was estimated at 4000. By the morning of the 8th Cornwallis had completely established his army on the island, and Tippoo had shut up his within the works of the fortress, except the cavalry and the baggage, which he had sent across the other branch of the Cavery. His lordship made immediate preparations for the siege; and three European regiments, seven battalions of sepoy, and some artillery at once girded the place, preventing ingress or egress. On the evening of that day Tippoo sent for two English officers, whom he had kept as prisoners in spite of a capitulation, and gave them presents and letters to Lord Cornwallis, assuring them that he had always been anxious to live at peace with the English. At day-break on the 10th a desperate attempt was made by some of the Mysorean cavalry, who had crossed the river in the dark, to cut off Lord Cornwallis in his camp; but the only effect really produced was an increase of zeal and animosity on the part of the British soldiers and the sepoy,

who were all greatly attached to their truly noble commander. On the 16th General Abercromby, who had crossed the Cavery at Eratore, joined Cornwallis before Seringapatam with about 2000 Europeans and 4000 sepoy. As his Mahrattas had, after all, lagged behind, Abercromby had been exposed on his march to several sharp attacks from the Mysorean cavalry. By the 21st the close investment of the fortress was well advanced; the first parallel, with a large redoubt in the rear, was finished, and the line was marked out for the second parallel. On the 22nd there was some smart fighting before the English could gain possession of a grove within reach of the guns of the fortress; but by the 23rd the second parallel was finished, and breaching batteries were begun and furnaces prepared for heating shot. In a few days more the walls must have been breached by the fire of fifty heavy guns, and the place must have been made untenable by the red-hot shot which would have set in flames the wooden edifices with which the interior of the fort was at this time crowded. General Medows had undertaken to head the storming party, and the men were eager for that close conflict. But, although he had not suspended operations for a minute, Cornwallis had listened to the overtures sent to him by the two released officers, and had admitted some of Tippoo's people into close conference. These conferences, held in the English camp, were prolonged from the 15th till the 21st, and ended then without any agreement; for, though reduced to despair, the Mysorean sultaun could not reconcile himself to the hard conditions proposed. But, on the 24th, he yielded to his fate, and Cornwallis ordered his troops in the trenches to cease working and to desist from hostilities. So inflamed were the soldiery against the sultaun, and so high their hopes about prize-money if the place should be taken by storm, that it was found difficult to restrain them from continuing their works. In general orders issued to them, their general said that he thought it almost unnecessary to remind them that moderation in success was no less expected from brave men than gallantry in action; and that he trusted they



Surrender of the Children of Tippoo Saib to Lord Cornwallis.—From a Painting by Stothard.

No. 27.

would not only be incapable of committing violence in any intercourse that might take place between them and Tippoo's troops, but that they would even abstain from making use of any kind of insulting expression towards an enemy now subdued and humbled. The troops, though fired upon by the Mysoreans, both by musketry and artillery, after they had suspended their works and their own fire, were dutiful to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis; but, if Tippoo had not whitewashed his walls, it is probable that their admirable discipline and their devotedness to their general would not have prevented some acts of violence. The treaty which Tippoo was thus forced to accept contained the following articles:—1. That he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies; 2. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees; 3. That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners who had been taken by the Mysoreans from the time of Hyder; 4. That he should deliver up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty two of his three eldest sons. In conformity with these terms Tippoo began to send the treasure out of the fort to the camp of the besiegers; and on the 26th the young princes, one of whom was about ten and the other eight years old, were conducted to the camp with great pomp and ceremony. They were each mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, and seated on a silver houdah. They were dressed in long white muslin gowns and red turbans; they wore several rows of large pearls round their necks, from which was suspended an ornament consisting of a ruby and an emerald of considerable size, surrounded with large brilliants, and in their turbans each had a sprig of rich pearls. They were attended by their father's vakeels, mounted also on elephants. The procession was opened by hircarrahs, or messengers, riding on camels, and seven standard-bearers carrying small green flags; and it was closed by 100 spearmen, whose spears were all inlaid with silver. Some of Tippoo's sepoys and a party of horse followed at a short distance. Lord Cornwallis, attended by his staff and the principal officers of his army, received the princes

as they dismounted from their elephants, at the door of his great tent; embraced them, led them in, one in each hand, and treated them, as it was his nature to do all men, with great politeness, attention, and tenderness. He seated them, one on each side of himself; and then the sultaun's head vakeel said—"These children were this morning the sons of the sultaun, my master; they must now look up to your lordship as a father!" Cornwallis assured the vakeels and the princes themselves that they should not feel the loss of a father's care. He gave each of the boys a gold watch, with which they were greatly delighted. The next day his lordship paid them a visit at the splendid tents which had been set apart for them. They came out to meet him with smiling faces; and his lordship again embraced them, and led them by the hand into the tent. There, each of the princes presented him with a fine Persian sword, and he gave them in return some beautiful English fire-arms. On the morning of the 28th Tippoo fired a royal salute from the fort to announce his satisfaction at the kind and honourable reception given to his sons.

Sir John Kennaway, who was appointed to conclude the definitive treaty, encountered much slowness and many difficulties on the part of Tippoo's vakeels. The sultaun particularly objected to restoring to the Rajah of Coorg his dominions, and expressed astonishment and indignation at the imperative demand. But as the rajah had risen in arms, and had very materially assisted the English and their allies, Lord Cornwallis was determined not to abandon him. There had been but too much of this work at the peace of Mangalore. Tippoo instructed his vakeels to tell the English negotiator that he had refused to see them or to deliberate on that point. At the same time it was discovered that he was diligently repairing the damages which the fortress had sustained, and strengthening its works. Cornwallis then issued orders—orders most welcome to the troops—for recommencing the siege, informing the young princes that he must send them to Madras, while he disarmed their guard, and treated them as prison-

ers of war. The next morning the princes were actually made to begin their march to Bangalore. 'This brought Tippoo to his senses; his vakeels assured Sir John Kennaway that he would agree to all that had been demanded from him. Cornwallis agreed to suspend operations for one day, and recalled Tippoo's sons, who, on the 19th of March, presented the definitive treaty, signed by their father, to Lord Cornwallis. By this treaty the English obtained all the dominions of Tippoo on the coast of Malabar, a district surrounding Dindigul, and some territory on the western frontier of the Carnatic, including the Barramahah and the lower Ghauts; the Mahrattas (for all the three allies shared, and about equally, in the dismemberment of the sultaun's dominions) recovered possession of the country as far as the river Toombudra, which had once been their frontier line; and the Nizam got all the country from the river Kistna to the Pennar, including the forts of Gunjecottah and Cuddapa. The territory thus acquired by the English did not yield much more than half a million sterling of annual revenue; but it was highly valuable as strengthening the Carnatic against invasion, as affording excellent land communications, and as containing ports on the Malabar coast highly favourable to commerce and to the extension of that influence which we aimed at. The Nairs and other Hindu people that occupied the coast of Malabar were made happy by the change of masters, and by the full freedom now allowed them in the exercise of their religion and in the enjoyment of their old customs.*

To soothe the troops for the disappointment of their expectations of booty in the storming of Seringapatam, and to reward them for their excellent conduct and rare exertions during the whole of the war, the commander-in-chief, upon his own responsibility, made them a gift, equal to six months' batta, out of the money paid by Tippoo; and both he himself and General Medows, his se-

cond in command, resigned their large shares, that the soldiers might have the more. The army returned to the Company's territories, good care being taken to place respectable garrisons in the districts ceded, and particularly in the towns on the Malabar coast, where, hitherto, we had scarcely had a footing. The conduct of Lord Cornwallis to Tippoo after this peace was honourable and generous; but the sultaun, whose pride had been so humiliated, and whose power had been so greatly reduced, seemed to receive every act of kindness rather as an insult than as a proof of friendship; and nothing in his conduct gave ground to hope that the peace would be permanent. Moreover, some of the Mahrattas took mortal offence at the refusal of Cornwallis to permit them to subsidize a British detachment.

While Lord Cornwallis was engaged with Tippoo, Lord Macartney, formerly governor of Madras, proceeded on his famous embassy to China, in the hope of opening that closed and jealously guarded country to English trade and enterprise. But the result really obtained was little more than a good book about the country and the people, from Mr. (now Sir John) Barrow, his lordship's secretary. Our gradual conquests had brought our Indian frontier almost close upon the frontiers of the Celestial Empire; and the Chinese, who at least knew something of the history of our aggrandizement in Hindustan, were alarmed at our near neighbourhood, and thus more than ever disposed to persevere in their ancient excluding laws.

The desire of not destroying what has been termed "the balance of power in India," is generally stated to have been one of the principal causes which prevented Lord Cornwallis from prosecuting the war to the total annihilation of Tippoo; but it is believed, by one well acquainted with the political history of the country, that his lordship must have been influenced by more powerful and more proximate causes than the speculative apprehension of danger from the increase of the dominions of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, which has been so often ascribed as his motive for conclud-

* Colonel Wilks, Sketches.—Major Dirom, Narrative.—Mackenzie, Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun.—Moore, Narrative.—Major Taylor, Travels overland to India.

ing the peace with Tippoo Sulstaun, whom he continued to describe as "a faithless and violent character, upon whom no dependence could be placed." Among the more obvious and stronger reasons which may have influenced Cornwallis, the following have been cited:—The finances of government were in a very embarrassed state: the general sentiment in England was adverse to any war whatever in India: the Court of Directors had, in several of their dispatches, earnestly called his lordship's attention to the conclusion of an early peace, as essential to the finances and true interests of the Company; and they had declared in a dispatch received just before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, their readiness to sacrifice some of the advantages which they might justly expect from the success of the war, rather than risk its continuance. Great jealousy subsisted between the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and while it was difficult to manage the unwieldy force of the Nizam, serious apprehensions were entertained of the treachery of the Mahrattas, who made some very alarming movements and demonstrations while Cornwallis and his army were engaged at Seringapatam. The accounts which had arrived in India a short time previously to the conclusion of the treaty, left little doubt that England would soon be involved in another war with France; and this was certainly a strong inducement for Cornwallis to bring the war with Tippoo to a termination, so that he might be prepared to repel any attack of the French, and direct the efforts of our arms against the settlements in India which had been restored to France by the peace of 1782.*—When the account of war between France and England reached him at Calcutta, Lord Cornwallis hastened to Madras to take the command of an army; but before he could reach that coast, Pondicherry, the French metropolis in India, was attacked and taken by that army from Fort St. George, under the command of Major-General Sir John Braithwaite. All the French factories were seized without any difficulty; but it

was not found possible to shut out all the adventurers of that bold and adventurous nation, or to prevent their intriguing with Tippoo Sulstaun and the other Indian princes most hostile to the English.

After the conclusion of the present war against the Mysorean sovereign, our amicable relations with the Nizam became more intimate, from the sense of the mutual benefit which had attended the alliance; and a subsidiary British force was allowed to remain in the Nizam's service. With the Peishwa of the Mahrattas the case was very different: he had been unsteady to his alliance during the war, and at the peace he made propositions with which Lord Cornwallis thought it impolitic to comply. The Peishwa wanted to subsidize a British detachment, of the same force and on the same terms as that which remained with the Nizam, openly declaring that the purpose for which this force was required, was to enable him to reduce to obedience any of his dependant and tributary states that might prove refractory, but secretly intending to employ these disciplined troops in making conquests at the expense of his neighbours, and the neighbours and allies of the Company. Lord Cornwallis stated in his dispatch that the principal cause of objection to the measure was his conviction that it was meant to obtain the countenance and support of the British government against Madhajee Scindiah, the chief of a Mahratta confederacy, who was nearly as powerful as the Peishwa, and who, for some time past, had been aspiring to the rank of supreme chief and ruler of all the Mahrattas. The Peishwa interpreted Cornwallis's refusal of the subsidiary force into an intention of the British to take part with his rival Scindiah; and this evil impression remained, although the governor-general and commander-in-chief refused to hire two disciplined battalions to Scindiah, who offered to pay a high price for their services. The foundation was already laid for the contest which soon afterwards ensued between the great native powers; and it was evident that the Company could not remain neutral in that inevitable and extensive war; but the British legislature had rigidly prescribed a system of non-

* Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.

interference, and, obedient to it, Cornwallis did not think himself at liberty to make even a political effort to prevent the collision, or to check the aggrandizement of either of the great Indian potentates. All that the English gained by this temporary neutrality was a longer, a more expensive, and a more doubtful war when hostilities commenced, and when it became apparent that all Hindustan would be devastated and thrown back into anarchy, unless British troops and well trained sepoys in the Company's pay should succeed in breaking up the Mahratta power altogether. If Lord Cornwallis had been allowed by his employers to pursue a different course now, his successor, the Marquess Wellesley, might have been relieved from the necessity of waging that long Mahratta war, which cost such extensive sacrifices and such strenuous exertions, but which was a war we can never look upon without grateful emotions, as it served to develop the genius of Wellesley's greater brother, the Duke of Wellington. It was during the government of Lord Cornwallis and the prevalence of our neutrality system that the independent power of Madhaje Scindiah was matured, and that his authority was completely established over the northern parts of Hindustan. Partly by intrigue and partly by force this powerful Mahratta chief got possession both of the person of the Mogul and of all his dominions: the dominions were very limited, but the possession of the person of the degenerate imbecile descendant of Aurungzebe was of immense advantage, as it allowed him to issue his firmans in the name of the Mogul; and as the mere name was still potential among the Mohammedans of India. Though denied the two British battalions, Scindiah found means to raise a large and formidable corps of infantry under European officers, chiefly French; to erect foundries and arsenals, and, in short, to accumulate those vast military powers and resources which enabled his immediate successor, his nephew Doulut Rao Scindiah, to carry on a war at the same moment in the Deccan and Hindustan against the British government and its allies.* Even before

his power was thus matured, Scindiah did not refrain from intimating his intention of turning his advantages against the Company. In the summer of 1792 the public news-writer of Delhi stated that the Great Mogul had informed Scindiah and the Peishwa that he hoped through their exertions to obtain tribute from the British territories of Bengal. Lord Cornwallis felt this insult very acutely, and the neutrality system of the legislature did not hinder him from resenting it. He instructed his resident at Delhi to tell Scindiah that, in the present situation of the Mogul, he must consider all letters written upon political points in his name to be written by his (Scindiah's) sanction and authority only; and that any attempt to demand tribute from the English, or to establish principles of that description, would be warmly resented by the government of Bengal. Writing to the resident, he continued—"You will, in the course of any conversation or correspondence which you may hold with Scindiah upon this point, take care to recall in the most forcible manner to his recollection the spirit of moderation and forbearance that has been manifested by this government during the long period in which he has been employed in extending his conquests in the northern parts of Hindustan; and that it would give us pain to be forced to depart from the neutral and pacific system that we have hitherto observed in that quarter. You will, at the same time, inform him, that it is by my particular directions that you say that we have no desire to make any new acquisitions, nor even to interfere in the internal affairs of the empire, if we can avoid it with honour and safety; but that if any of our neighbours should be rash enough to insult us by unjust demands, or in any other shape whatever, we feel ourselves both able and resolved to exact ample satisfaction."* These spirited remonstrances curbed the insolence of the great Mahratta, who assured the British resident at Delhi that the only use he wished to make of the Mogul's favour was to establish his authority over the territories which he

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Political Hist. Ind.'

* Letter of Lord Cornwallis, in Id.

held, and not to subdue or invade the territories of others. And during the three remaining years of his life Madhaje Scindiah, though he continued some of his operations in the north, left the lower provinces of Hindustan undisturbed, and treated the government of Bengal with respectful deference.

Ragojee Bonslah, another powerful Mahratta chief, who held dominion over the province of Cuttack and other extensive territories, was conciliated by the diplomacy of Cornwallis, who deputed a resident to his court.

With the debt-oppressed Nabob of the Carnatic, his lordship, as soon as he arrived in India, ratified or concluded a treaty of alliance, which was considered as a great improvement of the political relations which subsisted previously between the Company and that ruler. It vested the sole military power in the Company; and thereby gave security to our Indian empire. But it was only in this view that the treaty could be considered as beneficial; in every other, it carried the seeds of its own destruction. The sword was placed in one hand (in that of the Company), the purse in another (in that of the nabob); and to combine both, in order to produce efficient exertion, in a time of war, for the mutual safety of the two contracting parties, it became necessary, unless the nabob altered all his principles of government, to introduce a complete change into the administration of those provinces from which the resources were to be drawn during the actual existence of a war. There was another and a serious inconvenience. By the treaty the nabob was bound to contribute nine lacs of star pagodas annually towards the support of the military peace establishment, which was to be maintained in the Carnatic by the Company; and in the event of a failure on the part of the nabob, in the punctual payment of this money, the Company was to possess the right of appointing its own revenue officers, with authority to superintend and receive from the nabob's collectors, the revenue of certain specified districts; and after the amount of the deficiency should have been realized, the Company's officers were

instantly to be recalled. This was for a state of peace. In the event of war, it was stipulated that the nabob should pay four-fifths of his revenue to the Company, and that, in case of his failing so to do, the Company should have the right of appointing receivers and superintendents, not to collect, but to receive from the nabob's collectors, the revenues of *all* the nabob's country. It was evident that the constant changes of authority to which the territories of the nabob were thus exposed, were likely to destroy every hope of improvement in the country, or of permanent comfort and prosperity to its unfortunate inhabitants. The nabob was never punctual, and while he wasted his money in extravagance, he was always pleading poverty, and requesting the Company to pay the troops which they kept in his dominions, and without which these dominions must have passed into other hands. When the war with Tippoo Sultaun broke out (in 1790), the nabob failed entirely in his part of the agreement; and thereupon Lord Cornwallis, acting precisely as Warren Hastings would have done at such a critical moment, when money must be obtained or disaster and defeat be incurred, put the treaty in abeyance, and took possession of the whole of the nabob's country, and levied the taxes directly by his own officers, only directing that the nabob might be permitted to appoint officers of his own to observe the conduct and inspect the accounts of the servants and collectors of the Company, in order that a satisfactory settlement, upon the principle prescribed by the treaty, might be made hereafter between his highness and the British government. It was not a case in which the nabob could have been left to himself: without the Company's troops the Carnatic must have been overrun by the fierce Mysoreans, and the adjacent territories of the Company must have been again devastated by Tippoo. Lord Cornwallis expressed his deep regret that the nabob had not been prevailed upon to give his assent to this temporary occupation of his country and assumption of its finances, and that he had not, by order, economy, and punctuality in his stipulated payments, ren-

dered such measures unnecessary, declaring, however, at the same time, that the British government could not gratify the nabob's private feelings by forbearing to take efficient steps to exact the performance of his engagements, without being guilty of a flagrant neglect of the attention which was due to the honour and interests of their country, and to the security of his highness's own dominions. He also told the nabob that although it was a time of war, he would soon see that, while his people were treated with justice and humanity, a liberal fund would be secured for the support of his own dignity, and that of his family; and that the remainder of the revenues "would be rescued from the hands of extortioners and usurers, and honourably applied to the defence and protection of his subjects and dominions." This entire occupation of the Carnatic greatly facilitated the operations of the war against Tippoo, as it placed the resources of the country in the hands of the British government, and gave that government the undivided power of applying those resources, and every military supply which the country possessed, to the aid of the public service. After the termination of the war against Tippoo, his lordship opened fresh negotiations with the Nabob of the Carnatic, which ended in a new treaty, on the 12th of July, 1792. The previous treaty of 1787 was annulled; and it was agreed that the defence of the territories of both states was to be intrusted entirely to the Company, who, in the event of war, were to assume the management of the Carnatic, with its revenues, &c., which were all to remain in the Company's hands as long as the war lasted, and to be returned to the nabob at its termination; unless in a few cases, which were particularly specified. It was also stipulated that, as long as the Company remained in possession of the Carnatic, they should pay to the nabob one-fifth part of its revenues, keeping the four-fifths for the expenses of the war, &c. By an article of this treaty, of 1792, the nabob agreed, as he had done before, to pay nine lacs of pagodas annually for the military peace establishment. Further he agreed to pay between

six and seven lacs of pagodas annually, for the liquidation of his private debts. In the event of any failure on his part, certain specified districts, with their revenues, were to be assumed by the Company; and the nabob was to recall all his officers from the said districts, except one officer in each, who was to receive annually from the Company's servants attested statements of the gross revenue and net receipts. Lord Cornwallis entertained strong hopes of the happy operation of this treaty; but the authorities in England did not share in this impression, and they early directed efforts to be made to modify the arrangement, which they apprehended would never work advantageously. The event proved the correctness of these apprehensions.

The ruler of Oude, the nabob-vizier, had frequently represented to Warren Hastings that his finances were deranged by the heavy monthly payment of 2 lacs and 60,000 rupees to the regular brigade of the Company's troops stationed in his territories, for the defence of Oude, Corah, and Allahabad, and the annual 23 lacs of rupees paid to six battalions of sepoy, a corps of artillery, and some squadrons of regular cavalry stationed at Furruckabad; but Hastings, instructed by the Court of Directors not to remove any of the troops and not to abate any of the payments, had turned the deaf ear to the nabob's complaints. As it was evident that a compliance with the nabob-vizier's wishes would expose both his own interests and those of the Company to great danger, as he possessed no immediate means of preserving the internal tranquillity of his dominions, much less of protecting them from the invasion with which they were almost constantly threatened by the Mahrattas, Cornwallis acted exactly as Hastings had done, telling the remonstrating or petitioning nabob, that the Company's troops stationed within his territories were not more than sufficient for the defence of them; that his own subjects were retained within the bounds of duty and allegiance solely by the respect inspired by the Company's troops; and, finally, that he must pay for the valuable protection thus afforded him. His lordship, however

by a treaty concluded with Hyder Beg Khan, the nabob-vizier's minister, reduced the total of the annual payments from 80 lacs to 50 lacs.

The course of events, and absolute necessity, had forced the pacifically disposed Lord Cornwallis into the war with Tippoo Sultaun, and into a course of measures very contrary to the wishes, the policy, and the system of non-interference and non-aggrandizement of the British legislature and government. But it has been well remarked that this self-evident necessity was not followed by the conclusion that the same causes might again produce the same effects; and that a general impression was made in England, that his lordship had placed the affairs of the Company on the true footing of security and strength, which had been so long desired—that, for the future, nothing would be requisite but mild, moderate, and conciliatory councils in the governor-general and the local authorities, to secure the lasting tranquillity and prosperity of the British Empire in India. This capital mistake must indeed appear the more extraordinary if we reflect upon the actual condition and increasing power of the always restless Mahratta princes, the weakness of the rulers of Oude and the Carnatic, and of all the allies of the English, not one of whom could be left exposed to invasion and conquest without exposing either the trade or the dominions of the Company to serious loss, if not to absolute ruin. Our territories were greatly increased and our political relations much

extended during Lord Cornwallis's administration. His great efforts had all been attended with extraordinary success. If some of his attempted reforms were failures, he yet left behind him, among the natives, a good name, and the enviable reputation of having always entertained the best intentions. Some great reforms and changes he certainly effected both in the military and in the civil establishments of India, being aided therein by the new acts of parliament and by the possession of that unity of power and that absolute control over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay which Hastings had never possessed; and it is asserted, by a very competent authority, that the system of internal rule which he introduced into the provinces of Bengal and Bahar will ever reflect the highest honour on his name.* That opposition party in parliament which had extolled the virtues and deplored the misfortunes of the Tiger of Mysore were not sparing of their criticism and censures: but when his lordship returned to England at the end of 1793, they did not venture to try to impeach him. The king, in acknowledgment of his important services, raised him to the rank of marquess, and he was appointed master-general of the ordnance. It is said that he was not a very brilliant man, but it is seldom that we find brilliant men doing what was achieved by his spotless integrity, his humanity, and untiring diligence.

* Malcolm.

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN SHORE. A. D. 1793.

SIR JOHN SHORE (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), the friend of Warren Hastings, the bosom friend and afterwards biographer of Sir William Jones, and a most respectable civil servant of the Company, who had resided long in India, and had rendered important services there, was appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis as governor-general of India.* Sir John

* Mr. Shore (he was knighted after accepting the governor-generalship) had gone to India early in life, and had been promoted in the service by Warren Hastings. He had made good progress in the native languages, then too much neglected by the English; he had studied the habits, customs, tenures, and laws of the natives, and had cultivated an extensive intercourse with the people. He had occupied a high post in the then united departments of *revenue* and *judicature*; and on the consolidation of the provincial boards under Warren Hastings, he had been placed at the head of that department. On Hastings's return to England, in 1785, he accompanied him; entertaining, and avowing on all occasions, a reverence for that great governor-general's integrity, good intentions, and wonderful abilities. It was to Shore that Hastings inscribed that version of the Ode of Horace which he made on shipboard during the homeward voyage. (See vol. i. p. 237.) At the end of the following year Mr. Shore was appointed member of the supreme council, and in that capacity he accompanied Lord Cornwallis to India. He opposed some of Lord Cornwallis's law reforms, as being unsuited to the country and people; and he returned again to England with a moderate fortune, and with the intention of passing the rest of his life in retirement. The invitation to become Lord Cornwallis's successor is said to have been altogether unexpected by him. The perusal of his minutes on the revenue had principally induced Pitt and Dundas to select him; but his known predilection for a pacific course of policy, his love of order, and the general excellence of his private character were also powerful recommendations. At first he steadily refused the appointment; but he soon yielded to the earnest solicitations of Mr. Charles Grant. Wilberforce, whose views in religion resembled his own, had a great regard for Shore; and he says that Shore was so reluctant to accept the splendid offer, that Grant, at Pitt's request, undertook to go

had abundant local knowledge and industry. He was particularly skilled in the revenue system of India, and was of very pacific habits; and it appears to have been expected that all those great advantages which Lord Cornwallis had obtained would be confirmed and improved, without any risk of war or extension of political connections by a governor possessed of these qualities. It was laid down to him as a rule, that the dictates of *justice*, no less than the dictates of *economy*, prescribed to the Company a system of non-interference with the internal affairs or mutual differences of the native states; *unless* when interference should be required by the paramount duty of preserving the tranquillity and integrity of the Company's own dominions. About the same time that Shore became the real ruler of Bengal, the nominal sovereign of that country, the nabob Mubarek-ul-Dowlah, died, in the 37th year of his age, leaving behind him twelve sons and thirteen daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Uzeer-ul-Dowlah, who was solemnly proclaimed at Calcutta on the 28th of September, 1793.

The situation of affairs did not promise, to those who were acquainted with the temper of the Mahrattas, any very long exemption from hostilities; but, on the

down and find him out in his retirement, and to urge him to consent, in consideration of the valuable services which he might be enabled to render to his country and to the natives of India, in whose welfare he had always taken a lively interest. Wilberforce adds that he was present when Shore was introduced to Pitt, and that he was much struck with the simplicity, repose, and dignified urbanity he displayed in his conference with the premier. (*Memoir of Lord Teignmouth*, by Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks, M.A. *Life of Lord Teignmouth*, by his Son, the present Lord.)

other hand, the Company was in every respect free from any immediate danger. The English government had at no period been so strong in actual military force and resources. Its principal enemy, Tippoo, was much reduced; its principal ally, the Nizam or Subahdar of the Deccan, seemed firm to his engagements. But those jealousies which had broken out between the Nizam and the Mahrattas before Lord Cornwallis quitted the country, were now threatening wars and convulsions. Being justified in so doing by his treaty of alliance, the Nizam, threatened with invasion, applied to the new governor-general for assistance. This assistance was refused by the pacific Sir John Shore, whose wishes accorded with the neutrality system instructions he received from home, and who was loath to incur any hazard of giving offence to the Mahrattas. When this refusal was made it was notorious that the Nizam entertained the most friendly dispositions towards the British government, and rejoiced at the recent successes of Cornwallis, which had established our great ascendancy in the political scale of India; while the Mahrattas viewed the success of the English with alarm, and contemplated their power with a degree of jealousy which almost amounted to hostility. The wily Mahrattas very soon concluded that Sir John Shore, in his anxiety to remain neutral, would not aid the Nizam by any other means than those of diplomacy and a mediatory negotiation; and as soon as they made this discovery they despised the diplomacy, they resolved to reject the mediation, and began to beat their kettledrums, collect their war-horses, and sharpen their spear-heads. At this critical moment Madhajee Scindiah, who had given such growth and increase to the Mahratta power, died, and left his vast resources and territories to his nephew Doulut Rao Scindiah, a much younger and much more active and daring chief, who hastened to assemble his army from the remotest quarters of Hindustan, with the double view of strengthening his personal authority and of acquiring an ascendancy in the confederacy forming against the Nizam. And while their best ally was thus threatened, the English themselves were again me-

naced by the snake which they had scotched, not killed. Tippoo, who had commenced intrigues with the French and with the Mahrattas before the treaty of Seringapatam was a month old, assembled an army, and threatened to come forward as an ally of the Mahrattas. This only confirmed Sir John Shore in his resolution not to aid the Nizam. It was obvious to him that the Nizam, unsupported by the English, must sink under the combined attack of the Mahrattas and Tippoo, and that the Mysorean would become more dangerous than ever to the English by this change. But he consoled himself with the reflection, that in the event of the Nizam's country being conquered by such incompatible allies as Tippoo and the Mahrattas, there was as great a probability of their quarrelling about the division of the spoils and attacking each other, as of their uniting in an invasion of British India. By the recent acts of parliament, the governor-general, in common with all the Company's servants, was prohibited from interfering in the quarrels of native princes, and of taking up arms against them, unless to oppose an actual invasion of the British territories; and these cast were of more importance in the eyes of Sir John than were the obligations of the treaty of alliance concluded with the Nizam by his predecessor. Yet we could not leave the Nizam to his fate without weakening that force of opinion which, more than arms, had made us what we were in India. Lord Cornwallis, by representing the attack of Tippoo upon our ally the Rajah of Travancore, had gained the confidence of other allies, and had established the British reputation for good faith, justice, and firmness. Could so recent an example be overruled? Could the same power which rushed into war in 1790, for the defence of an inconsiderable ally, remain neutral in 1794, when a considerable and a faithful ally was threatened with destruction? Could our reputation for good faith towards our allies be sacrificed at the moment when it was highest? Yet Sir John Shore did not think that these considerations were to be put in competition with the evils which might attend a war with Tippoo and the Mahrattas. It is, however, doubted whe-

ther any such war would have followed a more spirited course of policy. "There indeed appears," says Sir John Malcolm, "every ground to conclude, that while the impressions which had been made on all the native powers of India, by the wise councils and military success of the Marquess Cornwallis, were yet in full force, the decided interference of the British government would have deterred both the Mahrattas and Tippoo Sultaun from an attack upon the Nizam." Events which Sir John Shore could neither control nor foresee prevented the hostile movements of Tippoo and preserved the Nizam from total annihilation. Yet the fate of the faithful ally of the English was sufficiently hard, and the effects of the Mahratta invasion of the Deccan were witnessed in the impoverishment of the people, in the decline of their trade with the Company, and in the dread which was entertained of their visit being soon repeated.

In the month of February, 1795, the advanced corps of the Mahratta army, under Doulut Rao Scindiah, marched against the Nizam; and on the 11th of March a battle was fought near the town of Beeder, the capital of a province (of the Deccan) of that name. Both armies were thrown into confusion, neither of them obtained any considerable advantage, both indeed appeared upon the point of running away at the same moment: but the Nizam ran first—he had brought his women with him, these inmates of the zenana were sadly frightened, and imparting their fears to their never courageous lord, he quitted the field, and fled by night to the small fort of Kurdlah. Here he was immediately surrounded and hemmed in by the Mahrattas, who cut him off from all supplies, and starved him into a disgraceful capitulation. After remaining for some weeks in the fort, the Nizam agreed to cede to his enemies an extensive tract of country rendering thirty-five lacs of annual revenue, and including the celebrated fortress of Dowletabad or Deoghir, the strongest place in his dominions; to pay three crores of rupees, one-third immediately, the remainder by instalments of twenty-five lacs per annum, and to give up as an hostage his prime minister

Azeem-ul-Omrah, the zealous friend of the English and the decided opponent of the Mahrattas. This delivering up of an able and honest minister was almost as dishonourable to the English as it was injurious to their abandoned ally the Nizam, whose throne had been supported by his abilities. At the time there were two battalions of British troops in the Deccan: if these had been present at the battle of Beeder, the total defeat of the Mahrattas would have been certain; if they had marched to the relief of Kurdlah, the Nizam might have been extricated without signing the disgraceful treaty; but the English officer in command, obedient to the orders of the governor-general, refused to accompany him to the war, or to take any steps against the Mahrattas. After the convention of Kurdlah was settled, the Nizam returned to Hyderabad, and strongly intimated his desire that the Company would recall their two battalions. The battalions were soon recalled. In the meantime the Mahratta confederates evacuated the Deccan and marched towards their respective countries; which they had hardly reached ere two unexpected events occurred—the sudden death of the young Peishwa, Madhoo Rao, and the rebellion of Ali Jah, the eldest son of the Nizam. These two events conspired, in their effects, to revive the lost influence of the British at the court of Hyderabad, and to restore the Nizam to his former importance among the native powers. The death of Madhoo Rao introduced fierce dissensions among the Mahratta chiefs, who had been so recently leagued together. Nanah Furnavese was determined to place upon the vacant throne an infant prince, in whose name he might rule and reign. His great rival Doulut Rao Scindiah supported the claims of the son of Ragoba, who would have been the undoubted heir of the throne if the Mahrattas had recognised the European law of succession and primogeniture. Nanah Furnavese, chancing to be at Poonah, the capital or Aulic city of the Mahratta confederacy, had at first several advantages. He liberated the Nizam's minister, Azeem-ul-Omrah, opened a negotiation with him, and agreed to par-

chase the Nizam's alliance by rescinding the convention of Kurdlah, and by giving up all claims to the territory and the money which the Nizam had agreed to yield and pay. A treaty was concluded upon these conditions; but before it could take effect Scindiah marched upon Poonah with an army which his rival was unable to oppose: Nanah Furnavese was driven out of the country; and Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, was placed upon the Peishwa musnud. The treaty so recently concluded with Azeem-ul-Dowlah was annulled; but, in order to prevent the Nizam from forming an alliance with his rival Nanah Furnavese, Scindiah hastened to conclude a new treaty with the still powerful ruler of the Deccan, merely demanding from the Nizam one-fourth of the territory and money which had been stipulated in the convention of Kurdlah. These rapid revolutions rescued the Nizam, and in part saved the character of the English, who must have been disgraced in the eyes of the native princes if their ally had been despoiled to the full extent of the treaty of Kurdlah, or if he had been driven to extremities by another Mahratta invasion.

The rebellion of the Nizam's son had a still more favourable effect. Since the time of the gallant and adventurous M. Bussy, the ruler of the Deccan had never been without some French officers in his service. At present he had a considerable number of these officers, the chief of them being one M. Raymond, who had commenced his military career in India at an early age, under the rash and unfortunate Lally. These Frenchmen had disciplined various corps of sepoys. During the war against Tippoo Sultaun the Nizam had two battalions only; but since the peace of Seringapatam M. Raymond had raised or disciplined several other battalions. The English resident at Hyderabad stated that no fewer than twenty-three disciplined battalions, with twelve field-pieces, accompanied the Nizam in the campaign against the Mahrattas which had ended so disastrously at Kurdlah; but there were certainly not Frenchmen enough to officer so large a force, and it is probable that not one-third of this force was either properly disciplined or pro-

perly commanded. After the departure of the two British battalions the Nizam ordered new levies for these corps; and assigned an extensive territory for their regular payment and support. As the fiercest of all wars was now raging between France and England, and as it was expected that the republicans would make some desperate effort to land troops on the Coromandel coast, the British resident expressed great jealousy of M. Raymond and his battalions, and remonstrated strongly with the Nizam; but little attention was given to him, and, in spite of his remonstrances, not only were the levies continued, but a considerable part of Raymond's force was sent to occupy the districts of Kurpah and Kummum, which were immediately upon the frontier of the Company's possessions. Sir John Shore now became seriously alarmed. "This last measure," said he, "has a suspicious, not to say *criminal* appearance: and although we may acquit the Nizam of any hostile designs against the Company, I can entertain little doubt of the disposition of M. Raymond and the officers of his corps to co-operate with the French upon the northern Circars. Such an attempt may not be probable; but as it would, if carried into execution, be attended with very serious consequences to the British possessions in India, the strongest representations ought to be made, to induce the Nizam to recall the detachment of M. Raymond." The governor-general addressed a letter to the Nizam, stating in a general manner the consequences which might result from placing a force on the British frontiers, under the command of men who were the declared enemies of the British government; and requesting him to withdraw them immediately. At the same time he directed his resident at Hyderabad to make use of more decided language to that court, and to tell the Nizam that if he persisted in his determination to keep the Frenchmen and their battalions where they were, he (the governor-general) would be compelled, with whatever reluctance, to advance a body of troops towards our frontier. Resenting his abandonment by the English in the late Mahratta invasion, and complaining

that they had broken their treaty with him, the Nizam persisted in keeping his troops at Kurpah; being encouraged so to do by M. Raymond and the other French officers, who assured him that the omnipotent French republic, which was giving liberty to all the nations in Europe, would soon overthrow the tyranny of England, which kept him and other princes of India in thralldom. At the moment there was a considerable number of French officers and soldiers and sailors prisoners of war at Pondicherry. It appears that a secret correspondence was established between these men and M. Raymond; and nothing but the great vigilance of Lord Hobart, who then presided over the Madras government, prevented his being joined by these Pondicherry prisoners of war, who were apprehended at the moment in which they intended to effect their escape. Such a reinforcement would have been of immense importance; and it was probably in order to be near at hand to receive it that M. Raymond had been stationed on the frontiers. The dismissal from the Deccan of the two British battalions, the immediate increase of Raymond's corps, the apparent determination of the Nizam to brave the displeasure of the governor-general, sufficiently proved that the influence which had been established at the court of Hyderabad by Lord Cornwallis was entirely lost; and that the English not only could place no dependence upon the aid of the Nizam, but had reasons to apprehend that his resources might be early directed against the Company's possessions, either from the prevailing power of the French faction, from the complete subjection of his country to the Mahrattas, or from his throwing himself, to escape that Mahratta subjection, into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, the irreconcilable enemy of the English, who was at this moment most actively engaged in a multiplicity of intrigues. But just at this moment—on the 28th of June, 1795—the Nizam's son Ali Jah fled from Hyderabad and raised the standard of rebellion against his father the Nizam. Filled with alarm, the Nizam pressed the instant return of the English subsidiary force to his country; agreed to the recall

of the detachment of Raymond's corps; and adopted every measure proposed by the English resident, and humbly and earnestly supplicated for the renewal of that friendship and alliance which he had so recently, and not without reason, slighted. Sir John Shore saw the advantages which fortune had thrown in his way. He directed the two English battalions to march back to the Nizam's territory with every possible expedition. These troops were rapidly advancing to join the Nizam's army acting against Ali Jah, when accounts were received of the defeat and capture of that undutiful prince by M. Raymond's battalions. They remained in the country, and rendered some important services in restoring tranquillity. Ali Jah died, or was murdered, soon after he was made prisoner; but in the course of a few months another rebellion broke out, headed by Darah Jah, a nephew of the Nizam, who contrived to collect a great body of troops. At this crisis the English subsidiary force did all the fighting for the bewildered Nizam. Under their able commander, Captain James Dalrymple, the two battalions gained a splendid victory, and reduced the strong fort of Rachore, of which the rebels had obtained possession. The advantages derived on these occasions from the support of the British government were fully recognised by the Nizam; but he still feared that the governor-general would not send him sufficient aid in case of his being again attacked by the Mahrattas; he still entertained an affection for M. Raymond and a reliance upon his brilliant promises, and he very naturally clung to his French disciplined battalions, which had been raised at a great expense, and which were now daily improving; and, notwithstanding the discontented countenance of the English resident, he associated more than ever with M. Raymond, he increased the numbers and appointments of that Frenchman's corps, giving him additional lands to ensure their regular payment; he established or enlarged arsenals and foundries for their equipment, and made every effort in order to add to the strength and stability of this favourite body of troops. Thus favoured and

honoured, M. Raymond, who possessed most of those qualities in which his nation most excels, rapidly improved the discipline of his battalions, and strengthened himself by forming connections with the chief officers of the Nizam's court, and by intriguing against all such as leaned towards the English interest. As a Frenchman it was his bounden duty to do all the injury he could to the most detested and most powerful of all the enemies of the One and Indivisible Republic. He took no care to conceal his hostility or the hopes he entertained of the future—he intended to play over again, and on a wider stage, the part of M. Bussy, and to revive the projects of M. Dupleix. The English, to a man, were to be expelled from the great peninsula of India, and the dominion of that country was to be wholly transferred to the French republic. His battalions carried the tri-coloured flag; and the cap of liberty was engraven on the buttons of their clothing. His officers sang the *Ca Ira* and danced the Carmagnole in the gilded halls of Hyderabad. He encouraged desertions from the sepoys in the English service; and, through the intrigues of his officers, who commanded the detachment of his corps which was stationed near the British frontier, a partial mutiny was excited in a battalion of sepoys on the Madras establishment; and two native commissioned officers and a number of privates deserted their colours and went over to the French party. A certain historian, who never exercises his imagination except in discovering errors in our statesmen and commanders, who never seems to doubt that he could have managed matters better than the best of them, and who nearly always seems to intimate that the English in India were most jealous and most alarmed when there was no occasion for any such feelings, and trustful and confident when there was great occasion for them, sneers at the alarm felt at the present conjuncture, and treats the jealousy as something superlatively ridiculous.* But those who really knew India treat the subject in a very different manner. The cause of

jealousy and alarm was great and serious, whatever may have been the means resorted to by the governor-general for removing it. To rival the French tacticians and drill-masters, Sir John Shore encouraged a set of English adventurers to go to Hyderabad and offer their services to the Nizam. These adventurers were received at that court, and were countenanced by the English resident, but none of them possessed either the professional skill or the political address of M. Raymond; and the corps they attempted to discipline remained but as an awkward squad compared with the battalions the Frenchman had trained. But these battalions were now becoming so formidable, that the Nizam began to fear that all the actual power and resources of his government might pass rapidly into the hands of the French faction. He solicited the British government to enter into such engagements with him as would prevent the necessity of his having recourse to such dangerous means of defence against the Mahrattas. He even offered to dismiss all the French corps as soon as the British detachment in the Deccan should be increased. But Sir John Shore, though jealous of the French, was still more jealous of giving any offence to Scindiah and the great Mahratta confederacy; he conceived that to accede to the conditions proposed by the Nizam and to send an army into the Deccan would be to provoke a Mahratta war, and to depart from that neutrality system which his employers were still constantly recommending to his attention; and therefore he took no decisive steps; and Raymond and the other Frenchmen were left in the Deccan to enjoy the advantages they had obtained, and to intrigue in every direction against the English.

Nor was M. Raymond the only French general actively employed in India. The disciplined troops of Doulut Rao Scindiah, the real lord of the Mahratta confederacy, were commanded by a Frenchman named Perron, who had many European officers under him. Nearly the whole of the country which had been subdued by Scindiah or by his father was intrusted to the management of this French general, whose corps amounted

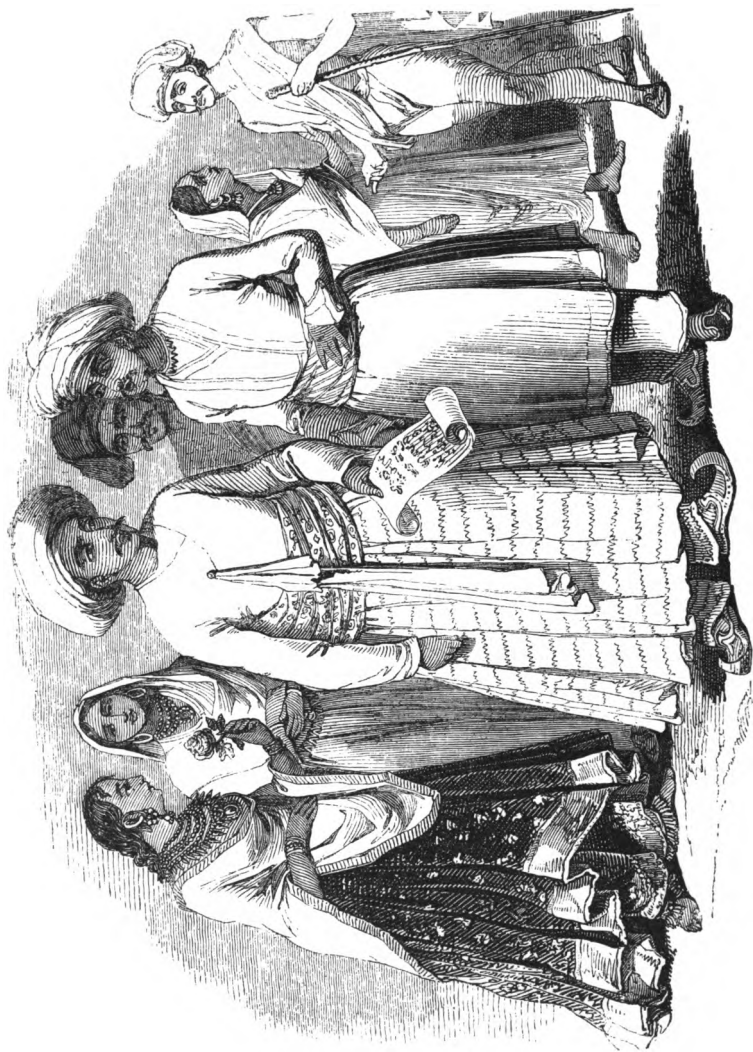
* James Mill, *Hist. Brit. Ind.*

already to several regular, well-disciplined brigades, which were chiefly recruited from the Company's provinces, and which were clothed and armed like English sepoys. M. Perron had also a numerous train of artillery admirably equipped, and a considerable body of regular cavalry. He and the European officers were largely and regularly paid—"They were stimulated to exertion by every motive which could awaken avarice or excite ambition."* The privates also were well paid, and were entitled, when disabled by wounds or length of service, to retire on a pension establishment. It was M. Perron and his corps that gave Scindiah his decided superiority over the other native powers; and the consolidation and extension of this system might enable the Mahratta chief to contend with the British. No effort was made during the administration of Sir John Shore to check the alarming growth of this French power.

The old Nabob of the Carnatic (or, as he was generally called in England, the Nabob of Arcot), Mohammed Ali Khan, died on the 13th of October, 1795, in the 79th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Omdut-ul-Omrah. Lord Hobart, acting under the governor-general as governor of Madras, endeavoured to effect a modification of the treaty which Lord Cornwallis had concluded with the old nabob in 1792. His lordship proposed that Omdut-ul-Omrah, the new nabob, should make an entire cession to the Company of the districts mortgaged for the payment of the pecuniary instalments; that he should give up some of the forts in the Carnatic; and that he should yield the right of sovereignty over the Polygars, which the nabob his father had retained, though the collection of the tribute from these Polygars had been made over to the Company. His lordship urged, that the first of these conditions would be as beneficial to the nabob as to the Company, as it would relieve him for ever from a great amount of debt, and take him out of the hands of those usurers by whom his country had been ruined:—that the se-

cond of these conditions, or the surrender of certain forts to the English, was essential to place the country in a proper state of defence by securing the mountain passes or ghauts against Tippoo, whose conduct was so suspicious as to induce the belief that he intended to renew the war, and to pour again his armies through those passes into the Carnatic;—and that the other condition required the cession of a power which was but nominal on the part of the nabob, though it was essential to the Company, the exercise of whose authority over the turbulent Polygars had been much obstructed by the name of sovereignty remaining with the nabob. Lord Hobart offered to make very large sacrifices to the nabob; but Omdut-ul-Omrah gave an unqualified refusal to all his propositions, replying to every argument, that he was determined to abide by Lord Cornwallis's treaty, which he had been directed to do by the dying injunction of his father. The truth was that Omdut-ul-Omrah cared very little for the words of his dying father (if they had ever been uttered), and very little for the integrity of his states, or for the nominal sovereignty he possessed; but he was completely in the hands and under the control of a set of usurers and extortioners, some natives and some Englishmen, who had obtained from him mortgages over estates situated in the districts which Lord Hobart proposed he should cede to the Company, who would not recognise those mortgages or any such extortionate transactions. Not a few of these English usurers were servants of the Company, who had shielded themselves from the effects of the prohibitory acts of parliament, and from the indignation of their employers, by dealing with the nabob through native agents and brokers. Others of these Englishmen were free merchants, partners in the greatest houses of Madras. "It is not possible," wrote Lord Hobart, "to calculate the extent and variety of interests which are involved in this one pursuit. And, though they are subdivided in every direction of the Carnatic, yet at the call of danger they all rally round a common centre. The great houses of business, who are the principal money-lenders at

* Malcolm.



Rohillas.

the durbar, borrow from individuals, who, though not absolutely engaged in the loan itself, are partakers of the speculation in a remote degree, and feel, with no less sensibility than their principals, the approach of danger. Similarity of interest makes a common cause. And the great body of interest which is condensed upon this principle, is uniformly exerted to support his highness in an inflexible resistance against a melioration of system, and to oppose a reformation which I consider essential to the national welfare." The nabob himself confessed to Lord Hobart that he was not insensible to the justice and expediency of what his lordship proposed, but that he had not the resolution to comply. He also told his lordship that his native ministers and European advisers so perplexed, plagued, and intimidated him, that he could not venture upon these measures, notwithstanding his conviction that he ought to do so. It was found, that although Lord Cornwallis had considerably reduced the amount of money to be paid annually to the Company for the support of the army required to defend the country against the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas, upon the plea that the country-people were overtaxed, that more money had been wrung from the ryots, or cultivators, since the treaty of 1792 than at any preceding period, and that while the nabob's debts, bonds, and mortgages still kept increasing, the population of the Carnatic had been fearfully decreased by these wringing and grinding processes. And at this very moment the new nabob, as extravagant, profligate, and imbecile as his father, was encouraged in his wasteful expenditure by the same insatiable herd of usurers. When arguments and remonstrances had failed, Lord Hobart would have resorted to strong but easy measures, in order to change this horrible state of things, and rescue the poor ryots from want, famine, and extinction, by including them within the pale of the British government; but Sir John Shore and his supreme government at Calcutta declared "That their principles were fairly at issue with those of the governor of Fort St. George," and appealed to the authorities at home. No-

thing was done to alter the treaty of 1792, or to better the condition of the people, or to strengthen the country against Tippoo, until the arrival of a more energetic governor-general. If that arrival had been delayed for a few years longer, the Carnatic must have been converted into an unpeopled waste.

The tranquillity of Oude was greatly disturbed during Sir John Shore's administration. In 1794, upon the death of Fyzoola Khan, the great Rohilla chief, that turbulent tribe of Afghans, whose character and habits had been so grossly misrepresented by the English persecutors of Warren Hastings, began a bloody war among themselves to settle which of the sons of Fyzoola Khan should be his successor. The eldest son, Ali Khan, was killed by his brother Gholam Khan, who, after other butcheries, got possession of the jaghire, and endeavoured to obtain the sanction of his suzerain, the nabob-vizier of Oude. The nabob-vizier would have recognised the murderer, but the English government, who had guaranteed the corner of Rohilcund to the Afghan family of Fyzoola, by whom it had been held under the nabob-vizier, resolved to punish the rebels and expel the family of Fyzoola Khan altogether. But before Sir John Shore's instructions to this effect could reach Sir Robert Abercromby in Oude, that general, after chastising the Rohilla insolence in a general battle, and reducing them to complete submission, had agreed to restore the inheritance of the family, under the guarantee of the Company, to Achmed Ali Khan, the infant son of Ali Khan, who had been slain by his brother Gholam. This settlement restored complete tranquillity to Rohilcund and Oude; and the supreme government was subsequently induced to acquiesce in the arrangement which Sir Robert Abercromby had made. In 1797, the nabob-vizier Asoph-ul-Dowlah, with whom Hastings had had so many dealings, departed this life, and was succeeded by his presumptive heir, Vizier Ali, who had been acknowledged as his son by the deceased prince. Though generally known to have been of spurious birth, though there were other claimants who pleaded

their legitimacy, Vizier Ali, was supported by a strong party at Lucknow, and his right was formally acknowledged by the British government at Calcutta, to whom Saadut Ali, the eldest surviving brother of Asoph-ul-Dowlah, had made an appeal. Sir John Shore, however, soon stated that he had decided against the claim of Saadut Ali, not without great hesitation; and that he found it impossible to divest himself of the impression, excited by universal belief and assertion, of the spurious origin of the Vizier Ali, or of the apprehension that the justice and reputation of the Company might suffer an imputation from the decision he had given in favour of that doubtful personage. It would have been better not to decide at all, than so speedily to revoke a decision. With these impressions upon his mind Sir John Shore determined to travel to Lucknow. He, however, declared that the arrangements he had in view had no reference to the alteration of the succession; though he conceived it possible that the repugnance of the people of Oude to Vizier Ali might force him to reconsider that subject. On approaching Lucknow Sir John was met by the prime minister, who assured him that Vizier Ali, as well as the other reputed sons of Asoph-ul-Dowlah, were all spurious, and that the right of succession indubitably belonged to Saadut Ali. The Oude minister further said that the great body of the people were astonished and disappointed; that it was the general opinion, that the act of raising Vizier Ali to the musnud had been hasty and inconsiderate; but that few had courage to declare their real sentiments, in opposition to the acknowledgment of his title by the English. At Lucknow the governor-general found himself involved in a scene of intrigue, perplexity, and profligacy. The old Begum, from whom Hastings had extorted her hidden treasures, had quitted Fyzabad, and reappeared at the capital, in order to take part in the scramble. The claimant whom she recommended was not Saadut Ali, but a younger brother of his. The Begum was most active in proclaiming the spuriousness of Vizier Ali's birth and the vices which stained his character.

The Mohammedan law is very lax in this respect; besides establishing an equality between the children of wives and the children of concubines, it gives such force and effect to adoption, that an adopted son has the same rights as a natural son. And under this law, or under the general practice of Mohammedan peoples, the right of succession was never strictly defined—was scarcely subjected to any fixed rule. The qualities of the man were taken more into consideration than the accidental circumstances of his birth; the right of primogeniture was not acknowledged: a brother would succeed a brother, a nephew an uncle, although the deceased prince had left sons behind him; and a younger son would supersede an elder son, if he had a better reputation or more power. Properly speaking there was no case before the governor-general, there was no Mohammedan precedent by which he could be guided, but he saw that the majority of the great men and people of Oude were disgusted with the ruler whose right he had so imprudently recognised; he was induced to believe (whether true or false) that Vizier Ali was a violent, unsteady, and sanguinary character, that he was the friend of those who were the enemies of the English, that he was already cherishing the most hostile designs against the interests of the Company; and therefore he (Sir John Shore) determined that Vizier Ali was ineligible to the musnud and ought to be deposed. As the Begum continued to show a deep hatred of the English (she still resented the treatment of her two eunuchs and the loss of her treasures), her protégé had small chance of being considered by the governor-general as the rightful successor. There were also objections to, or doubts respecting, Saadut Ali, for, during the Cheyte Sing insurrection at Benares, and the general revolt which followed it, the rebels were heard to declare that they were acting under the orders of the Begums, of Cheyte Sing, and of Saadut Ali.* Sir John opined for Saadut Ali; but he had not yet made up his mind, or he had

* Examination of Captain David Williams, in Trial of Warren Hastings before the Lords, 6 vols. folio.

not yet ascertained what price Saadut Ali would pay to the Company for his elevation to the musnud. Warren Hastings had been accused of holding an auction at Lucknow; but Sir John now figured more in the light of an auctioneer in that city. Saadut Ali was residing quietly at Benares, where Mr. Cherry was the Company's resident and political agent. On the 4th of January, 1798, Sir John Shore transmitted from Lucknow a treaty to Mr. Cherry, with instructions to offer it to the consideration of Saadut Ali. But from the tenor of his instructions Sir John does not appear even at this period to have finally resolved who should have the musnud, as he tells Cherry that circumstances may yet occur to frustrate his present intentions in favour of Saadut Ali. Yet he demanded that Saadut Ali should immediately acquiesce in or refuse the treaty, without qualification or reserve; and he directed Cherry to inform the nabob that the treaty had been transmitted in the form in which it was for execution; because the actual state of affairs would admit neither of delay nor of discussion. The terms were high, the whole subject demanded time for consideration, but no time was allowed, and Saadut Ali gave his immediate assent to the treaty as sent by the governor-general; assuring Mr. Cherry that, if raised to the musnud, he would fulfil all its stipulations in the most faithful manner. Before Sir John Shore at Lucknow could receive accounts of Saadut Ali's accession to the treaty, he wrote to the resident at Benares, to desire him to inform the nabob, if he had acquiesced in the arrangement, that he must instantly proceed to Cawnpore, where measures would be taken to place him on the musnud. But in the same letter Mr. Cherry was told that, in case of the nabob having withheld his acquiescence to the treaty, he must acquaint him, that although the governor-general admitted his legitimate right to the musnud of Oude, he did not think himself bound to run the risk of hostilities in supporting his right, except under conditions, which should equally provide for the political interests of the Company. As soon as Mr. Cherry had received the governor-general's letter and had communicated its contents to

Saadut Ali, that son of Sujah-ul-Dowlah set out for Cawnpore; and from that place he was escorted by a large body of European troops to Lucknow, where he was proclaimed nabob-vizier or sovereign of Oude, upon the 21st of January, 1798. Saadut Ali had manifested great alarm as he entered the city; and to dispel his unmanly fears Sir John Shore placed him on his own elephant. As they advanced through the streets to the palace, the governor-general amused the immense multitude by showering rupees among them, "while he did not neglect the opportunity of inculcating on the nabob advice respecting his future conduct."* Not the slightest opposition was offered to this change of rulers; the troops in the country were nearly all English; Vizier Ali, whose title Sir John Shore had recognized scarcely two months before, was lying sick of the measles or small-pox; and if he had ever had a party in Oude, it had vanished as soon as the will of the governor-general was known. If he had been so disposed Sir John Shore might have turned the old Begum into nabob-vizier. As there was no higher bidding Saadut Ali was firmly seated on the musnud. The treaty was now somewhat modified.

It was finally settled that the annual subsidy to the Company should be raised to 76 lacs of rupees, and that the fort of Allahabad should be made over in perpetuity to the English; that the Company's forces stationed in Oude should never be less than 10,000 men, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, &c.; that if at any time the amount should exceed 13,000 men, the expense of all the supernumerary troops should be defrayed by the nabob. The nabob-vizier

* Life of Lord Teignmouth, by his Son. We are told that Sir John Shore prayed to the Lord for guidance in this delicate business, and that he acted according to the dictates of his conscience. But the interest of the Company was clearly a part of his conscience, and his aversion to Vizier Ali's vices was certainly quickened by the prospect of profit to be derived from dethroning him and setting up his competitor. The worst part of the business was the prompt and inconsiderate recognition of Vizier Ali. The mad savage pranks which that young nabob played afterwards, may be taken as pretty good proofs of his character, and of his unfitness for the exercise of power.

further agreed to pay the sum of 12 lacs of rupees to the Company, as a reimbursement for the trouble and expense incurred in placing him upon the throne. He also pledged himself never to hold communication with any foreign state, to employ no French or other Europeans in his service, and to permit no Europeans to settle in his dominions, without the consent, in each and every case, of the Company. Finally, he agreed to allow a lac and a half of rupees per annum as a pension to the deposed Vizier Ali, who was removed to Benares; and to afford a suitable maintenance to the rest of the reputed children of his brother, the deceased nabob. The pecuniary gain to the Company was very considerable; and it was probably upon this view of the subject that the Directors declared that the governor-general, "under circumstances of much delicacy and embarrassment," had "conducted himself with great temper, impartiality, ability, and firmness; and finished a long course of faithful services, by planning and carrying into execution an arrangement, which not only redounded highly to his own honour, but which would also operate to the reciprocal advantage of the Company and the nabob-vizier." But it was not solely with the approbation of the Court of Directors that Sir John Shore was honoured for his performances at Lucknow and his decisions in the disputed succession: the Board of Control, and consequently the ministry, joined in praise of his conduct. If the view which was now taken of the political condition of Oude and the rights of the Company over that country and its rulers had been adopted a few years earlier, the managers of Hastings's impeachment must have been deprived of many of their pleas. And nothing had occurred to render the relative situations of Oude and the Company different from what they had been in the time of that first and greatest of governors-general. "The government of Oude," wrote Sir John Shore, "both in the opinions of the natives, as well as externally, is considered a dependency upon the English, *whatever its relations under treaties may be*. Scindiah refers the investiture of Vizier Ali by his majesty the Mogul to the governor-general; and there are many

respectable families in Lucknow who live under the protection of the British influence. In the estimate of the natives of India, the kingdom of Oude is held as a gift from the Company to Sujah-ul-Dowlah, and as a dependent chief." Mr. Pitt and his government seem to have admitted this view of the case without any scruple, although by so doing they passed a censure upon some parts of the conduct they had adopted with regard to Warren Hastings.

In the year 1796, while Sir John Shore was cherishing the neutrality and non-interference system, and in compliance with acts of parliament and the wishes of his employers, was seemingly believing that the peace of all India might be preserved without putting British armies into the field, those fierce and warlike Afghan tribes, who had so often devastated the peninsula, descended once more from Cabul and Candahar, under Zemaun Shah, King of Cabul, advanced to Lahore, and threatened to visit Delhi, from which Lahore is not more than 20 marches to a light army. The Shah announced, or was supposed to entertain, the design of restoring the fallen dignity of the imperial house of Timour, to which he was nearly allied by blood; and the bold project excited all the more turbulent Mogul Mohammedan tribes dwelling in Upper India, who prepared to welcome the bold invader. On the frontiers of Oude, the fierce Rohillas (themselves an Afghan tribe) who had been left in possession of Rampore and a corner of Rohileund, were ready to enlist for plunder, and to join the king of Cabul on his advance. Several of these Rohilla khans were actually in arms, and were writing letters to other chiefs. On another side, the formidable Patans were on tiptoe in Furruckabad for booty and for revenge upon the English and their allies. It was doubted whether the Maharrattas who occupied Delhi and kept the Great Mogul a prisoner, would be able to defend Delhi and prevent these destructive Afghans from descending the Jumna and the Ganges into Oude; and Sir John Shore ordered the British troops in that country, in cantonments at Cawnpore and Futtyghur, to encamp; and every arrangement was made to enable these

troops to move to the frontiers or to any quarter where their services might be required. But for internal dissensions, and a rebellion in Cabul, the British troops would, this year, have been brought into collision with the Afghans. As it was, while Zemaun Shah was advancing from Lahore to Delhi, intent on foreign conquest, his throne was shaken at home by a younger brother, who conceived that his absence afforded a favourable opportunity for seating himself upon it. This obliged the Shah to make a hasty retreat to his own dominions. "But," adds Sir John Malcolm, "the facility with which he had advanced to Lahore, showed that no confidence could be placed upon the union or resistance of the Seiks. From every account, indeed, as well as from actual occurrences, it appeared that this nation was so much distracted by the violence of its own internal divisions, as to be incapable of acting with concert; and of course, that it was no longer to be considered as a barrier against the Afghans; whose invasion of India became, from this circumstance, more probable than it ever was before."*

Sir John Shore, who made no doubt that if the Afghans had advanced, they must, at the very least, have captured Delhi, was not blind to the future danger to be apprehended from these daring and rapidly moving invaders. He concluded that the future designs of the Afghans must always be an object of great interest to the British government. He thought it was not very probable that Zemaun Shah would undertake another expedition very soon, but he conceived that ambition, stimulated by the entreaties of the court of Delhi and the helpless Mogul, might induce the Shah to aspire to the character of the deliverer of India from the dominion of infidels, and that a desire of effacing the disgrace of his late ineffectual attempt might lead him again, and at no distant period, to carry his arms eastward. The governor-general stated that a general opinion prevailed, that Zemaun Shah, if he renewed his enterprize, would advance at once towards the heart of Hindustan, without waiting to dispossess the Seiks,

or establish his authority in the Punjab and on the Indus. If he thus advanced, Sir John Shore felt confident that most of the Mohammedan chiefs would join him; that Scindiah's regular brigades, of which all the men were natives of Hindustan, and most of the officers French, instead of fighting for the Mahrattas would either disperse or take service with the Afghans; and that for resisting the invasion no dependence whatever was to be placed except in British troops and the faithful sepoys in British pay. At the same time Sir John Shore professed himself averse from the adoption of any extensive measures of preparation against the Afghans. Fortunately Zemaun Shah continued to find occupation at home, or in other quarters farther from the frontiers of Hindustan.

Though no conquests were made or attempted in Hindustan during this peaceful administration, several important conquests were effected over the Eastern settlements of the European enemies of Great Britain, by expeditions that were all fitted out from Madras under the immediate direction of Lord Hobart, the governor of that presidency. The squadron of Admiral Rainier and an inconsiderable number of land troops reduced all the old Dutch settlements in Ceylon and Malacca, and captured the valuable islands of Banda and Amboyna. More important expeditions were prepared against the French settlement of the Mauritius, and the rich Spanish possessions of Manilla. The Mauritius, in the hands of the French, was a cauldron of mischief and trouble to our Indian trade and empire: it was the resort of fast-sailing frigates and privateers, which, issuing from its ports, and scouring the Indian ocean, not unfrequently picked up a richly-laden ship of the Company, separated by storms or other accidents from her convoy; it was the resort of the agents of Tippoo Sultaun, and the place from which he could most readily be supplied with French soldiers, arms, ammunition, &c. All these and other weighty considerations ought to have given precedence to the expedition against the Mauritius; but those who directed the armaments preferred beginning with Manilla. In 1797, the first division of

* Political Hist. Ind.]

the armament which was to capture that rich Spanish colony had actually sailed to Penang, the port of rendezvous; when accounts received from Europe, combined with the very suspicious attitude of Tip-poo Sultaun, who seemed ready to pounce upon the Carnatic, and to push forward his fleet cavalry to the very walls of Madras, induced the government of Fort St. George to recall the division, and to abandon the expedition altogether. The preparations were so formidable as to leave no doubt of success if the expedition had proceeded to Manilla; but the only fruit derived from it was the heavy expense of the equipment.

During this administration great encouragement was given to Protestant missionaries, and to the societies and individuals engaged in translating and propagating the gospel.

In the beginning of the year 1798, Sir John Shore, who had been previously raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned the government of India, and sailed for England. He was a man possessed of many merits, and a deserving servant of the Company; but it seemed strange in the eyes of the old Anglo-Indians that he should receive titles, honours, and eulogiums from a government which had suffered his great predecessor to be impeached and beggared, and which ever denied to Warren Hastings the peerage and the other distinctions upon which he had set his heart. In some respects Hastings might have quoted with a reproachful meaning the motto assumed by this new lord, "PERI-MUS LICITIS. We perish by what is lawful." The period at which Lord Teignmouth left India, though a season of peace for the country, is said to have been regarded by no person in India, who had the slightest knowledge of the subject, as one of security. The British government and the Court of Directors both felt and expressed their alarm at the numerous dangers which they saw collected; and which threatened early to disturb the tranquillity of their possessions in that quarter of the globe.* Though the Bri-

tish strength was not diminished, the power and resources of the other states of India had increased. The confidence and attachment of our allies were much shaken, and their feelings, and the presumption and hostile disposition of the principal native powers, clearly showed—that might have been clearly foreseen—that they attributed the neutral course which had been pursued by the British, not to moderation and the desire of general good, but to weakness, or to selfish policy. Our inactive status quo system, so far from attaining its object, which was to preserve affairs upon the footing on which it had found them, had only the effect of keeping the British government in India stationary, while all around it advanced; and of exposing it to those dangers, which resulted from the revolutions of its neighbours, while it was even denied the power of adapting its policy to the change of circumstances brought about by these revolutions. A power like that of our Indian Empire can be preserved only by the means with which it was first acquired: it cannot be strictly stationary; it must advance or recede; and the moment it attempts to come to a dead stop it must fall back, or fall prostrate. It was proved that no ground of advantage could be abandoned, without being instantly occupied by an enemy; that to cease to interfere was to cease to exercise influence; and that to resign influence was not merely to resign power, but to allow that power to pass into hands naturally hostile to the English interests. The only great act of interference by Sir John Shore, was the dethronement of Vizier Ali and the elevation of Saadut Ali; and the governor-general declared in express terms that this measure—questionable at least in justice—was forced upon him.*

On his return home, Lord Teignmouth was threatened with a parliamentary impeachment, but he was supported by the government, and the whole strength of what was called the religious world, and no proceedings were ever commenced against him.

* Malcolm.

* Malcolm, Political Hist Ind.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.—A.D. 1798.

LORD TEIGNMOUTH was succeeded by Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley. This nobleman, then in the prime of his life, had distinguished himself in the British parliament by a most able speech in defence of Warren Hastings; he had applied his brilliant abilities to the study of Indian affairs; he had energy, wonderful activity, and the faculty of imparting his energy to others. With the exception of some few of the old Anglo-Indians, who thought him too young and inexperienced, nearly every Englishman in the country or connected with Indian affairs hailed his appointment with joy and hope. All felt that a critical moment for our anomalous empire was rapidly approaching; that an energetic ruler would be required, and that the neutrality system pursued during the greater part of Lord Cornwallis's administration, and during the whole of the administration of Sir John Shore, must be abandoned. At this time the hostile designs of Tippoo Sultaun were ripe for execution; a French party under M. Raymond was paramount at the court of the Nizam, another French party, under M. Perron, were almost the absolute masters of Scindiah and his vast resources; the other members of the Mahratta confederacy seemed to be at the mercy of Scindiah or of Perron; and the powerful Rajah of Berar, whom Hastings had conciliated, was jealous of the power and adverse to the interests of the English. Saadut Ali was tottering on the musnud to which Sir John Shore had elevated him, for the people of Oude were again disaffected and turbulent. Omdut-ul-Omrah, the Nabob of the Carnatic, was engulfed in debts, and eaten up by usurers; and the people of the country, though not quite so turbulent as those of Oude, were in a condition infinitely worse,

and seemed to be indifferent whether the Carnatic were or were not overrun by their neighbours the Mysoreans. The finances of the Central Government at Calcutta, and of the dependent presidencies of Madras and Bombay, were exhausted by the equipment of the armaments which had been sent to make conquests in Ceylon, Malacca, and other places; and credit had been injured by an injudicious system of loans.

The Earl of Mornington arrived in Madras roads as governor-general of India on the 22nd of May, 1798, "a day," says one of his many enthusiastic admirers, "ever to be remembered in the annals of British India, because we date from it a new and splendid æra in our history."* His lordship remained some time at Madras, in order to acquaint himself with the real condition of that presidency and of the Carnatic, and to concert measures for defending those countries against any irruption of Tippoo and his Mysorean hosts. At that moment, when there were very strong reasons for believing that Tippoo intended to make an immediate attack, and that a French armament would attempt to land on the Malabar or Coromandel coast† to co-operate with him, our

* 'Life and Services of General Lord Harris, G.C.B., during his Campaigns in America, the West Indies, and India,' by the Right Honorable S. R. Lushington, private secretary to Lord Harris, and late governor of Madras.

† In the preceding month of January, the sultaun joined his camp near Seringapatam, and published that he was going towards the port of Mangalore, where it was rumoured several French ships were expected with troops on board. To this was added a report that the sultaun meant, on the arrival of the French, to attack the English; and this report gained force from the circumstance of all applications for leave being denied, and a mutcheika, or obligatory note, being taken from each sepoj, that his

state of preparation presented a very discouraging aspect. Our troops on that coast were scattered in distant cantonments; no bullocks had been provided for conveying their baggage and *matériel* of war; no stores had been collected at the proper points, no magazines had been formed, no corn or rice collected. The forces were also reduced in number, for, notwithstanding the imminence of the danger, Sir John Shore had taken no pains to supply the places of the troops that had been sent on the Ceylon, the Malacca, and other expeditions. General Harris, who was in the discharge of the united duties of governor and commander-in-chief at Madras, was an officer of great ability and admirable activity; but he had been only a very few months on that coast, and had been prevented by want of money from doing anything of importance. In his conferences with Lord Mornington he stated his wants, and his lordship engaged to supply him with money and bills from Calcutta. General Harris received orders to collect and concentrate the troops on the Coromandel coast with as much rapidity and as much secrecy as were possible. The secrecy was emphatically recommended: none but a few officers, and a few civilians high in authority at Fort St. George, were to be acquainted with the governor-general's intentions. At first these intentions were, to anticipate the Mysorean, to attack him immediately in his own dominions, and, if possible, to reduce Seringapatam before any aid could be received from the French. The bold plan startled some of the boldest men in the presidency. Mr. J. Webbe, the chief secretary, exclaimed with bitterness and grief, "I can anticipate nothing but a return of shocking disasters from a premature attack upon Tippoo in our present disabled condition, and the impeachment of Lord Mornington for his temerity."* But as soon as the governor-general became fully acquainted with the circumstances of the country—as soon as he was informed by General Harris and

other able and experienced officers that, owing to the total want of draught and carriage bullocks, and other serious wants, the army could by no possibility be collected and brought to a head in less than four months (at the end of which the season would be unfavourable); that no posts whatever had been secured for magazines, so as to have a short and secure line of communications by which to receive supplies; that no contracts had been commenced with the brinjaries, or corn carriers; that the dilatoriness, indecision, and cowardice of the Company's allies, who had been rendered more dilatory and undecided than ever by the *laissez aller* government of his predecessor, were such as to surpass the belief of a European stranger; that it was exceedingly doubtful whether it would be practicable to subsist the army during the siege of Seringapatam without the assistance of the Nizam and Marattas; and that the entire force of that presidency did not exceed 3700 Europeans and 10,400 natives, including gun-Lascars and pioneers; his lordship gave up the notion of attacking Tippoo this year, and limited the instructions of General Harris to the defensive, and the preparatory.

While Harris was disposing his forces in such a manner as to cover the most fruitful parts of the country and check any invasion, the governor-general, beginning at the right end, negotiated with the native powers, in order to re-establish our political influence, and to brace up the ties of alliance which had been so seriously relaxed. By this time M. Raymond's disciplined force in the Deccan rather exceeded than fell short of 14,000 men; and the French officers and their party were so powerful that they disposed of nearly all the resources of the country. Luckily their power, being accompanied by insolence, wholly estranged the Nizam. His minister Azeem-ul-Omrah, who had returned from Poonah to Hyderabad, was favourably disposed to the English government, but he had not the power of breaking up this French party without the active aid of the English; nor could he, with proper attention to the safety of his master, advise him to disband Raymond's army, until assured of the assist-

family was above the Ghauts.—*Information collected by Captain John Malcolm, and communicated to the governor-general; Wellesley Despatches.*

* The Right Hon. S. R. Lushington, 'Life and Services of General Lord Harris,' &c.

ance of a large body of the Company's troops. But the very moment that Lord Mornington opened communications with this minister at Hyderabad — and the active governor-general lost no time in so doing—Azeem-ul-Omrah confessed that the French pre-potency was no longer to be borne, and assented to a negotiation for disbanding the French corps and increasing the English subsidiary force, asking no other pledge than that the British government should protect his master's dominions from any future unjust demands on the part of the Mahrattas. Captain (subsequently General Sir John) Malcolm, Major Kirkpatrick, and other officers of great courage and address, who had a new spirit put into them by this new and energetic governor-general, repaired to Hyderabad, and took charge of the negotiations and of the measures necessary to expel the French and give full effect to the treaty; and while they negotiated, other officers prepared to march into the country with the increased subsidiary English force which was demanded by the Nizam's minister, and without which nothing could have been done, M. Raymond being more a king of the Deccan than was the Nizam. Generous efforts were made in various directions to provide funds for equipping and marching these English battalions. At Fort St. George, when General Harris found that some of the members of the council demurred about voting money for the detachment of the army ordered by the governor-general to be sent to Hyderabad, he offered to be responsible in his private funds for the sum required to put the troops in motion.* It was indispensable that the forces should be ready to move into Oude without the knowledge of the French, and before the treaty should be concluded. At last, on the 1st of September, when all was ready, the treaty was signed. The subsidiary

detachment of British troops with the Nizam was made permanent; and an addition of four battalions was made to the battalions already in the country. For the whole of this force the Nizam agreed to pay 2,417,100 rupees per annum. He also engaged to disarm and disband all the French corps in his service, and to deliver over all the French officers to the British government as soon as the whole of the English force should reach his capital. The British government pledged itself to arbitrate in the disputes between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, and to protect the Nizam from any unjust or unreasonable demands of the Mahrattas. Fortunately for the Company, M. Raymond died while the negotiations were pending, and was succeeded by a very inferior person named Piron, who had little influence over the troops, and no influence whatever at court, or among the great men of the Deccan. The measures directed by the governor-general for the full execution of the treaty were carried into effect with rapidity and vigour. Four battalions with their guns, which had been collected on the frontier during the negotiations, immediately marched to Hyderabad, and there joined the two battalions already stationed in that capital. The force of the French corps, provided with a large train of artillery, and so greatly superior in number to the English, induced doubt and hesitation; and Azeem-ul-Omrah, as well as his master the Nizam, seemed to apprehend that a bloody struggle would take place, and that the English might be defeated and driven out of the country. The minister, a very timid man, shrunk from the fulfilment of his own plan, and expressed a desire to avoid, or at least to delay experiments. But Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick, the British resident, demanded the immediate and full execution of the treaty, informing them that, under the orders of the governor-general, he could admit of no delay; that the country would be exposed to the most serious danger by allowing the French party to exist, for any period however short, after the resolution to disband it had been made public. He declared that if the Nizam should con-

* Indian Dispatches and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, &c. edited by Montgomery Martin.

"This most generous and patriotic offer," adds his lordship, "completely silenced all opposition, and orders were immediately issued for the advance of the troops to Hyderabad."

On every occasion General Harris displayed the same liberal and high mind.

tinue his wavering conduct, he would order an attack upon the French camp by the British forces; in which case the court of Hyderabad would become responsible for all the bad consequences. To give force to this threat, the British troops immediately made a movement to the ground which commanded the French lines. This determined course of proceeding put an end to all evasion and delay. A proclamation was issued in the course of a few hours, and was sent to the French camp to inform the troops there collected that their lawful sovereign the Nizam had dismissed their European officers from his service; that they were released from their obedience to those officers: and that if they attempted to support them, they would be considered and punished as traitors. It should appear that these French adventurers had not conciliated the affections of the native troops, as M. Bussy and his companions had formerly done in that country, and that they were under serious apprehensions of being massacred by their own people. "All the French officers," says a distinguished British officer, a principal agent in the transactions, "the moment their dismissal was officially given, signified to the English resident at Hyderabad their readiness to comply with the orders of the Nizam, and stated that they wished to receive the protection of the English nation, as they were convinced (although general policy had dictated their removal) they would be individually considered as having a right to our protection."* On the French officers preparing to leave the camp, a violent mutiny broke out among the troops on account of their pay, though their pay was only twenty-one days in arrear, and though every assurance had been given them that they would be retained in the service. They confined M. Piron and all the commandants of corps. Piron, however, contrived to make his escape to the English camp, though not without a scuffle, in which several were wounded. On the following morning, as it was resolved to reduce them to obedience, and as the mutiny afforded a good oppor-

tunity of disarming and disbanding the whole army at once—an operation which must otherwise have been a work of time—Kirkpatrick, the energetic resident, ordered Colonel Roberts to advance with his entire corps, to make himself master of all the heights that commanded their camp, and then to give the men one quarter of an hour to stack their arms, and march off to a cowl (or protection) flag, which was pitched by one of the Nizam's principal officers, about half a mile to the right of their camp. If the men did not comply they were immediately to be attacked. Captain John Malcolm, who was the first to reach the ground, placed himself with a strong body of the Nizam's cavalry on the right flank of the mutineers, and sent 500 men to take post on their left. Malcolm observing that they were extremely alarmed, ventured near, though cautiously, as he had with difficulty made his escape from them the day before. Four or five subahdars came out of the camp to meet him, and after he had explained the intentions and conditions, the subahdars returned to explain them to their corps, from whom they instantly brought a message that they were ready to comply with all the conditions, but that they hoped and trusted that Company's sepoy would be sent to take possession of their lines, as the Nizam's horse, if admitted, would plunder their camp. Upon this Captain Malcolm advanced to the camp, where he found that the men were completely disunited and terrified, and ready to obey any orders; and as a proof of their obedience, they forthwith released all the French officers they had confined. Malcolm then rode back to meet Colonel Roberts, and inform him of this favourable turn. The Company's sepoy presently took possession of all the heights; eight grenadier companies advanced to take possession of the grand magazine, storehouses, and cannon, and the natives of the French corps moved off in a deep column to the appointed flag. The French officers all joined the English camp, and were full of joy: "for," says Malcolm, "the fears they had experienced from the fury of their men made them view us, not as belonging to a nation who had by its

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Polit. Hist. Ind.'

policy ruined all their prospects, but as men who had exerted themselves to save their lives. At five o'clock their whole lines were in our possession, and a corps, consisting of *sixteen thousand* men in all, had been annihilated in six hours, without shedding one drop of blood.* These men had in their possession a very formidable train of artillery, and an arsenal filled with every description of military stores. "Such," adds Malcolm, "was the short history of this great political measure. The wisdom with which it was planned, and the promptness and vigour displayed in the execution, carried alarm to the enemies of the British government, and diffused joy and confidence among the subjects and allies of the English; and these impressions greatly promoted our future success."† The governor-general, and the distinguished officers who executed his orders, treated the French officers with much generosity and kindness: their property, together with such arrears of pay as were due to them, were secured; they were conveyed to Calcutta by easy journeys; they were there shipped for Europe, and on their arrival in England, through the recommendation of Lord Mornington, they were not treated as prisoners of war, but were conveyed to their own country.

But if one great nucleus of French power was thus destroyed, there still remained another in India. M. Perron continued at the head of a disciplined force in the Mahratta territories, greater than that which had been disarmed and disbanded in the Deccan; and Doulut Rao Scindiah was unwilling and perhaps unable to follow the line of conduct which his enemy the Nizam had adopted. The measures taken at Hyderabad were regularly communicated to the Peishwa of the Mahrattas; but that prince, acting under the control of Scindiah, and under other influences unfavourable to the English, withheld his consent to any acknowledgment of the right of the British government to arbitrate in the disputes existing between the Mahrattas and the

government of the Deccan, rejected sundry overtures for a friendly connection with the Company, and received ambassadors from Tippoo Sultaun. The British government had therefore to proceed in its operations against the Sultaun, without any satisfactory settlement either with the Peishwa or with Scindiah; and there was good ground for suspecting that Scindiah now inclined to take an active part with our enemy, and that M. Perron, his French officers and disciplined corps, would endeavour to join the Frenchmen serving under Tippoo, and more especially if a French armament from Europe, from the Isle of France or Mauritius, or by way of Egypt, the Isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea, should effect a landing on the coast. The provocations given to the English by the Mysorean, and the dangers to be apprehended from his position, temper, and views, were apparent to every European in the country, and were deeply felt by the government at home when it was ascertained that Bonaparte had sailed for Egypt with a large and victorious army, and with projects of colonization and conquest which were firmly believed to extend to British India, and which assuredly would have taken that direction if the French navy had not been broken up by Nelson, and vigorous measures had not been taken by Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors.

Tippoo had committed deeds which he felt the English would never forget or forgive; and he had sustained from them losses and humiliations which made him eager for revenge. At all times since the treaty of Seringapatam he had shown a sullen vindictive temper, an irreconcilable enmity, an impatience to grasp at every chance of renewing the war with some prospect of success. He could never sufficiently control his temper to listen to those who represented that the English power was now too great and too deeply rooted to be shaken by any league that he could possibly form; that his best chance of security and happiness lay in his maintaining the last treaty of peace and conciliating the English; and that his correspondence with the French, and his intrigues with the Mahrattas and other native powers, would only accelerate

* Letter from Captain John Malcolm to Lieutenant-General Harris, in Lushington's 'Life and Services of General Lord Harris.'

† 'Political Hist. India.'

his utter ruin. During the pacific administration of Sir John Shore the two young sons of Tippoo, who had been delivered up to Lord Cornwallis as hostages for his faithful performance of the treaty of Seringapatam, and who had been treated by all the English with every possible kindness, were conducted to Mysore and given back to their father, although he could scarcely be said to have fulfilled all his engagements. The Sultaun received the British officer by whom they were conducted with cold and constrained civility; giving him no encouragement to make those overtures towards a more cordial union, which the officer had been authorized to make, if he should find Tippoo disposed to cultivate the friendship of the British nation. The officer was convinced that the Sultaun continued to entertain a rancorous hostility, and that he only waited for a favourable opportunity of renewing his attack. There was hardly any intercourse with the court of Seringapatam during Sir John Shore's government. But during that administration, when Zemaun Shah and his fierce Afghans were advancing upon Delhi, Tippoo sent ambassadors to them, to urge them to continue their destructive progress, to excite them as good Mussulmans with the prospect of the imperishable glory to be derived from the conquest of Hindustan, the forcible conversion of all the nations to the law of the prophet, and the expulsion of all the Nazarenes. When the Nizam was irritated against the English by Sir John Shore's refusing to assist him in his war with the Mahrattas, Tippoo sent ambassadors and other more secret agents to work upon the anti-English feeling; and, far or near, wherever there existed enemies to the British power, Mysorean envoys made their appearance. Their voices were heard and the effects of their intrigues were felt in Cabul, in Persia, in Turkey, at Constantinople, at Paris, at the Isle of France. Much of this was known to Lord Mornington on his first arrival in India, and more became known before his lordship had been a month in that country. Early in June, 1798, his lordship received the copy of a proclamation which had been issued by

the French governor of the Mauritius or Isle of France, together with information of enlistments made in that island for the service of the Mysorean Sultaun; and it was chiefly in consequence of this information that the governor-general urged General Harris to collect the scattered army on the Coromandel coast and to put it in the best possible state of equipment. The accounts his lordship received related the arrival at the Isle of France of two ambassadors whom Tippoo had dispatched at the close of 1797 to propose a close alliance with the French republic, and to request an immediate supply of troops to enable him to expel the English from every part of Hindustan. These ambassadors upon entering the harbour of Port Nordouest had hoisted Tippoo's colours; had been received publicly and formally by the French government; and had afterwards been entertained during the whole of their continuance in the island at the public expense. One of these select diplomatists appears to have been a European renegade, for he was dressed in the Turkish dress, spoke both French and English with correctness and fluency, possessed considerable knowledge and ability, and appeared to be remarkably well acquainted with India and various of its languages; and he had been known at Bussorah by the name of Abdullah; at Surat by the name of Dervish; while in the Isle of France he took the name of Talomash, under which name he had also been known in Bengal, where he had previously resided for some years. A day or two after the arrival of these ambassadors, a proclamation was circulated through the capital of the island and was placarded in the most public places. It stated that Tippoo Sultaun, the great monarch of Mysore, had, through two ambassadors dispatched for the purpose, addressed letters to the Colonial Assembly of the Isle of France, to all the generals employed there, and to the executive Directory of France; and had made the following statements.—I. That he desired to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France; and offered to maintain at his expense, during the continuance of the war in India, whatever troops should be furnished by the

French; and to supply (with the exception of certain stores) every necessary for carrying on the war. II. That he had given assurances that all his preparations were already completed; and that the generals and officers would find everything necessary for carrying on a species of war to which Europeans have not been accustomed in their contests with the native powers in India. III. That he only waited for the succour of France to declare war against the English; and that it was his ardent desire to expel the English from India.* Upon the ground of these facts the proclamation recommended a general levy of men for the service of Tippoo Sultaun; assuring all the citizens of the republic who should enlist, that Tippoo would give them excellent pay and allowances, which would be fixed beforehand by his ambassadors, who would also engage, in the name of their sovereign, that the Frenchmen enlisting in his army should never be detained in India against their will, or after they should have expressed a desire of returning to their native country. The two ambassadors published an advertisement to the same purport as this proclamation; they suffered the proclamation itself to be distributed at their own house, and they spoke in the most open and public manner of an offensive war to be commenced immediately by Tippoo against the British possessions in India. As M. Malartie, the governor of the Isle of France, was daily expecting a visit from the English, he could spare no troops; but he forwarded Tippoo's letters to Paris, and aided and assisted his two ambassadors in levying officers and privates. Few of the officers were of any experience or skill, and the privates were "the refuse of the lowest class of the democratic rabble of the island," some of whom were taken from the prisons and compelled to embark. When the moment of sailing arrived nearly one-half of these desperadoes refused to go to conquer India. Some 150 of them, however, arrived at Mangalore, and thence proceeded to Tippoo's capital, where one of their first operations was to set up a tree

of liberty surmounted by the red night-cap of liberty and equality. They next organized a Jacobin club in Seringapatam, and bestowed upon the bewildered Oriental despot the republican appellation of *Citizen Tippoo*.* The Seringapatam Jacobin club was distinguished by this peculiarity, that the members were required to swear hatred to tyranny, the love of liberty, and the destruction of all kings and sovereigns, *except* the good and faithful ally of the French republic, Citizen Sultaun Tippoo. On the 18th of June, or nearly at the very moment in which Lord Mornington received the copy of Malartie's proclamation and the other intelligence from the Isle of France, the secret committee of the Court of Directors wrote from London to the governor-general, that they had just received from his majesty's ministers information of a large French armament which had sailed from Toulon on the 13th of May; and that it was conceived to be not impossible that India might be the object of attack by way of the Red Sea, after the conquest of Egypt.† The secret committee further

* It appears that the greater portion of these so-called Frenchmen, who arrived in India and set up the amusing novelty of a Jacobin Club in the capital of Mysore, were Caffres and half castes. "On the 20th of June, in the evening, the long-expected French party reached camp; they consisted of about 50 Europeans, and about 100 Caffies or half-caste; one of the Europeans was in a palanquin, five on horseback, and the rest, with the Caffies and half caste, marched on foot. They had only one tent on their march: the sultaun, however, directed an ample supply of camp equipage, and fixed their encampment about a mile from his own quarters. Next day, six of the party, who were said to be officers, paid him a visit, the major of Lally's party acting as interpreter; what passed is unknown, as *all others were excluded*. It appeared by the countenances of the French gentlemen when they came out, that they were pleased with their reception."—*Intelligence procured by Captain John Malcolm, and conveyed to the Governor-General, together with an Abstract of the present state of Tippoo's forces; Marquess Wellesley, Dispatches, &c.* A remnant of Lally's French army had long been established in Mysore.

† A letter addressed by Bonaparte to Tippoo Sultaun, and dated at Cairo, was intercepted by the English. It contained the following passages:—"You have been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an invulnerable and invincible army full of the desire of releasing and relieving you from the iron yoke of England.

"I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testi-

* Marquess Wellesley, Dispatches.

said that ministers had informed them that immediate measures would be taken for a considerable augmentation of European force in British India; and that the governor-general might expect 4000 seasoned and disciplined troops within a few months after the receipt of this letter. Before this dispatch of the secret committee could reach Calcutta, the governor-general received, through the overland channel, certain information of the landing of Bonaparte and the French army in Egypt. As soon as Bonaparte had arrived in the valley of the Nile he had dispatched a letter to Tippoo, requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him and concert measures for the *liberation* of India; but this epistle was intercepted, and it appears doubtful whether any duplicate ever reached the Sulthan. The arrival of the Frenchmen at Seringapatam (but not the smallness of their number); the intrigues set on foot in various parts of Hindustan; the correspondence of Tippoo with the Mahrattas; and the formidable attitude of M. Perron, who, with his numerous disciplined troops, was every day gaining strength in the Mahratta country, were all perfectly well known at this time; and all men felt that whether the French expedition should or should not reach India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, the implacable Mysorean would have ample means of making himself dangerous, and would never cease caballing and agitating the country against the English. At the end of October Lord Mornington received intelligence of the destruction of Bonaparte's fleet by Nelson at the mouth of the Nile. But it was not upon that fleet in the Mediterranean that the French could have depended for their passage

ying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

"I could even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I may confer. May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies!

"Yours, &c.

"BONAPARTE."

Though the French should not proceed from Egypt to India, they would still derive immense advantages from fomenting a war in that country against the power of Great Britain.

down the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean; and, notwithstanding the decisive event, Lord Mornington did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under his orders;—being still uncertain of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by embarking in another fleet and taking the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope. That French army, it must be remembered, kept its ground in Egypt for three whole years in spite of the loss of their fleet, and in spite of all the efforts made by the English and their allies the Turks and Mamelukes to dispossess them. It is said that Tippoo, disappointed in his expectations of immediate aid to a considerable amount from the Isle of France, had suspended his military preparations, and that his army did not at this moment exceed 60,000 fighting men. But this was force sufficient to enable him to be very mischievous.* If he had taken the field in the month of June, he might even with one half of this force have scoured the Carnatic before General Harris could have collected his weak and scattered army. General Harris's forces were not all concentrated and equipped

* According to Malcolm's abstract of the state of the Mysorean army, which was drawn up at Madras on the 16th of July, 1798, Tippoo had then—

Regular Horse . . .	6,000
Irregular Horse . . .	7,000
Regular Infantry . . .	30,000
Slave Guard . . .	4,000
Pikemen . . .	15,000
Carnatic Peons . . .	8,000
Pioneers . . .	6,000

His European, or French force, as it was called, consisted of—

	European	Half-castes
	Officers.	Privates. & Caffres.
Lally's party . . . 4	40	350
Lately arrived from		
Isle of France . . . 6	50	100
Total . . . 10	90	450

"I have not," adds Malcolm, "included battering-guns, field-pieces, or rockets, imagining he has at all times as many of these as he can transport, and also as many elephants, camels, and draught and carriage cattle, as he ever can require. He has with his army 100 mules, which are reported to be for his guns."—*Wellesley, Indian Dispatches.*

until the beginning of November, and until that army was ready to act it would have been an imbecile act to threaten or remonstrate with Tippoo. On the 8th of November, when Harris, by his incessant exertions, and by the judicious way in which he had disposed his troops, could answer at least for the security of the Carnatic, the governor-general addressed a letter to the Suldaun, complaining in measured and mild terms of the connection which he had formed with the French, the inveterate enemies of the Company and of the whole English nation. His lordship told Tippoo that his French allies would not only subvert the foundations of friendship between him and the Company, but would introduce in the heart of his kingdom the principles of anarchy and confusion. His lordship offered to send Colonel Doveton, an officer well known at the court of Seringapatam, to enter upon explanations in a friendly spirit. Tippoo was in no hurry to answer this letter, and seemed not at all dismayed at the movements of General Harris's army. In order to be prepared for every event, to be near the scene of negotiation or military operations, to avoid the evils of delay, and to give to the public service his own animated spirit, and the advantages of a prompt decision upon every question, military or political, the governor-general resolved to quit the ease and splendour of Calcutta, and repair to Madras. On the 10th of December he wrote to inform Tippoo of this resolution; and at the same time to urge that prince to reply to the communication which he had made to him under date of the 8th of November. His lordship reached Madras on the 31st of December; and there he found that a reply to his November letter had been received from the Suldaun. In this answer Tippoo professed unalterable friendship to the English, and hatred to the French; said that the reputed embassy to the Isle of France was merely a mercantile speculation of some of his subjects; that only forty persons, among whom were twelve artificers, had returned in the vessel sent thither; that to some of these men he had given service, and that the rest had already departed from his dominions. "But

the French," he added, "being full of vice and deceit, have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ship to put about reports, with a view to ruffle the minds of both governments." He expressed great surprise at the hostile preparations of the English, but evasively refused to receive Colonel Doveton. The governor-general wrote another letter, recapitulating all the proceedings of the embassy to the Isle of France, and the other causes of offence and jealousy which the Suldaun had given to the English; and declaring that he had by his conduct compelled the English and their allies to seek relief from the ambiguous and anxious state in which they had been kept for years past; and that they could no longer suffer those constant preparations for war, and those intrigues and hostile negotiations with their enemies, which exposed them, during a period of supposed peace, to all the solicitude and hazard, and to much of the expense of actual war. His lordship again entreated the Suldaun to receive Major Doveton, and to meet with cordiality his moderate and sincere advances to an amicable explanation and adjustment of all differences. But to this letter his lordship required an instant answer, in language which admitted of no doubt as to his determination not to brook any delay or evasion. This letter was dated on the 9th of January, 1799, and it reached Tippoo about the 15th. No reply however was received to it until the 13th of February, when it came in the shape of this short note:—"Being frequently disposed to make excursions, and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to dispatch Major Doveton, about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written, slightly attended." But ten days before this tardy note reached him, Lord Morington had put his army or armies in motion. The delay of the Suldaun had been considered as part of his design to procrastinate till the favourable season for the attack of his capital should be passed; and, in the interval, it had been ascertained that Tippoo had deputed another embassy to the French, consisting of two native vakeels and one of

the French officers who had so lately arrived from the Isle of France. On the 3rd of February, or ten days before he received Tipoo's note, the governor-general directed the British army under General Harris, and the Nizam's army under Meer Allum, to advance against Mysore; giving at the same time intimation to the other allies of the Company, and to the British admiral on the coast, that he now considered the war as begun. The invading forces were all in motion when, on the 22nd of February, his lordship acquainted the Sultaun by letter, that his long silence had been understood as a rejection of the proposition for an amicable arrangement, and had compelled him to the measures which he had adopted; that the sending of Major Doveton to Seringapatam could no longer be productive of any advantage; but that as the English and their allies still retained the desire of effecting a quiet settlement of differences, General Harris had been instructed to receive any embassy which the Sultaun might send, and had been empowered to enter into a new treaty of friendship with him, upon such conditions as should ensure a safe and lasting peace. These conditions had, of course, varied according to circumstances; and the terms which would have satisfied Lord Mornington some months ago were not likely to satisfy him now. Still his lordship's ultimatum was not excessive or extravagant: it scarcely went beyond what was absolutely necessary to cut off communications between the French and the Sultaun, to tranquillise the Carnatic, and remove alarm and uneasiness from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. It demanded that Tipoo should admit of the establishment of a permanent resident at Seringapatam; that he should dismiss all the French in his service, and perpetually exclude men of that nation from his armies and dominions; and that he should agree to exchange the province of Canara—the only line of sea-coast in his possession—for an equal extent of territory in some other quarter: Lord Mornington conceiving such an adjustment to be absolutely necessary, to afford complete security against any designs which the Sultaun might have in com-

bination with the French, whose intercourse with Mysore would be completely cut off by this arrangement. The annexation of Canara to the Company's territories was favoured by the feelings of the Nairs, and of all the Hindu population, who had suffered most cruelly from the tyranny of their Mysorean conquerors, and from the Mohammedan bigotry and persecution of Tipoo. During Colonel Fullarton's brilliant campaign, all the Hindu chiefs of the Malabar coast had declared for the English; and, after the treaty of Mangalore, vengeance had been taken upon them by the Sultaun, to whose dominion that not very honourable treaty restored them. Finally, the governor-general, in his ultimatum, demanded the payment of a considerable sum of money, as an indemnification for the heavy expense, for military preparation, &c., which the English and their allies had been forced to incur by the suspicious and hostile conduct of Tipoo. As General Harris advanced without receiving any proposals from the Sultaun, and as that prince seemed determined to trust solely to the fortune of war, and to wage that war with more than his former fierceness, Lord Mornington again raised his demands, instructing General Harris to make the terms of the treaty depend upon the stage of the war at which negotiations commenced; and in the event of any decisive victory, or of our batteries being opened against Seringapatam, to demand from the Sultaun the cession of one-half of his dominions, the payment of two crore of rupees, and the surrender of four of his sons, and four of his principal officers, as hostages, for the faithful performance of the conditions.

The presence at Madras of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, a younger brother of the governor-general, and now the time-honoured Duke of Wellington, had contributed very materially to change the feelings and opinions of the leading men in that settlement, where the majority had, at first, deprecated the war, not because they thought it unjust or unnecessary, but because they doubted whether our military means were adequate to ensure success, and dreaded a repetition of the tremendous expense and fearful loss

of life which had attended Lord Cornwallis's first advance to Seringapatam in the month of May, 1791. The governor-general's spirited dispatches, the energy of all his measures, and the re-animation visible among every class of public servants in India, whether military or civil, had concurred in removing all doubt and opposition; and almost as soon as his lordship arrived at Madras, he had the satisfaction of seeing all hearts and hands united for the furtherance of his vigorous system.* With one or two exceptions, those who had been despondent became full of hope. In the preceding month of August Lord Clive, son of the hero of Plassey, and the present Earl Powis, arrived at Fort St. George, as governor of the presidency of Madras, and relieved General Harris from the political and civil duties which he had performed since the return to England of Lord Hobart. Thus Harris had been for some months enabled to devote an undivided attention to his own profession, and to the collecting and equipping of the army. When all was ready for action, this high-minded and modest officer expressed a wish that Sir Alured Clarke, then at Calcutta, and the commander-in-chief of our forces in India, should take the command of the expedition against Mysore. The retreat of Zemaun Shah and his Afghans did away with the necessity of Sir Alured Clarke's remaining in Bengal; and if he would come and take the chief command of the Madras army, Harris would find happiness and sufficient honour in serving under him. The sincerity of this rare modesty and self-denial is unquestionable. The governor-general, if not astonished, was affected by it. His lordship also thought that the officer who had given brilliant proofs of bravery and conduct in active warfare in other parts of the world, and who had displayed so much energy and ability in the excessively difficult task of collecting and equipping this Madras army, was the proper person to hold the command; and he begged General Harris

to consider well before he declined this great appointment, and, after a night's rest, to return to him with his answer in the morning. When the general returned to Lord Mornington in the morning, his cheerful countenance spoke the result of his night's reflections, and before he could give utterance to them, his lordship, by anticipation, congratulated him upon his decision, "and in that frank and generous spirit, which won the hearts of all who approached him, and made them serve in all his counsels in India, as fervently as if they had been of their own suggestion."* Every remaining arrangement prospered. As money was still wanting, the governor-general subscribed 12,000*l.* to the public loan; and, animated by this example, those individuals who had rupees, native as well as European, came forward with their contributions, and thus filled up the measure of the great supplies which the important expedition demanded. As early as the end of January General Harris joined his army, which was then nearly all assembled in the vicinity of Vellore. A finer army, and one more perfect in all points, had never taken the field in India. It consisted of 4608 British infantry, 11,061 native infantry, 912 European cavalry, 1766 native cavalry, 576 European artillerymen, 2726 gun-Lascars and pioneers; forming altogether a force of 21,649 men, with 60 field pieces, 40 heavy guns for battering, 30 being 18-pounders, 8 being 12-pounders, and 2 being 24-pounders, each gun having 1200 shot and a proportionate quantity of ammunition, &c. Colonel Wellesley, who had assisted in improving the discipline of the troops, spoke highly of them all, but more especially of the cavalry. But there were other forces now in the field which were to co-operate with this army of Madras, or, as it was now called, "army of the Carnatic." General Stuart was advancing from the Malabar coast with the Bombay army, which had been very efficiently equipped, but which did not exceed 6000 fighting men, of whom about 1600 were Europeans. Another force, under Colonels Read and T. Brown,†

* The Right Hon. S. R. Lushington, 'Life and Services of Gen. Lord Harris.' Mr. Lushington, at this time son-in-law and secretary of Harris, bore an active part in most of the momentous transactions which he describes.

* Rt. Hon. S. R. Lushington, 'Life and Services of Gen. Lord Harris.'

† Afterwards General Sir Thomas Brown, and

was gathering in the productive country of the Barrahmahal,* in order to co-operate in bringing supplies to Harris's grand army through the Caverypooram pass. And in addition to these forces of the Company and king's troops, there were the British detachments serving with the Nizam of the Deccan, 6500 strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, between 6000 and 7000 of the Nizam's own infantry, including a portion of the sepoys, lately under French, but now, according to treaty, under British officers; and a large body of well-mounted cavalry from the Deccan. Captain John Malcolm, who had done so much in getting rid of M. Piron and the other Frenchmen, and in putting down the formidable mutiny at Hyderabad, now commanded these French-trained sepoys; and Captain Walker commanded the Nizam's horse. These united forces certainly justified the sanguine expectations of the governor-general. The only doubt or uneasiness of General Harris arose out of the difficulty of obtaining food sufficient for so great a force, the weakness and infirmity of the cattle, which he had procured with so much toil and expense, and the consequent difficulty of getting his heavy battering train across a rough country, and to the walls of Seringapatam before the setting in of the Malabar monsoon, which would swell all the rivers and render the siege impracticable for some months. He could not but recollect—for he had served in that disastrous campaign—that Lord Cornwallis, after having defeated Tippoo under the gates of his capital, in 1791,

famous in Indian warfare for his excellent gun-practice.

* The Barrahmahal, which lies between the Carnatic and Mysore, had been ceded to the British government by the treaty of Seringapatam, in 1792. The country was then in a most miserable state; but the good management of Colonel Read, in the course of only five years, had more than doubled the revenue to the Company, while the rents paid by the Polygars had been diminished in equal proportion. The soil was not naturally very fertile; but a settled and moderate government, by preventing the devastations of war, by diminishing taxation, and by leaving the natives to enjoy a proper share of the fruits of their labour, had encouraged industry, and had thus rendered the country productive.

had been compelled to destroy his battering train, and lead back his victorious army in a state of miserable destitution. In the Carnatic, where everything was starving and perishing under the misrule of the Nabob, and the rapacity of his usurious creditors, the draught and carriage bullocks had been principally raised; and though great attention had been bestowed upon them to get them into condition, the cattle were still faint, while the whole breed was miserably inefficient and unfit for that service, compared with the fine vigorous breed which Tippoo possessed in the Mysore. It was the excellence of his cattle which enabled the Mysorean to move his army and artillery with so much rapidity; and it was this inferiority of the cattle of the Carnatic, which obliged the English generals to move so very slowly.*

General Harris began his march from Vellore on the 11th of February; and on the 18th he was joined by Dalrymple, Malcolm, and Walker, with the Nizam's army, the whole of which was nominally

* This had been the case in Lord Cornwallis's time; and Mr. Mill ought to have reflected upon the causes of these slow movements before he elevated his nostril in scorn, at marches at the rate of seven miles a day. Perhaps this metaphysical and find-fault historian would have gone to the siege of Seringapatam without battering train, ammunition, baggage, and provisions. If he or any other man had driven the bullocks beyond their strength they would have perished on the road. General Harris, on beginning his march, declared that no selfishness, no persuasion should induce him to push the cattle beyond their powers, for that would be risking everything. "On them," said this active officer, who may be supposed to have known something more of the business of war than the un-English historian of British India, who sneers at his proceedings, "we must depend for getting our noble battering train along; and we will soon make up any time supposed to be lost in this way when once we begin the siege."—*Letter to the Earl of Mornington, in Lushington's Life*. As early as the 26th of February, when he had not got beyond the Company's frontiers, Harris stated that, notwithstanding all his care, and his determination not to overwork them, his bullocks were much harassed. At the same time he mentioned that the small-pox had disabled many of his people, and that the Europeans of the 12th regiment and the Scotch brigade were falling down fast. It may be easy, but it is but paltry work, to sit down at a desk and criticise military proceedings without looking to the facts and circumstances by which they were of necessity regulated.

under the superintendence of Meer Alum Bahadur, one of the Nizam's ministers. In order to give the utmost degree of efficiency and respectability to this army of the Deccan, it was deemed proper to add one of his Majesty's regiments of infantry to the Company's battalions serving with it; and to form the whole into a separate division. Meer Alum expressed a wish that the governor-general's brother should be appointed to the command, and General Harris gladly attached to the Nizam's contingent the king's 33rd regiment, which was now commanded by Colonel Arthur Wellesley. By this arrangement Colonel Wellesley obtained, in effect, the entire command of the Nizam's forces.* This added greatly to the confidence of all those troops, and thus promised to render them essentially useful in protecting the baggage and stores of the army—an all-important and most difficult duty. On the 5th of March General Harris crossed Tippoo Sultaun's frontiers, and commenced hostilities by reducing several small hill-forts. These forts were then occupied by British troops, in order to facilitate Colonel Read's endeavours to forward supplies for the army from Barrahmahal.

Instead of advancing towards the Coromandel coast, to meet the grand army under General Harris, Tippoo and his "tigers of war" marched towards the Malabar coast to encounter the small army of Bombay under General Stuart, before they should get clear of the jungles of Coorg. To conceal his purpose the Sultaun gave out at Seringapatam that he was going to Mrddoor to fall upon Harris. He then proceeded with all possible secrecy and with admirable rapidity in the opposite direction to Periapatam, where he arrived on the 5th of March (the very day on which the grand army crossed his south-western frontier) with the flower of his army, having made a march of 200 miles. At this moment, the van of Stuart's army, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, and consisting of only three native battalions, was at Sedaseer, close to Periapatam, while

the main body under General Stuart was several miles distant at Sedapoor. Tippoo looked upon these three advanced battalions as his certain prey; and at an early hour of the following morning he stimulated his tigers of war with opium and bang, and threw them upon Montresor's detachment. But that gallant brigade of sepoys defended themselves heroically, and held the Mysoreans at bay until half past two o'clock in the afternoon. The men were then exhausted with fatigue, and their ammunition was almost expended; but at this moment General Stuart, who had, at first, believed that Tippoo was marching on the Coromandel side, reached Sedaseer with one European regiment, the 77th, and the two flank companies of the 75th, having left the remainder of his main body behind him in the plain of Karrydygood. Stuart instantly attacked a great body of troops which Tippoo had placed along the road, in the rear of Montresor's brigade, in order to prevent any relief. A severe action ensued, in which the Rajah of Coorg, a determined foe to the Sultaun, was present with some of his people.* Many of the Mysoreans were

* The obligations of the English to this Hindu chief were very great. But for his activity and vigilance Montresor's weak brigade must have been taken completely by surprise, and have been destroyed in the jungles of Coorg. The rajah, on the 5th of March, had conducted a party of observation, including some English officers, to the top of Sedaseer, the highest hill in his country, for the purpose of looking into the Mysore territory. The opportune discovery that was made, was picturesquely described by the rajah himself, in a letter addressed to Lord Mornington.

"Myself, Capt. Mahony, and some other English sirdars, went to the hill of Sedaseer, which is within my territories. This mountain, which is exceedingly lofty, the English sirdars and myself ascended; and we remained there. Having from thence reconnoitred, we observed nothing for the first four or five hours. After this we observed one large tent in the direction of Periapatam, which is within the territories of Tippoo Sultaun, and continued to see some other white tents rising. A large green tent then appeared, and then another tent which was red, and after that five or six hundred tents. Upon this, the English sirdars and myself were satisfied that it was the army of Tippoo Sultaun. We then returned to the English army at Sedapoor, and acquainted General Stuart that Tippoo's army was at Periapatam. The army was accordingly prepared, as were also the battalions at Sedaseer,

* Colonel Gurwood, 'Wellington Dispatches.'

slain and many wounded; the remainder, having thrown away their muskets, their swords, and their turbans, fled in the greatest confusion. Having withdrawn the rest of his forces Tippoo retreated to Periapatam. There he lingered for five days; but not mustering resolution enough to attack again the comparatively small Bombay army, he marched back with all possible speed, and not without confusion, to Seringapatam. His retreat would have been more disastrous if General Stuart had not apprehended a return, or a flank movement, upon the great magazine of rice which the Rajah of Coorg had collected for the use of the British at Sedapoor.

So exceedingly difficult was any passage through Tippoo's country that it was not until the 25th of March that General Harris received authentic intelligence that the Sultaun had been beaten on the 6th. On the very next day after this intelligence was received, General Floyd, who was in Harris's van, suddenly saw a large body of cavalry on his right and Tippoo's main army in front. At this moment Colonel Wellesley's column was considerably in the rear, and before it could get parallel, Harris gained some rising ground on which he had proposed that his whole army should encamp, and discovered that Tippoo had gone off in the direction of Mallavelly. Some of General Harris's impatient staff urged him to march very early the next morning against Tippoo, leaving his artillery to follow more leisurely; but to this the general gave a decided negative, telling them that his object was to sit down before Seringapatam as speedily as possible; that the pains he had taken to be ready to fight Tippoo were entirely with the hope they would enable him to avoid it: that nothing but his stopping the high road should make him seek the Sultaun.* Tippoo did endeavour to stop the high

road; and on the 27th of March a battle was fought on ground of his own choosing between Sultaunpet and Mallavelly. The British army under General Harris formed our right wing; the Nizam's army with the 33rd regiment under Colonel Wellesley formed the left. The affair began with a hot fire of artillery from the Mysorean's numerous and well served park; and this was followed up by some very daring and obstinate charges, Tippoo having administered unusually large doses of opium to his black cavaliers, in order to excite them to madness and make them insensible to the fears of death. A select band of 300 of these excited delhis was appointed to break our line, when Tippoo intended to pour in his whole cavalry.* Our right wing deployed into line, and began to advance under a very heavy fire of artillery. Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver's guns opened upon the Mysoreans from the ridge of a hill, at the foot of which Harris had formed his line. On descending into the valley some masses of Tippoo's infantry instead of retiring advanced to meet the British, firing rapidly but irregularly. They even entertained the bold design of charging our front line with the bayonet; but, after they had come close up, their resolution failed them; and then, after giving a very feeble fire for a few minutes and receiving a tremendously heavy one from his Majesty's 12th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, they ran off much too fast for General Harris to allow his people to follow them. Besides, at the moment of their retreat several large parties of cavalry were close at hand; and a part of one of them, consisting of the 300 delhis, were so daring as to charge the Scotch brigade. "Luckily," says Harris, "I perceived their intention, and ordered the men to get ready, but not to fire till they came quite close. There was no time to call to the commanding officer, for the horse broke out from the jungle in the moment I had got the troops ready, when I gave the words 'present' and 'fire,' so opportunely, that about 40 men and horses fell within 20 yards of us. One man was bayoneted by

under the command of Colonel Montresor. Next morning, Tippoo's army advanced close to the battalions of Colonel Montresor, and there was a severe action." *Letter of the Rajah of Coorg, as given by Mr. Lushington in Life of General Harris.*

* General Harris's 'Journal,' as quoted by Lushington.

* * Memorandum written by Harris.

the grenadier company, and another cut through that company close to me; the rest wheeling to the right, galloped along four or five regiments, and sustained their whole fire without a man falling." Both horse and infantry now ran off the field, and here the engagement with our right wing ended, although General Harris followed them with a cannonade for nearly two miles. Our troops then halted and began to search for water; but as no water could be found Harris determined to fall back to Mallavelly. While waiting to see if attempts would be made to annoy his rear, some surprise was excited by a party of infantry and some cavalry which began to appear from a jungle in front; but these forces proved to be our pickets under Colonel Sherbrooke and the 25th dragoons under Colonel Cotton,* who had worked round the left front of the enemy in a very masterly style, and who would have done great service by charging, if Tippoo's people had attempted to make a second stand. In the meanwhile our left wing under Colonel Wellesley had been equally successful. It was formed nearly opposite to the enemy's extreme right, which was strongly posted on the elevated crest of a rocky ridge. General Harris sent an aide-de-camp to Colonel Wellesley to approve of the attack he proposed, and also to General Floyd to desire him to support that attack. Wellesley advanced in echelon of battalions, supported by three regiments of horse. A column of the enemy, consisting of about 2000 infantry, moved forward in excellent order to meet the attack, and to fall upon Wellesley's own regiment, the 33rd; for here, as on the right under Harris, the Mysoreans picked out the European regiments, calculating that if they could once be broken the native regiments would not long stand their ground. The 33rd reserved its fire with the utmost steadiness, received that of the enemy at the distance of about 60 yards; then quickening its advance, with levelled bayonets, the Mysorean column gave way, and was thrown into disorder. General Floyd seizing this critical moment, ordered a charge of

cavalry, led on by that best of cavalry officers Major Dallas, who destroyed great numbers of the enemy and took their six standards.* The retreat of the enemy became general; their cannon were drawn off, and at two o'clock in the afternoon the action had entirely ceased. The affair cost to the British army no greater loss than that of 66 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; while Tippoo's loss was estimated at nearly 2000, amongst whom were many of his bravest men and best officers. The efficient state of the Mysore gun-cattle, and the miserable condition of Harris's Carnatic bullocks, precluded all idea of a successful pursuit; and it was this that had given Tippoo the confidence to risk this battle on the high land of Mallavelly, than which a finer field of battle could hardly have been found in Southern India.† The entire failure of his desperate cavalry attacks made a deep impression on the Sultaun's mind, but he nevertheless prepared to obstruct the further march of the invading army, which was now little more than 30 miles from Seringapatam. But he committed the serious mistake of believing that General Harris would take the same road which Cornwallis had taken in 1791. Harris chose a very different and much better route. The day after the battle of Mallavelly the British army marched some four miles towards the Caverry river, and halted at Angarapooram, on the usual road to Seringapatam, and the only place where they could get water from the tanks. This necessity served to cover their nearer advance to the river, without exciting any suspicion in the mind of the Sultaun, that Harris had another purpose in approaching it, or that he intended to diverge from the

* Dallas, afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Dallas, was a cavalry hero and model—a sort of English Murat. Like that dashing, dexterous Frenchman, he was remarkable for his horsemanship, for the strength, symmetry, and beauty of his person, for his daring courage, and for his love of hand-to-hand combats. He signalized himself, in the view of admiring armies, by many daring feats, throughout the wars of Coote, Medows, Cornwallis, and Harris, and left a name that will be long remembered in India.

† General Harris's 'Letters and Memorandums' in Life by Lushington. Wellesley, 'Ind. Dispatches,' &c.

* Afterwards General Viscount Combermere.
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road which Cornwallis had followed. But General Harris now prepared to execute the plan he had previously formed and announced to the governor-general of crossing the Cavery near Soosilly, and of approaching Seringapatam, not on the eastern, but on the western side. By moving in this direction the Mysorean army would be left at fault, Harris's junction with General Stuart's Bombay army, which was coming up from Coorg, would be facilitated, and greater ease and security would be given to the march of Colonel Read's and Brown's detachments, which were collecting the supplies of grain that were to come through the Caverypooram pass. On the evening of the 28th of March, Major Allan, commanding the guides, and Captain Colin Macaulay were sent from Angarapooram with the pickets of the cavalry, to ascertain the distance between that halting place and the Cavery, and to reconnoitre the intervening country. They returned at ten o'clock at night to the general's tent, and reported the distance to be about nine miles, through a fine open country. General Harris determined to march down to the river in the morning; and as the secrecy of this movement was essential to its success, it was communicated to no one until the moment for marching had arrived. Through these precautions the left wing of the army was actually across the Cavery before the evening of the 29th, while Tippoo was looking for them, at a distance, on the direct road to Seringapatam. On the 30th the battering train and all the ordnance, and the remainder of the army, crossed the river, and encamped near Soosilly, where they found abundant forage, some grain, and a large supply of fine cattle and sheep. When the intelligence of this masterly movement reached the Sultaun it filled him with despair. "We have arrived at our last stage," said he to his principal officers, "what is your determination?" "To die with you," was the sad reply. Yet such was the exhausted state of his gun-cattle, that General Harris could not reach Seringapatam in less than five days, although the distance from Soosilly was only 26 miles, and although his march was wholly un-

disturbed by Tippoo. On the 4th of April the army, stores, battering-guns, and followers arrived within three miles of the ground selected for the siege, and the fine fortress, the white walls, the domes, and minarets of Seringapatam were once more within the view of English troops.* The commander-in-chief lost no time in publishing a general order to the troops, expressing his deep sense of the vast exertions they had made throughout a long and tedious march, with the heaviest train and largest equipment ever known to move with any army in India; and congratulating officers and men on the sight of Seringapatam. "A continuance of the same exertions," said he, "will shortly put an end to your labours, and place the British colours in triumph on those walls."

In the meantime Tippoo, by making a rapid movement, had crossed the Cavery higher up, and had taken up a position near the village of Chendgál, believing that Harris would not make his attack on the southern side of the fort, but would cross over into the island of Seringapatam, the fords to which lay behind the village of Chendgál. But the Sultaun was again deplorably at fault; Harris, instead of moving towards the fords and the island, made a circuit to the left, reached the ground occupied by Abercrombie in 1792, and took up his ground for the siege on the 5th of April, without any molestation from Tippoo, who was now obliged to throw himself within his lines. Many alterations and additions had been made to the works since the English last lay under them; for 6000 men had been constantly at work on the fortifications during six years.† Since the last siege a new line of entrenchments had been constructed upon a much improved principle, and within 700 yards of the walls. Between these works and the river Tippoo encamped nearly the whole of his infantry. In advance of this line of

* "The poor miserable starved bullocks made out wonderfully, but some of the carriages were not in before nine o'clock at night."—*General Harris's Private Journal in Life by Lushington.*

† Malcolm's report to the governor-general, in Wellesley, 'Ind. Dispatches.'

intrenchments there was a Tope, (called the Sultaun-Pettah Tope,) intended for rocketing. On the night of the 5th of April, the commander-in-chief had commissioned Major-General David Baird to beat up this Tope. Baird accordingly proceeded on this service with the flank companies of three and the battalion companies of one of the king's regiments. This party left the camp at ten o'clock at night, and arrived at the Tope at eleven. They traversed the whole of the Tope without discovering a single person, for the enemy had quitted it on their approach, and not a soul was heard or seen. A great part of the night having elapsed, General Baird determined not to remain in possession of the Tope, but to return to camp. In so doing he missed his way, and was marching with his small party right upon the fort of Seringapatam, when Lieutenant Lambton, a young officer well skilled in astronomy, convinced Baird, from his observation of the stars, that he was going north instead of south, and that he must face about in order to regain the British camp.* The party were accordingly halted, faced about, and on their return they fell in with a small detachment of Tippoo's looties, some of whom they took prisoners, dispersing the rest. It was four o'clock in the morning when General Baird reached the camp.

When the day dawned, a great number of the enemy were again seen going into the Tope; and as it lay right between the camp and the fort, General Harris determined both to get and to keep possession of it. There was also a post occupied by the enemy on a nullah or watercourse, the embankment of which ran between the British camp and the fort; and General Harris deemed it necessary to gain possession of this post likewise, and ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe to attack it, with the 12th regiment and two battalions of sepoys. He ordered the attack on the Tope to be made by Colonel Wellesley with his 33rd regiment and one native battalion. On receiving these orders Wellesley wrote

* This lieutenant, who at this time was serving on Baird's staff, became afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Lambton, and a distinguished surveyor and astronomer.

the following letter—the first of the many hundreds of letters, written at moments of crisis, which show his perspicacity, his energy, and love of brevity.

"My dear Sir,

"I do not know where you mean the post to be established, and I shall therefore be obliged to you if you will do me the favour to meet me this afternoon in front of the lines and show it to me. In the meantime I will order my battalions to be in readiness.

"Upon looking at the Tope as I came in just now, it appeared to me that when you get possession of the bank of the nullah, you have the Tope as a matter of course, as the latter is in the rear of the former. However, you are the best judge, and I shall be ready.

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Your most faithful servant,

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"Lieut.-General Harris."*

General Harris did not consider it expedient to alter the plan he had formed; and according to which both attacks were made under cover of night, by the two parties, the one under Shawe and the other under Wellesley. At nine a heavy fire of musketry was heard everywhere in front; and information was brought to camp that the two sepoy battalions had got separated from Colonel Shawe and the 12th regiment. The darkness of the night proved very unfavourable to the advance; and the ground was difficult and rough. General Harris remained in great anxiety, fearing that the two detachments had fired upon one another by mistake. Colonel Shawe very soon reported himself in possession of the post of the nullah or watercourse; but a second heavy firing commenced in that direction, and as Harris knew that the two sepoy battalions had separated from the king's regiment, he dreaded more than ever that there was some fatal mistake. It afterwards appeared that one of these sepoy battalions got into confusion, and paid no regard to orders; that Major Campbell, the commanding officer, was killed while

endeavouring to rally them; that Colonel Shawe, going in search of the battalion, found it in this mad confusion, firing in every direction, but refusing to march forward to the nullah; and that Shawe, with the utmost difficulty and danger, at last found his way back to his own regiment the 12th, which was sustaining a heavy but blind fire from the enemy. The other missing sepoy battalion had moved more forward, to a part of the watercourse; but the fire of the Mysoreans coming thick upon them, they fell back on the left of the 12th regiment, and there, by Colonel Shawe's orders, remained until daylight, sheltered under some mud walls. About the hour of midnight Colonel Wellesley returned to camp, and entered General Harris's tent, in some agitation, to say that he had not carried the Tope.* The same darkness was attended with the same confusion in Wellesley's detachment as in Shawe's. Nearly all night attacks are and must be mere games of chance.† Colonel Wellesley had entered the Tope with the flank companies of the 33rd regiment, supported by the battalion companies under Major Shee. He had been immediately assailed by a hot fire both in front and flank from the enemy, and in the unevenness of the ground and the darkness of the night, the advanced party had got separated from the regiment, and Lieutenant Fitzgerald and several of the men had been killed. A few of the grenadiers had arrived at the main picket at about ten o'clock. Major Shee, who was to have supported the foremost or attacking party with the five battalion companies of the 33rd, had lost his way, and had fallen in with Colonel Shawe, and had taken shelter far away from the Tope, under the embankments of the watercourse, where he remained till daylight. On reaching Shawe Major Shee could give no other information than that they had separated in the dark, and that Colonel Wellesley and one company were missing. Isolated, assailed

in the Tope by rockets and by musketry, and then groping about in the dark, without a knowledge of the ground, and without a guide, the career of our great captain was near being interrupted and closed most prematurely. It may be doubted whether in all his campaigns he was ever exposed to more danger than during this unlucky night of the 5th of April, 1799. Besides the killed, twelve of his grenadiers were taken prisoners.*

At daylight the next morning large bodies of Tippoo's infantry came out from the fort and from his lines to support those in the Tope and on part of the watercourse. These masses of infantry were followed by a considerable number of cavalry, who also took post in the rear of the Tope. These and other movements manifested the Sultaun's determination to drive Colonel Shawe from the post which he had gained during the night, and which he continued to hold with only the 12th regiment and one sepoy battalion, as Major Shee with the five companies of the 33rd, who had passed the night at that point, had returned to camp at daylight. General Harris made the dispositions he thought necessary to support Shawe and to execute successfully his intention—which

* Letters, &c. in Life of General Lord Harris.
† In speaking of General Baird's losing his way, in the darkness of the preceding night, General Harris says, "No wonder night attacks so often fail!"—*Private Journal*.

* On the authority of General Harris's *Private Journal*, and of Colonel Gurwood's *Wellington Dispatches*, we omit, as altogether fabulous, two or three circumstances related by the late Mr. Theodore Hook, in his *Life of General Sir David Baird*. In the course of the 6th of April and the following day Colonel Wellesley wrote no fewer than eight letters about his duties and the operations in progress to his commander-in-chief, and in none of these letters is there any allusion to the startling scene which Mr. Hook relates as having taken place on parade early on the morning of the 6th. If such a scene had really taken place, Colonel Wellesley must have alluded to it in the course of this correspondence with General Harris. But it appears that this particular story was never heard of until years after the siege of Seringapatam; and that it was first promulgated when the deservedly rapid advancement of General Sir Arthur Wellesley was exciting feelings of astonishment and of envy. These stories are all cast in an old type. Something of the same sort is related of the early career of nearly every brilliantly successful general. We have seen in French books, and have heard from French lips, stories about young Bonaparte's skulking at the siege of Toulon, during which he first made his name known to the world.

had failed in the two preceding nights—of driving the enemy entirely out of the Tope, and maintaining possession of it. The Scotch brigade and two battalions of sepoys were ordered for this service, under the command of Colonel Wellesley. But as Tippoo continued to send out more and more cavalry, the assaulting party was strengthened with four 12-pounders, covered by four companies of sepoys; and was followed and supported by the 25th light dragoons under Colonel Cotton, and a regiment of native cavalry under Colonel Pater, who were ordered to move towards the right flank; and the grenadier company of the 74th regiment, and four companies of sepoys, were thrown forward to occupy a rock above the watercourse on Colonel Shawe's left, so as to prevent the enemy galling the troops on that flank. The rugged scene was now illuminated by the bright sun of the east—there was no groping in the dark, and consequently there were no mistakes. The twelve-pounders opened, and threw in a heavy fire wherever the enemy showed themselves among the trees; the head of the column of attack soon approached, formed and entered the Tope, advancing in line with their guns. The enemy made but a feeble resistance: in less than twenty minutes Colonel Wellesley had complete possession of the post which had caused so much perplexity during the two preceding nights, first to General Baird and then to himself. Lieutenant-Colonel Barry Close, who had accompanied Wellesley on this service, soon returned, and entering General Harris's tent, said joyously—"It has been done in high style, and without loss." As soon as the Tope was carried, Colonel Shawe moved out the 12th regiment, which had been under a hot fire ever since nine o'clock of the preceding night, and which, up to this moment, had not returned a single shot. But now, with Shawe at their head, the impatient 12th rushed forward, and, at the point of the bayonet, drove the Mysoreans from every part of the nullah or watercourse, killed a considerable number of them, and put to rapid flight some of the troops which, after being driven from the Tope by Wellesley, were attempting to make a stand near

the nullah.* By these successful operations (the posts evacuated by the enemy being instantly occupied by British troops) General Harris secured complete possession of a strong and well connected advanced line, extending from the Caverry to the Sultaun-Pettah, a distance of nearly two miles, forming an excellent parallel or line of contravallation, well covered from the fire of the fort, within a mile from the fort, and at the same time at a convenient distance from the encampment of the besiegers.†

On the following day General Harris walked down to the advanced post, and found it very strong against such an enemy as he had to deal with, and capable of being made, with little work, very strong against any enemy whatsoever. "How fortunate," said he, "thus to find a good parallel prepared to our hands!"‡ It has been properly remarked by the gallant editor of the *Wellington Dispatches* that the notes and letters written at this moment by Colonel Wellesley to his commander-in-chief, show the friendly terms on which he was living with his general; and at the same time substantiate the fact, not sufficiently known, that General Harris himself conducted the details of the victorious army which he commanded.§ Harris had in fact abundant energy and

* General Harris, himself as brave a soldier as ever led a charge, paid a tribute of admiration to the gallantry displayed on this day by Colonel Shawe, who was his old comrade, and who had shared with him in many honours and dangers during the unfortunate American war.

† Colonel Shawe's post had been much fired on all the time the preparations for Colonel Wellesley's attack were making. I had been obliged to advance a six-pounder and three companies of sepoys to cover his rear, and thought it advisable to strengthen them by the grenadier companies of the 74th and four companies of sepoys, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, with the intention he should turn the flank of the people opposed to Colonel Shawe when Colonel Wellesley's attack commenced. The effect of this attack was very fine; and Shawe advanced several yards on the bank the enemy had annoyed him from, leading on the grenadiers, which placed him in a most glorious point of view."—*General Harris's Private Journal in Life*.

‡ Right Hon. S. R. Lushington, *Life of Gen. Lord Harris*; Colonel Gurwood, *Wellington Dispatches*; Theodore Hook, *Life of General Sir David Baird*.

§ *Private Journal*.
§ Colonel Gurwood.

activity, and many of the resources, and much of the genius, of a great general. What he most wanted was the habit of handling large armies, and of operating on a wide field; and this was equally wanting to every British officer of that day who had not been trained in India.

There was still much fatigue to undergo, and many privations to suffer; but the chances of miscarriage and disaster almost vanished on the morning of the 6th of April, or as soon as the Tope and the posts on the nullah were secured. Stuart and the army of Bombay, which had arrived in the meantime, had brought scarcely any provisions with them. They had lost nearly 4,000 of their bullocks, and had thus no means of conveying the grain and rice which the Rajah of Coorg had collected in magazine. "This," said Harris, "is one of the accidents of war which cannot be provided against." Owing to the like causes, Colonels Read and Brown had not yet succeeded in bringing up the supplies through the Cavery-pooram pass. On the 16th of April, when he had been twelve days before Seringapatam, on measuring the rice of his own army, in order to ascertain the exact quantity, the commander-in-chief had the mortification to discover that through loss or fraud, the bags were so deficient, that only eighteen days' rice, at half allowance, was in camp for the fighting men; and that unless Colonel Read's supplies should arrive before the 6th of May, the army would be without provision. "There is plenty," said he, "in the Coorg country, but we have no means to convey it hither. But I hope to be in Seringapatam before the end of April." On the next day he visited General Stuart, and was much afraid he had not sixteen days' rice in his camp. "Anxious times!" On the same day he found the enemy very busy at work on a post he meant to seize for a battery. This determined him to make the attack on that post as soon as possible. The attack was accordingly made that very day, and was attended with complete success; as was also another attack made on the embankments of a stream called the little Cavery, which ran about five hundred yards in advance of Colonel Shawe's post on the nullah.

"Success in all our attempts, and with very little loss." But no account was received of Colonel Read, and none of Colonel Brown; and on the 19th, Stuart sent his commissary to acquaint Harris that he had but two days' provisions in camp for his Europeans. The commander-in-chief was obliged to supply Stuart from his own diminutive stock. On the 20th, rice began to arrive. On the 22nd there was rice enough collected to subsist the fighting-men to the middle of May. On the 25th "the appearance of the weather was very monsoonish." There had been a violent storm of wind and rain in the night. If this had lasted it would have been next to impossible to get the guns into some of the unfinished batteries: if the monsoon had come on thus prematurely, the Cavery and its tributaries must all have been swollen, the siege must have been interrupted at the very moment when success was certain, and a great part of the army must have been exposed to destruction by famine and disease and the sword of the enemy. But the indications of the coming monsoon blew over; and every nerve was exerted to do the work before that season should set in.*

As early as the 9th of April, Tippoo, perceiving that the besiegers were firmly established in the excellent parallel, or line of contravallation, which he had in a manner made for them, addressed a concise and very Oriental letter to their commander-in-chief:—"The governor-general, Lord Mornington, sent me a letter, the copy of which is enclosed—you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties. What, then, is the meaning of the advance of the English armies, and the occurrence of hostilities? Inform me. What need I say more?"—To this epistle General Harris replied on the 10th:—"Your letter, enclosing copy of the governor-general's letter, has been received. For the advance of the English and allied armies, and for the occurrence of hostilities, I refer you to the several letters of the governor-general, which are sufficiently explanatory of the sub-

* General Harris, Private Diary, as quoted by Mr. Lushington.

ject. What need I say more?"—The Sultaun remained silent for ten days, during which various batteries were erected, and various important posts carried by the besiegers. On the 20th of April he wrote again, saying:—"In the letter of Lord Mornington it is written that the clearing up of matters at issue is proper, and that, therefore, you having been empowered for the purpose will appoint such persons as you judge proper for conducting a conference, and renewing the business of a treaty. You are the well-wisher of both powers. In this matter, what is your pleasure? Inform me, that a conference may take place. What can I say more?" On the 22nd General Harris replied. He told the Sultaun that the governor-general, in his letter of the 8th of November, had told him that the British government and its allies wished to live in peace with all their neighbours, entertaining no projects of ambition, and looking to no other objects than the permanent security and tranquillity of their own dominions: that the governor-general in that letter had expressed his desire of communicating to his highness a plan calculated to promote the security and welfare of all parties, and had proposed to depute Major Doveton for that purpose: that he, the Sultaun, had rejected the pacific advances of the governor-general, and had refused to receive Major Doveton, until the lateness of the season had compelled the governor-general to order the armies to advance: that he, General Harris, being vested with full powers for concluding a treaty, enclosed the draft of a preliminary treaty, upon which alone any negotiation could be founded, &c. "And I have further to acquaint you," added the general, "that unless these demands are agreed to, and your acquiescence signified to me under your seal and signature, within twenty-four hours of your receiving them, and the hostages and specie delivered within twenty-four hours more, the allies reserve to themselves the right of extending these demands for security, even to the possession of the fort of Seringapatam, till a definitive treaty can be arranged, and its stipulations carried into effect. . . . What need I say more?" As Tippoo had

made no overtures until the campaign was well advanced, and as nothing but some great accident of nature could prevent Harris from capturing Seringapatam, the terms of the preliminary treaty were very high. In addition to the proposed conditions, which have been already mentioned, the Sultaun was to send every Frenchman in his service into the British camp within eight and forty hours; was to relinquish all claims to anything he had ever disputed with the English or their allies; was to pay two crores of rupees, one crore immediately, and the other in six months, &c. Although utter ruin stared him in the face, Tippoo would not agree to these conditions. The apathy of the fatalist could not render him insensible to the rapid approach of the last moment. "The religion which he revered, as well as that which he had cruelly persecuted, were equally invoked. The Moollah and the Brahmin were equally bribed to interpose their prayers for his deliverance; his own attendance at the mosque was frequent, and he entreated the fervent *Amen* of his attendants to his earnest and reiterated prayers; the vain science of every sect was put in requisition, to examine the influence of the planets, and interpret their imaginary decision."* He appeared less frequently on the ramparts. When he was not praying in the mosques, he was taking counsel of rash inexperienced favorites.

On Friday the 26th of April, Harris ordered his men an extra dram; and that evening the enemy's post in his front and right were gallantly attacked and carried, though not without an unusual loss to the assailants. Colonel Wellesley, who was commanding in the trenches, drew up the order for the attack. The projection of fire-balls had not yet superseded in Seringapatam the ancient practice of India, and the assailants were favoured more than the defenders by Tippoo's rocket-people burning blue lights on the ramparts. A general and beautiful illumination of the whole fort was followed by a furious random discharge of artillery. The sight was at once sublime and beau-

* Colonel Wilks, 'Historical Sketches, South Ind.'

tiful. Colonel Wellesley, who had drawn up the order for the attack, and who was charged with the direction of it, sent Colonel Money Penny and Major S. Kelly with two columns to fall upon the enemy's right and centre. Both succeeded, and the united columns turning to their right, pursued the Mysoreans, who continued firing as they retreated. The assailants, being severely galled by the near fire of the body of the fort, were obliged to post themselves in a watercourse, which had formed a ditch of the enemy's entrenchment, and which was now destined to be the third parallel of the besiegers. A circular work, still occupied on the enemy's left, was found to have greater command than was expected over this watercourse. Our troops were much exposed, and could scarcely be expected to hold their ground unless that circular work were carried. At this moment Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the 74th, chancing to come near with part of the relief for the trenches, determined to make a dash at the circular work; and, proceeding with only 120 men, he not only dislodged some thousands, but, favoured by the night, pursued them across the Periapatam bridge, entered the right of the enemy's camp on the island, spiked some of their guns, and returned in perfect order under cover of the confusion he had created. During the night, the circular work was lost by the British, and again carried: was lost again, and again recovered. The ground which was gained was to serve for the *emplacement* of the breaching batteries. On the morning of the 27th the Mysoreans made a violent attack upon this ground by means of the guns of the fort, and other heavy guns in battery on a stone bridge. The fire was so hot that Colonel Sherbrooke, the commanding officer, was afraid he should not be able to sustain his right flank; but he was ordered to keep the ground to the last extremity, and he succeeded in keeping it until British batteries were erected, and a heavy fire of grape was opened upon the Mysoreans. Under cover of this fire the British soldiers moved out, and were followed by some of the sepoys. This advancing column was assailed by a fire of musketry and artillery from be-

hind some breastworks, and from some ruined buildings, and by guns from almost every part of the great fort. But part of the 73rd regiment and the Scotch brigade carried all the outworks in their front, and with red bayonets killed or scattered those who had attempted to defend them. Even the stone bridge and a post beyond it were carried, though defended by a formidable redoubt. During the night, and then again from the dawn of day until ten o'clock in the forenoon, the enemy continued firing grape and musketry, and making desperate efforts to regain what had been lost; but the determined bravery of our troops baffled all their endeavours, and by ten o'clock entrenchments were thrown up, and all our people were put well under cover. Our loss however was great: two officers and 60 men were killed; ten officers and 216 men were wounded; and 19 men were missing. It was the last effort of any vigour made by Tippoo. A close breaching battery mounting six heavy guns was opened on the morning of the 30th; and in the course of that day it demolished part of the outer wall of the fort, and shook the masonry of the bastion within. The Sultaun, driven from his last exterior line of defence, made another attempt to negotiate, being apparently ready to yield to nearly every demand; but General Harris, who had received fresh instructions from the governor-general under date of the 23rd of April, told the Sultaun that he had allowed the time to expire which he had mentioned for treating; that he could no longer receive any ambassadors unless they came fully prepared to agree to all the conditions of the preliminary treaty, and accompanied by the hostages and money; and that after three o'clock in the afternoon of that day no letter or messenger of the Sultaun would be received.* After three o'clock the firing was renewed from the breaching-battery. On the 2nd of May a second breaching-battery began to

* In his letter of the 22nd, General Harris had specified by name the four sons and the four principal officers of the Sultaun, that were to be delivered up to the English as hostages, conformably to the previous order of the governor-general.

hammer at the fort. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of May, Colonel Wellesley, who continued to command in the trenches, reported that the work was all finished except filling the sand-bags—that the breach was practicable. Upon this General Harris determined to make the assault on the following day. The sand-bags were filled, and all preparations were completed. On the morning of the 4th, the troops destined for the attack were got into the trenches before daylight, and without being perceived by the besieged. The experience of former wars had proved that the enemy was always more alert at night than in the heat of the day. Midday was chosen for the hour of assault. Tippoo adhered obstinately to his opinion that the English would assault only at night. There was serving with the Sultaun one Seyed Ghofiar, an officer of a provincial corps of the Company's sepoys, who had been taken prisoner with Colonel Braithwaite. This man had accepted Tippoo's liberal offers, and had become a zealous and able servant of his new master. Upon finding that Tippoo rejected his advice, Seyed Ghofiar was heard to exclaim:—"He is surrounded with boys and flatterers, who will not even let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it!" He had exposed himself on every side, and had been wounded early in the siege. Other experienced men found their advice thrown away. "It will be a night attack," said the Sultaun; and his flatterers repeated that it must be a night attack. The selected storming-party consisted of 2500 British and 1900 native infantry. Major-General Baird, who had solicited the command, divided this force into two separate columns, which, on mounting the breach, were to file off, the one to the right, the other to the left. Colonel Sherbrooke commanded the right column; Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop the left. Colonel Wellesley was to remain in the advanced trenches in command of the reserve, to support the two attacking columns in case it should be necessary. A little before the appointed time, Captain John Malcolm en-

tered the tent of the commander-in-chief, and seeing him full of thought, exclaimed cheerily—"Why, my Lord, so thoughtful?" "Malcolm," said Harris, rather sternly, "this is no time for compliments. We have serious work on hand. Don't you see that the European sentry over my tent is so weak from want of food and exhaustion, that a sepoy could push him down? We must take this fort, or perish in the attempt. I have ordered Baird to persevere in his attack to the last extremity: if he is beat off, Wellesley is to proceed with the troops from the trenches: if he also should not succeed, I shall put myself at the head of the remainder of the army, for success is necessary to our existence.*" Baird, who had been wounded and left for dead in one of the battles against Hyder Ali (in that disastrous affair in which Colonel Baillie was sacrificed), who had been marched to Seringapatam, and there loaded with irons and thrown into a hideous prison, together with other British officers, and a good many British soldiers—Baird, who had suffered many horrors at the hands both of Hyder and his son Tippoo, and who knew too truly the unspeakable monstrosities which had been perpetrated on many of his countrymen, recognised in the two columns of attack some of his fellow-sufferers in his captivity at the capital of Mysore, over the breached walls of which they were now to climb; and he told them to recollect that they would presently have an opportunity of "paying off old scores." When every arrangement was completed, Baird stepped out of the trenches, and, drawing his sword, exclaimed, "Now, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers!" Away went the excited columns, and dashed across the bed of the river. That channel of the Cavery which intervened between them and the breach, though it contained but little water, was wide and rocky, and was fully exposed to the fire of the fortress: the breach was imperfect and had been partially re-

* 'Life and Services of General Lord Harris.' The biographer adds—"This anecdote was told to me in 1813 by Sir J. Malcolm."

paired; the strength of the works beyond it was appalling; the garrison was ten times more numerous than the assaulting party, and instead of being at their mid-day repast or buried in sleep, many thousands of them were on the alert, and as soon as our troops descended into the bed of the river, they opened a tremendous fire upon them. The bullets and cannon-balls fell round Baird in every direction like hail: some of the troops, galled by the fire, were swerving from the line of marks which had been made during the preceding night in order to direct their passage, and were getting into deep water; but Baird dashed forward by the shortest and most exposed passage, gained the bank at the foot of the breach, cheered the men, showed them the right way, and then rushed onward close to the forlorn hope. Tippoo, contrary to the advice of his best officers, had neglected to cut a trench, so as to insulate the angle of the fort in which the breach had been made. The storming-parties, still under a heavy fire, dashed across the glacis and ditch, and ascended the *fausse-braye* and rampart of the fort. In less than ten minutes from their issuing from the trenches, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach. Then the men divided into the two parties, one rushing to the right, the other to the left, in order to clear the ramparts. Colonel Sherbrooke led one of the divisions, but Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, who was appointed to head the other, got wounded and disabled in the breach: both corps, however, did their work well, and were equally and completely successful, although both were strongly opposed. In a very brief space of time another British flag was hoisted on the bastions, and then another. As the left column proceeded along the north rampart, they found traverses and various other defences. These were maintained for a short time with a great show of spirit, and it was here that Tippoo had placed himself. He was seen firing upon the English with his own hand, his attendants loading the firelocks and handing them to him. It is said that he was the last man to quit the traverses, as they were successively carried; and that, be-

ing wounded, he endeavoured to return with his people through the sally-port into the interior of the fort. Part of the 12th regiment, instead of proceeding with the rest of the left column along the ramparts, had pressed forward into the body of the town, and having kept along the inside of the rampart, they found themselves opposite to the sally-port through which the Sultaun was endeavouring to retreat. These men of the 12th instantly halted, and commenced firing from the inner side of the gate, while the rest of the column were firing from the outside. Tippoo was thus literally placed between two fires. His people fell around him in heaps, but his enemies could not see whether he himself fell or escaped. Meanwhile, General Baird, who had accompanied the right division, commanded by Sherbrooke, along the south rampart, had halted at a cavalier to give the men breathing time after the fatigue they had undergone, before they entered the town to summon the palace. While the men were thus resting and sheltering themselves from the glare and scorching heat of the meridian sun, Colonel Close came to General Baird, and told him that a native Mussulman officer who accompanied him had positively assured him that the Sultaun had caused the twelve grenadiers of Wellesley's regiment (the 33rd), who had been taken prisoners on the night of the 5th of April at the Tope, to be barbarously murdered. Baird was extremely particular in his inquiries; but the Mussulman officer did not prevaricate. As the column was about to march through the town to the palace, Baird, whose own sad experience had enabled him to judge of the extent of the Mysoreans' barbarity, told Colonel Wallace that if this story were true, he would, the instant he laid hands on Tippoo, deliver him over to the grenadiers of the 33rd regiment, to be by them tried for the cold-blooded, atrocious murder of their comrades. Though all firing had ceased from the works, resistance continued to be made from the palace, wherein the utmost confusion prevailed; for the family of the Sultaun knew not what had befallen him since he left them. A report had indeed

been brought to the palace that he was slain; but the tyrant was nowhere more dreaded than in his own family, and whilst uncertain as to his fate, none dared to open the gates of the palace. Moreover, his sons and all within that strong edifice feared a dreadful retaliation from the British soldiers, for, what was doubtful to General Baird was not so to them—they knew that the grenadiers of the 33rd regiment had been murdered. The 33rd regiment was now drawn up opposite to the gate of the palace, prepared either to storm the walls or to take peaceful possession. General Baird deputed Major Allan, a brave and humane officer, to parley with those within, and to offer them their lives provided they did not make any further resistance. Major Allan fastened a white cloth on a serjeant's pike, and proceeded to the palace, where he found several of Tippoo's people collected in a balcony, apparently in the greatest consternation. He delivered General Baird's message, and in a short time an officer of consequence and a confidential servant came over the terrace of the front building, and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. They were greatly embarrassed, and appeared inclined to create delays, probably with a view of effecting their escape as soon as the darkness of night should offer them a chance. Major Allan pointed out the danger of their situation, and the necessity of coming to an immediate determination: he pledged himself for their protection, and proposed that they should allow him to go into the palace with them, that he might in person give these assurances to the Sultaun. They were very averse to this proposal, but the Major positively insisted on going into the palace with them, and they yielded. The Major took with him only Captain Scohey, who spoke the native languages with great fluency, and Captain Hastings Fraser. They ascended by the broken wall, and lowered themselves down on a terrace, where a large body of armed men was assembled. Major Allan explained to them that the flag, or the white cloth at the head of the pike, which he held in his hand was a pledge of truce and security, provided they made no resistance; and

the stronger to impress them with this notion, he took off his sword, and insisted on their receiving it. The killedar and many others affirmed that the princes and the family of Tippoo were in the palace, but not the Sultaun. They were all greatly alarmed, but they seemed averse to come to any decision, being still uncertain whether their master were dead or alive. The Major told them that delay might be attended with dreadful consequences; that he could not answer for the conduct of the troops by whom the palace was surrounded, and whose fury was with difficulty restrained. They then left him, and shortly after he observed people moving hastily backwards and forwards in the interior of the palace. Major Allan and his two companions now began to think their situation rather critical. The Major was advised to take back his sword, "but," adds this modest and gallant officer, "such an act on my part, by exciting their distrust, might have kindled a flame which, in the present temper of the troops, might have been attended with the most dreadful consequences—probably the massacre of every soul within the palace walls." The armed people that remained on the terrace begged him to hold up his flag of truce in a conspicuous position, in order to give confidence to those in the palace, and prevent our troops from forcing the gates. Growing impatient at these delays, Major Allan sent another message to the princes, warning them that their situation was critical, and that his time was limited. Tippoo's sons answered that they would receive him as soon as a carpet could be spread; and presently the killedar came and conducted the Major to two of the princes, whom he found seated on a carpet surrounded by a great many attendants. They desired him to sit down on the carpet, which he did, in front of them. "The recollection of Moize-ud-Deen," says the kind-hearted Major, "whom, on a former occasion, I had seen delivered up with his brother, hostages to Marquess 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 Moize-

ud-Deen by the hand, and endeavoured by every mode in my power to remove his fears, and to persuade him that no violence should be offered to him or his brother, or to any person in the palace. I then entreated him, as the only means to preserve his father's life, whose escape was impracticable, to inform me of the spot where he was concealed." Major Allan evidently believed that Tippoo was hidden in some part of the palace. Moizeud-Deen, after some conversation apart with his attendants, solemnly assured him that the Padishah was not in the palace. The Major then requested him to allow the gates to be opened. All were in an agony of alarm at this proposal; the princes were reluctant to take such a step without the authority of their father, to whom they desired to send some messenger or messengers. Allan, who well knew that if the gates were not opened soon the palace would be stormed and a scene of carnage ensue, reasoned calmly and kindly with them; and at last, upon his promising that he would post a guard of their own Mysorean sepoys within, and a party of Europeans on the outside, that no person should enter the palace but by his authority, and that he would return and remain at the gate until General Baird arrived, they assented, and seemed to rely with confidence on the Major's good faith. On opening the gate of the palace, Major Allan found General Baird and several superior officers already there, with the large body of troops which had assembled in front of the gate. The Major returned into the interior of the palace with Colonel Close for the purpose of bringing the princes to the general. "We had," he says, "some difficulty in conquering the alarms and objections which they raised to quitting the palace; but they at length permitted us to conduct them to the gate. The indignation of General Baird was justly excited by a report which had reached him soon after he had sent me to the palace, that Tippoo had inhumanly murdered all the Europeans who had fallen into his hands during the siege; this was heightened probably by a momentary recollection of his own sufferings during more than three years' imprisonment in this

very place: he was, nevertheless, sensibly affected by the sight of the princes, and his gallantry on the assault was not more conspicuous than the moderation and humanity which he displayed on this occasion." Having received the sons of Tippoo with every mark of respect, and having repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult should be offered to them, Baird gave them in charge to Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew and Captain Marriott, by whom they were conducted to head-quarters in camp, escorted by the light company of the 33rd regiment.*

General Baird now determined to search the most retired parts of the palace, in the hope of finding Tippoo. He ordered the light company of the 74th regiment, followed by others, to enter the palace-yard. Tippoo's troops within the palace were immediately disarmed; and the English proceeded to make the search through many of the apartments. Major Allan now entreated the killedar, if he had any regard for his own life or for the life of his Sultaun, to inform him where he was concealed. The killedar put his hand upon the hilt of the Major's sword, and in the most solemn manner protested that the Sultaun was not in the palace; that he had been wounded during the storm, and was lying in a gateway on the north face of the fort. Thither he offered to conduct the English, declaring that if it should be found that he had deceived them, the general might inflict on him what punishment he pleased. Upon hearing this report, General Baird, and Colonel Wellesley, who had come up from the trenches some time before, proceeded to the gateway, guided by the killedar, and followed by many officers and soldiers. The gateway was the identical Sallyport through which Tippoo had been seen attempting to pass into the fort, and in which he had sustained the double fire. The shots which had laid him low had proceeded from that part of the 12th regiment which, by disobeying orders, had found themselves on the inner side of the gate, and in a condition to head him back.

* As the princes passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms.

The gateway, arched overhead, was long and dark, and was obstructed with many hundreds of dead bodies. "The number of the dead, and the darkness of the place," says Major Allan, "made it difficult to distinguish one person from another, and the scene was altogether shocking. But, aware of the great political importance of ascertaining, beyond the possibility of doubt, the death of Tippoo, the bodies were ordered to be dragged out, and the killedar and two other persons were desired to examine them one after another. This, however, appeared endless; and as it was now becoming dark, a light was procured, and I accompanied the killedar into the gateway. During the search we discovered a wounded person lying under the Sultaun's palanquin: this man was afterwards ascertained to be Rajah Khan, one of Tippoo's confidential servants. He had attended his master during the whole of the day, and on being made acquainted with the object of our search, pointed out the spot where the Sultaun had fallen. By a faint glimmering light it was difficult for the killedar to recognise the features, but the body being brought out, and satisfactorily proved to be that of the Sultaun, was conveyed in a palanquin to the palace, where it was again recognised by the eunuchs and other servants of the family. When Tippoo was first brought from under the gateway, his eyes were open, and the body was so warm, that for a few moments Colonel Wellesley and myself were doubtful whether he was not alive. On feeling his pulse and heart, that doubt was removed. He had four wounds, three in the body, and one in the temple."*

* Major Allan's own account, as given by Colonel Beatson, in *Narrative of the Operations of the Army under Lieutenant-General Harris, and of the siege of Seringapatam.*

"His dress," says Allan, "consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chints, with a crimson cloth of silk and cotton round his waist; a handsome pouch, with a red and green silk belt hung across his shoulder; his head was uncovered, his turban being lost in the confusion of his fall. He had an amulet on his arm, but no ornament whatever.

"Tippoo was of low stature, corpulent, with high shoulders, and a short thick neck; but his feet and hands were remarkably small. His complexion was rather dark, his eyes large and pro-

When the assault commenced, Tippoo was closeted with his priests, conjurors, and astrologers. "I will go," said Seyed Ghoffar, "and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded. I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment!" He was going to the Sultaun, when a cannon-ball killed him. The storm was now too loud to admit of any doubt as to the English attacking by daylight, and while Tippoo was finishing his midday repast he received intelligence that Seyed Ghoffar was killed, and the enemy coming through the breach. He then hurried to the ramparts, to retreat thence and to find his end. At the sight of the dead body of his father, Tippoo's eldest son, who possibly expected to be raised to the musnud in his stead, displayed a brutal apathy, but two of his younger sons showed very affecting indications of grief. The Sultaun was born in 1753, and was therefore in his 47th year when he died.

The loss sustained during the storm was found to be greater than had been anticipated. During the whole of the siege and assault, from the 4th of April to the 4th of May inclusive, 22 officers were killed and 45 wounded; 181 British soldiers were killed and 622 wounded; while the loss of the native soldiers was 119 killed and 420 wounded. On the 4th of May, when the storm was made, Tippoo's forces consisted of 48,000 men, of whom about 22,000 were either in the fort or in the dependent entrenchments of Seringapatam. Counting natives and all classes of troops, General Harris had never more than 20,000 men actually occupied in the siege; and the two divisions which carried the place did not count many more than 4000 men.

As soon as the fact of Tippoo's death had been fully ascertained, General Baird directed Major Beatson to communicate to the commander-in-chief, General Harris, that himself and the storming-party might be relieved that night, as they were much

minent, with small arched eyebrows, and his nose aquiline. He had an appearance of dignity, or perhaps of sternness, in his countenance, which distinguished him above the common order of people."

fatigued with the labours of that important day. It is usual to relieve storming-parties as soon as possible after a place has been taken; and among several important reasons for this usage is the consideration that fresh troops, who have not been exposed to the horrors of assault, and whose blood has not been inflamed by seeing their comrades fall by their sides, are less likely to commit excesses in the town than the men who have been so exposed. When Major Beatson repaired to head-quarters, General Harris directed the deputy adjutant-general, who was sitting in his tent, to put the officer next for duty under orders to relieve Major-General Baird. Colonel Wellesley, being next on the roster, was accordingly ordered on the same night to take the command within the fort and town. The troops, however, were not relieved until the evening of the 5th or the morning of the 6th of May; and the storming-party, in possession, committed many excesses, plundering some of the houses of the rich natives and setting fire to others.

The body of Tippoo Sultaun was buried, with military honours, on the 5th of May, the day after his death, in the superb mausoleum of Lall Bang, which he had erected to his father, Hyder Ali. A violent storm of thunder and lightning, which killed several Europeans and natives, gave an awful interest to these last and solemn rites.* A cauzee, or ulema, chanted some verses from the Koran, which were repeated by the attendants. The British Grenadiers formed a street, and presented arms. The burial service having been performed, a keeraut, or charitable gift of 5000 rupees, was distributed by the cauzee to the fakcers and the poor who attended the funeral.† This was all strictly conformable to the Mohammedan religion; and, monster though he had been, Tippoo had ever professed himself a devout Mussulman, and had ever been most scrupulous in outward observances. No doubt was left as to his having inhumanly murdered the English prisoners taken on the night of the un-

fortunate Sultaun-Pettah Tope affair. A peon having undertaken to show where those poor fellows were buried, Colonel Wellesley sent some of the officers of his regiment to the spot; and upon the exhumation of one of the bodies, it was identified by these officers as that of one of the grenadiers of the 33rd. It appeared that these unfortunate captives had been murdered at night in parties of two or three; and that the mode of killing them had been by twisting their heads round their shoulders, and thus breaking their necks. Black as was the deed, it was merciful in comparison with some which he had committed on the English fifteen years ago. Everywhere within and about the palace evidence met the eye or ear of his depraved and sanguinary tastes. His name meant tiger; he called his soldiers his tigers of war; and the tigers of the Indian jungles were his pets, and often his executioners—for the attendant that offended him, or the prisoner that was brought into his presence, was not unfrequently turned into a barred room, or large cage, where the savage animals were let loose upon him. Near the door of his treasury an enormous tiger had been found chained. There were other tigers in the edifice, and so numerous as to give some trouble to Colonel Wellesley.* The history and character of the son of Hyder were, in a manner, told by the barbarous big toy which was invented for his amusement, which was found in his palace, and which may now be seen in the library of the East India House, Leadenhall Street. This rude automaton is a tiger killing and about to devour a European, who lies prostrate under the savage beast. In the interior of the tiger there is a rude kind of organ, played upon by turning a handle, like our street hand-organs; and the notes produced are intended to represent the growls of the

* They became the subject of a postscript to the first letter written by Colonel Wellesley to his commander-in-chief after succeeding Baird in the command within the town and fort.

"There are some tigers here," says the Colonel, "which I wish Meer Alum would send for; or else I must give orders to have them shot, as there is no food for them, and nobody to attend them, and they are getting violent."—*Wellington Dispatches*.

* Lushington; Colonel Beatson.

† Beatson.

tiger and the moans of the dying man.* Other toys indicative of the same tastes were found in Tippoo's dwelling; and in nearly every ornament the figure of the tiger was repeated. Upon his harem being counted, it was found to contain no fewer than 600 women!

There needed no such evidence, the facts being all notorious and previously authenticated; but there were found in his cabinets copies of the correspondence which had passed between him and the French Directory; his intended plan of co-operation with Bonaparte and the French army in Egypt; copies of his correspondence with Zemaun Shah, King of Cabul, with the Mahrattas, and with other Indian powers, for the avowed purpose of forming a league strong enough to drive the English out of every part of India. This active correspondence had been set on foot during the pacific administration of Sir John Shore, and during the prevalence of the notion that our Indian empire might be preserved as it was by a forbearing and non-interfering policy. Nearly every line of these papers, and nearly every fact that was known of the character of Tippoo, went to confirm the conviction that his political existence was incompatible with the tranquillity and safety not only of our possessions, but also of the greater part of the rest of India; and the arguments which have been urged to show that the English ought not to have invaded his dominions or to interfere in his concerns, go to prove the corollary that the English must have been compelled to quit and lose for ever their empire in the East. The treasure discovered amounted, in specie and in jewels, to about 1,000,000*l.* sterling, the whole of which was, by order of the governor-general and council, distributed to the army. The whole of Tippoo's family was soon in the hands of the conquerors. On the day after the capture of Seringapatam, Abdul Khalif, the elder of the princes formerly hostages with Lord

Cornwallis, surrendered at our outposts, supplicating for protection. Kereen Sahib, the brother of Tippoo, had before this sought refuge with our ally, Meer Alum. A passport was despatched to Futteh Hyder, the eldest of all Tippoo's sons; and he was invited to join his brothers. Most of the Sultaun's principal officers came in voluntarily in the course of a few days, and submitted to the English without any other condition than that they should be preserved in their titles and estates. This was the case with Meer Cummur-ud-Deen Khan, who had four thousand horse under his command. M. Chapuis and most of the other Frenchmen were made prisoners. They had regular commissions from the French government.*

In the meanwhile Colonel Wellesley, who had been sent to relieve General Baird, had exerted himself to the utmost to put an end to those excesses which had commenced as soon as Seringapatam was taken, and which almost invariably and unavoidably attend the capture of a place by storm. He caused cowle flags to be hoisted in different parts of the town, and public notice to be given that severe examples would be made of any soldiers or other persons detected in the act of plundering the houses or molesting the inhabitants; he called upon General Harris to send him the provost-marshal. "Until some of the plunderers are hanged," said he on the afternoon of the 5th, "it is vain to expect to stop the plunder." Four marauders were brought to a drumhead trial, and handed over to the provost-marshal; and after they had been executed within view of the whole city, the plundering ceased, and tranquillity began to be restored. These examples, and the personal activity of Colonel Wellesley, who went to the houses of the principal inhabitants with safeguards, soon inspired a general confidence. The inhabitants, who had quitted the town during the storm, or during the perilous night which followed it, and who had slept in the open fields, returned to their houses and ordinary occupations. The bazaars were soon

* By the frequent grinding of the curious, this Mysorean instrument has been sadly deranged and almost worn out. The tiger no longer growls as it used to do, and the man moans but very feebly, as the paw of the beast is alternately placed on his mouth and removed from it.

* Letters, Memoranda, &c. of General Harris, in *Life by Lushington*; Marquess Wellesley, *Dispatches*, &c.

stored with all sorts of provisions and merchandise, for which the native traders found a ready and profitable sale, as the conquering army was in want of almost everything. Three days after the capture of the fortress, the main streets of Seringapatam were so much crowded as to be almost impassable, and exhibited rather the appearance of a fair than that of a town just taken by assault. On the 6th Colonel Wellesley represented to the commander-in-chief that it was absolutely necessary that he should immediately appoint a permanent garrison and a commanding-officer to the place; as, until that was done, the people could have no confidence, and everything must be in confusion. "That which I arrange this day," said he, "my successor may alter to-morrow, and his the next day; and nothing will ever be settled. A garrison which should be likely to remain here would soon make themselves comfortable, although it might be found convenient hereafter to change some of the corps sent in; but these daily reliefs create much confusion and distrust in the inhabitants."* General Harris lost no time in carrying into effect this wise recommendation. He forthwith directed a regular permanent garrison for Seringapatam, and appointed Colonel Wellesley to the command of it. The wise plan was Wellesley's own, and not the plan of General Baird, who had begged to be relieved; and General Harris besides felt satisfied that he could not intrust the complicated and delicate duties of a civil and political, as well as of a military nature, to any officer better qualified than Wellesley, whose business talents had become conspicuous the moment he arrived in India. The sudden and complete dissolution of Tippoo's government, and the dispersion of all the public functionaries, required that the governor of Seringapatam should be a good administrator, and as much a states-

man as soldier. Whether the appointment of this young colonel to be governor of Seringapatam, and afterwards of the whole of Mysore, was a departure from the strict line of military routine, or an act of favour to him, and of injustice to Major-General Baird, is still warmly disputed; but no one, either now, or even at the time when the appointment took place, seems to doubt that of all the officers in General Harris's army Wellesley was the best qualified to do all the difficult offices of the situation.

Even before the reduction of Tippoo's capital and stronghold, the greater part of his inferior fortresses were taken by the corps under Colonels Read and Brown. It should appear that the tardiness with which the supplies were sent up to the grand army through the Cavverypooram pass, was in part owing to the anxiety of these two active and able officers to make conquests, and to leave nothing in their rear. Colonel Read began by reducing the country north of Rayacottah; Colonel Brown began with the siege of Caroor, which he took on the 5th of April; and he was proposing to carry all the remaining fortresses in Coimbatore, when he was earnestly summoned to join Read, and when both were made sensible of the necessity of advancing, without loss of time, to the Cavverypooram pass. The fort which guarded that pass surrendered to Read on the 22nd of April; but it was the 6th of May, or two days after Seringapatam had been stormed, ere the brinjaries, or corn-carriers, and the other supplies, could be got through the steep pass, where some of Tippoo's people had collected. On the open country, beyond the ghaut, Colonel Read met General Floyd, who had been detached from the siege, with nearly all the cavalry of the allies, to cover the march of the convoy. At the same point Colonel Brown came up and formed his junction. The mass of Tippoo's cavalry had followed General Floyd from the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, and were close upon him and the convoy on the 7th of May; but they did not hazard any attack, probably because they knew that their capital-city was taken and that their Sultaun was no more.

* *Wellington Dispatches*. In the same letter to his commander-in-chief—dated on the 6th of May, or the second day after the storm—Colonel Wellesley says, "Plunder is stopped, the fires are all extinguished, and the inhabitants are returning to their houses fast. I am now employed in burying the dead, which I hope will be completed this day, particularly if you send me all the pioneers."

As soon as the departing monsoon permitted our troops to take the field again, the reduction of other fortresses in Tippoo's kingdom was commenced with great spirit. On the coast of Malabar, where the nairs and all the Hindu natives co-operated heart and hand with the English, and reeked their vengeance on the Mohammedan Mysoreans,* hardly any difficulties were encountered. The important fortress of Chitteldroog, where General Mathews and other English prisoners had been confined and barbarously treated in 1783, surrendered early in July to a small detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple. In every part of Mysore, or of the country which had been united into one kingdom by Hyder Ali, the Hindu population was very numerous and exceedingly well affected to the English, under whose rule they well knew they would be allowed the free exercise of their religion. Even the Mohammedan portion of the inhabitants submitted tranquilly to their destiny and to the conquerors, and no obstacle

* The Hindu chiefs had been driven frantic by the intolerance of Tippoo, and by the means to which he had resorted for converting them all to his own religion. They had not all waited for the return of the English to gratify their vengeance. Even women had inflicted awful blows. At a later period the widow of a nair, who had been destroyed by Tippoo, waited upon Colonel Wilks, and among other adventures and acts of revenge related the following:—"Tippoo's aumil, who polluted the mansion of my lost husband and son, wanted iron, and determined to supply himself from the Rut" (a temple of carved wood fixed on wheels, drawn in procession on public occasions, and requiring many thousand persons to effect its movement). "It was too much trouble to take it to pieces, and the wretch burned it in the square of the great temple, for the sake of the iron. On hearing of this abomination I secretly collected my men; I entered the town by night; I seized him and tied him to a stake, and" (bursting into tears and an agony of exultation) "I burned the monster on the spot where he had wantonly insulted and consumed the sacred emblems of my religion."—*Sketches of the South of India.*

This country had never been tranquil under Tippoo. In one of his compositions the Sultaun said:—"As the rainy season lasts six months, and mud continues throughout the year, the roads are excessively difficult, and the inhabitants prone to resistance, dividing their time between agriculture and arms. Such is the excess of infidelity, that if a Mussulman touch the exterior wall of a house, the dwelling can only be purified by setting it on fire."—*Id.*

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remained to the general tranquillity except some disturbances excited in Bednore by a celebrated robber-chief named Dhoondiah Waugh. This man, a Patan, or of Mahratta origin, had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippoo. He had deserted during the war with Lord Cornwallis, and had placed himself at the head of a fierce body of banditti in the wild country near the Toombudra river. Tippoo had induced him by fine promises to give up his predatory occupations and return to his service, and had then immured him in a dungeon at Seringapatam. On the day of the assault of that city he was imprudently released by some of our soldiers, together with other prisoners who might claim a better right to their liberty. Shaking the dust of Seringapatam from his sandals, Dhoondiah immediately returned to his old avocations of plunder and murder. He was joined by some of his old associates and by some of Tippoo's disbanded cavalry: and some of the civil and military servants of the sultaun's overthrown government put a few of the principal places of Bednore into the possession of the robber, before General Harris could send a sufficient force into that fertile country. But as soon as the commander-in-chief could leave Seringapatam he went to Chitteldroog, and detached Lieut. Colonel Dalrymple and Colonel Stevenson into Bednore with some light infantry and some light horse. By the middle of August the banditti were cut up or were driven from the country, in which they had committed every atrocity. Dhoondiah escaped in a boat, and took shelter in the Mahratta territory, the frontier of which the governor-general would not at present allow to be violated. Dhoondiah therefore re-appeared in the field of carnage a short time afterwards. Colonel Stevenson occupied the towns and forts of Bednore, Droog, and all the other important stations; and the whole country began speedily to recover from the effects of the late atrocities and devastations. On leaving the command of all the troops serving in Mysore and its dependencies, and on hastening back to Madras to meet the governor-general, who had remained at that presidency to be near at

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hand as long as the war lasted, General Harris wrote to a friend:—"In seven months' absence from Madras, we not only took the capital of that enemy, who, as you observe, should never have been left the power of being troublesome, but marched to the northern extent of his empire, and left it in so settled a state that I journeyed from the banks of the Toombudra, 300 miles across, in my palanquin, without a single soldier as escort, except, indeed, at many places, the polygars and peons of the country, who insisted on being my guard through their respective districts. This was a kind of triumphal journey I did not dream of when setting off. A conquest so complete in all its effects has seldom been known."*

The Earl of Mornington had resolved that what had been gained should be kept; that no portion of the sovereignty conquered from Tippoo should be restored to any member of his family or to any chief of his race. With the concurrence of the British government the splendid conquest was divided between the Company, their now confirmed and obedient ally the Nizam of the Deccan, and the Mahrattas, a small portion being reserved for the direct male descendants of the ancient Hindu Rajahs of Mysore, who had been conquered and dispossessed by Hyder Ali. The portion taken by the English was such as would give strength to their frontiers, security and continuity to their communications, and a barrier against French invasion on the Malabar coast. The annexation gave an entirely new form and consistency to our empire in the south of India. All the territory which had been possessed by the Mysorean sultans on the Malabar coast, the district of Coimbatore, with the populous town of Daraporam, the whole of the country, at the southern end of the vast peninsula, which intervened between the Company's territories on the eastern or Coromandel coast and their territories on the western or Malabar coast, yielding an uninterrupted dominion from sea to sea; the forts and posts on the ghauts or prin-

cipal passes leading to the high table-land of Mysore, the district of Wynad above the ghauts, and the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam were assumed by the Company. The possession of Seringapatam was deemed essential to secure fully the communication between the two coasts, and to connect the different lines of defence. There were sixty ghauts or passes through the mountains, several of which were practicable for armies, and two-thirds of which were sufficiently open to allow the incursions of cavalry.* By holding possession of them, all the Carnatic was secured against those ruinous irruptions from which it had so often suffered, and the low country on the Malabar coast was equally secured. The districts of Gurrumcondah, Gooty, and others contiguous to his dominions were assigned to the Nizam; and the revenue of these territories nearly equalled that of the country which the English took for themselves; but the line of partition was so drawn as to leave all the principal fortresses and posts to the Company. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas had engaged in the governor-general's alliance against Tippoo, but had neither taken the field nor sent any assistance. It entered, however, into the present policy of Lord Mornington to be liberal in the distribution of the spoils, and to conciliate the Peishwa by overlooking his breach of agreement and giving him a part of those spoils. And accordingly Harponelly, Soondah, Annagoondy, and other districts contiguous to the possessions of the Peishwa, including part of the territory, but not the fortresses of Chitteldroog and Bedaore, were ceded to that prince. All these districts were considered worth rather more than one-half of the portion allotted to the Company, or the portion allotted to the Nizam. But as the cession could only be considered as a favour, the Peishwa having done nothing to earn it, Lord Mornington did not make it unconditionally; he made it form the basis of a new treaty with the Mahratta empire; and in the event of the Peishwa not acceding to the treaty, the territories reserved for him were to be divided between the

* Letter to Sir W. Medows, as quoted by Mr. Lushington, *Life of Gen. Lord Harris*.

* Colonel Beatson.

Nizam and the Company. The governor-general stated in his despatches the many and urgent reasons which led him to determine upon the restoration of the ancient Hindu dynasty of Mysore to a portion of the dismembered empire of Tippoo. Strong considerations of policy forbade the re-elevation of the family of Hyder Ali. They had all been brought up in hereditary hatred of the English; and they could not, under any arrangement, be expected to forget the great powers and independence from which they had fallen. "Nor does it seem unreasonable to suppose," wrote his lordship, "that the heir of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sul-taun, animated by the implacable spirit of his parents, and accustomed to the commanding prospect of independent sovereignty, and to the splendour of military glory, might deliberately hazard the remnant of his hereditary possessions in pursuit of so proud an object as the recovery of that vast and powerful empire, which for many years had rendered his ancestors the scourge of the Carnatic and the terror of this quarter of India." On the other hand, the indignities which the family of the ancient Hindu rajahs of the country had suffered, especially during the cruel and tyrannical reign of Tippoo, and the state of degradation and misery to which they had been reduced, might naturally be expected to excite a sentiment of gratitude and attachment in their minds towards that power which should not only deliver them from oppression, but also raise them to a state of considerable affluence and distinction. Between the British government and this family an intercourse of friendship and kindness had once subsisted; and in the most desperate crisis of their fortune they had formed no connection with the French or with any of our enemies. Under the pacific, the friendly, and dependent representative of the old Hindu line of princes, the interest and resources of the country might be absolutely identified with our own; and the kingdom of Mysore, so long the source of calamity or alarm to the Carnatic, might become a new barrier for our defence and might supply fresh means of wealth and strength to the Company, their subjects,

and allies. Maha Raja Krishna Udiaver, a boy only six years old, was the lineal descendant of the ancient family, whose power Hyder Ali had usurped in the year 1761. He was now raised to the throne of his ancestors; and Purneah, a Brahmin of great ability, who had been chief finance minister to Tippoo, was appointed dewan or chief minister to the young prince. The territory ceded to Krishna yielded thirteen lacs of pagodas, a revenue greater than that of the ancient rajahship of Mysore. It was completely surrounded by the districts and fortresses which the English took to themselves, and which were garrisoned by British troops and by sepoys in the pay of the Company. One strong line of forts protected the rajahship from the Mahrattas, whose incursions were most to be apprehended. But in matter of fact the sovereignty of the rajahship, equally with its defence, was vested in the Company. It was provided by treaty that the whole of the military force in the country should be English; that the rajah should pay annually seven lacs of pagodas; that in case of war any larger sum might be exacted which should be deemed proportionate to the resources of the rajah or of the country; and that, in case of any misgovernment by the rajah, the British government might interfere. The city of Mysore, the ancient capital of the country, which Tippoo had dismantled in order to give strength, extension, and magnificence to Seringapatam, was fixed upon for the residence of the infant rajah and his court. A curious example was given of the vicissitude in human affairs. Tippoo, in 1784, had levelled with the ground an ancient fort at Mysore, and had carried away the materials to build a new fort, which he named "Nezerbâr," or "The place visited by the eye of the Almighty:" now this fort was destroyed in its turn, and the materials were carried back to the town of Mysore, to rebuild the old fort.*

The family of Tippoo Sul-taun became state prisoners, but they had enjoyed little liberty under the jealous tyrant, and never were state prisoners treated more

* Colonel Wilks.

kindly than they now were by the English. They were conveyed from Seringapatam to Vellore in the Carnatic; where excellent accommodations were prepared for them, liberal pensions assigned for their support (their allowance was more liberal than that which they had received from Tippoo), and every attention and indulgence shown which could be rendered compatible with the object of preventing their escape from that fortress. Every step was taken by Lord Mornington that might tend to reconcile the family, adherents, and servants of the late sultaun to the new political arrangement.

The territory conquered from Tippoo, and annexed, covertly or openly, to the Company, exceeded in dimension 20,000 square miles. The revenue immediately obtained by the Company was very large, and was chiefly drawn from countries which wanted nothing but tranquillity and security to be enabled to pay, with perfect ease, taxes far more considerable than those they now paid. When all the great business was completed, the governor-general, who had animated all the agents employed in it, returned from Madras to Calcutta.*

* Marquess Wellesley, 'Dispatches,' &c.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARQUESS WELLESLEY CONTINUED.

AMONG the important services rendered by General Wellesley to the people of Mysore and of the neighbouring countries, were the destruction of the famed robber Dhoondiah Waugh, and the dispersion of his band. These operations cost to the General more trouble and exertion and more personal danger than many of his campaigns against regular armies. It has been mentioned how that chief of banditti was released from prison at the capture of Seringapatam, and how, after committing terrible depredations and atrocities in Bednore, he had effected his escape into the Mahratta territory. He kept his band together, and was soon heard of again in Mysore. In February, 1800, a fellow waited upon General Wellesley at Seringapatam, and informed him that he had come from the Mahratta country as far as Toomkoor, with a gang employed by Dhoondiah to carry him off when he should go out hunting. The fellow further said that Dhoondiah was proposing to collect a large gang of robbers in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, and to join them himself. In order to prove to the robber how little he feared his gang, the General went out hunting as usual on the morrow; but he desired his friend, the Minion of the Moon, to join his gang again, and promised him a good reward if he would enable him to lay his hands upon them. On the following morning the robber waited upon Mr. Barclay, an English officer at Seringapatam, and repeated his story, with solemn assurances of its truth. He added, what he had only hinted at to General Wellesley, that Dhoondiah and his gang had some designs upon the city of Mysore, the ancient capital of the country, to which the partially restored Rajah and his family had been removed. As no-

thing could be more unpleasant than any accident to this ancient family, which was now living under British protection, Wellesley apprised the officer in command at that city of the intelligence which he had received, desiring him, at the same time, to be cautious to do nothing which could in the smallest degree alarm the Rajah and his relatives.* While he was hunting this morning, one of Wellesley's aides-de-camp thought that he saw some twenty men on horseback lurking about the jungles. Wellesley did not see anything of them, but he thought if they were really there, and his friend the informer proved true to him, that he would have them all that night. On the following day he heard from the officer at Mysore that there had been for some days a bazaar report of a vagabond party of cavalry belonging to Dhoondiah being in the country; but nothing further was heard of these robbers until three days had past. Then, on the 8th of February, 1800, the informer came again to Wellesley, and gave information that a party was at Coorghelly, about three coss, or six miles, beyond Nunjuncode, and that other parties were in different villages, and in the jungles between Nunjuncode and Coorghelly; that four sirdars were with their followers and baggage, and he believed the treasure, at Nunjuncode, in a large house in the fort, inhabited by a Mussulman whose brother was one of the banditti; that the Mussulman owner of the house was the man who had charge of Dhoondiah when he was Tippoo Sultaun's prisoner; that, besides these parties, there was another at a village near the town of Mysore, and another small party upon the island of Seringapatam, near the

* Wellington Dispatches.

Chendgal fort. It was supposed that other small bands were lurking in different villages, and that all the parties were regulated by Dhoondiah, or by some friend of his living in Seringapatam. Captain Robertson, who was detached by night with fifty men, captured the four sirdars and their people at Nunjuncode; and the party on the island of Seringapatam was seized on the same night. They all denied the truth of the charge which had been brought against them, and declared that they had been living peaceably in the villages where they had been arrested ever since the fall of Seringapatam. Two other parties were also taken, who persisted in telling the same story. The native witnesses prevaricated as usual, some of them swearing one thing on one day and another on the next. But as the informer persisted in his story, identified the persons of most of the people arrested, repeated the charge before them, gave a clear and consistent narrative, and went well through the ordeal of cross-examination, it was deemed prudent to detain the people for some time. In the end, some of the men arrested were soundly flogged, and all of them were sent about their business, it not being found easy to identify them with Dhoondiah, and that chief not being heard of anywhere in the country. Of other bands of robbers and murderers there was no lack in Mysore. It seems to be generally admitted that the monstrous system of the Thugs took a rapid growth at this period, and that it attained to its greatest height between the year 1799, when the kingdom of Tippoo was broken up, and the year 1825. Against an association so mysterious, so persevering, and hellish as that of the Thugs, neither troops nor police could do much; but the other bands of open and avowed robbers were hunted down by some of the Mysoreans, supported by detachments of the Company's infantry. Of the men caught, some were hanged, and some severely punished. In the month of April (1800), when Wellesley was absent on the Malabar coast, and thinking of very different business, Dhoondiah raised his head again, appeared on the frontier of Mysore, stormed and took two or three towns,

and began to settle the country as if it were a permanent conquest. He had taken to himself the title of "King of the Two Worlds," and he considered himself as good as de facto king of a large part of the Indian world. Numerous bands must have joined him, for he threatened Mysore and the Malabar country at one and the same time. He was kept in check by the rapid advance of some British detachments; but in the month of May he excited considerable alarm by means of his intrigues with the discontented remnant of Tippoo's party, with the Polygars and Nairs of the Malabar country, and with all the Company's most turbulent subjects. Everywhere his name was made use of to create disturbances. It thus became the more incumbent upon our government to get the better of him, to destroy him and his gangs, or to drive him far from our frontiers. Colonel Stevenson discovered that Dhoondiah was endeavouring to raise men at Chittledroog, a very populous town in the Mysore Rajah's dominions, many of the inhabitants of which had been heretofore sepoys and peons in the service of Tippoo; and another English officer discovered that the robbers were raising horse and enrolling men in other parts of the country, and attempting to seduce the Company's sepoys. At the end of May, when Wellesley had collected his troops, he wrote to his brother the governor-general,—"Dhoondiah is certainly a despicable enemy, but, from circumstances, he is one against whom we have been obliged to make a formidable preparation. It is absolutely necessary to the peace of this country, and of Canara and Malabar, that that man should be given up to us; and I doubt not that before now you will have made a demand for him upon the government of Poonah. If we do not get him, we must expect a general insurrection of all the discontented and disaffected of these countries. I have information that letters have been received by most of them, either from him or from others written in his name, calling upon them to take the opportunity to rebel against the Company's government; and his invasion of our territory is looked to as a circumstance favourable to their views.

The destruction of this man, therefore, is absolutely necessary for our tranquillity; and nothing will be more easy, if the Mahrattas are really disposed to enter into the plan. If they are not, it will be a matter of difficulty, and it may become a question whether the whole power of the Company ought not to be turned to this one object.* It was clear that if these robbers crossed the Toombudra river, such an injury would be inflicted on Mysore as would require years to remedy it. Wellesley therefore declined the popularity and the profit of an expedition to the island of Batavia, which the governor-general proposed to him in company with Admiral Rainier and the fleet, declaring that, if Dhoondiah were not previously disposed of, no prospect of advantage or of credit to be gained should induce him to quit Mysore.† Dhoondiah had an asylum in the Mahratta country, and might be reckoned a part of the Mahratta state; but Wellesley recommended that the English should go through with the business until that man was given up, even though it were found necessary to cross the Mahratta frontier in pursuit of him, which could scarcely be done without risking a quarrel with the Peishwa or the court of Poonah. His brother, the governor-general, authorized him to enter the Mahratta territory, it being evident that the Peishwa was either unable or unwilling to put down the great depredator. Our troops had been already collected on the Toombudra, there being nothing effectual to be done towards destroying Dhoondiah or dispersing his force without crossing that frontier river. Towards the end of June, Wellesley joined the troops, crossed the river, and proceeded in person against the freebooter. Some of the Mahratta chiefs, instead of resenting the infringement of their frontier, now took the field to co-operate with the English commander. But Dhoondiah and his light-footed bands moved from place to place with great rapidity, taking and plundering several towns, and distancing the British sepoys. On the 30th of June, the robbers defeated

one of the Mahratta chiefs in a pitched battle. Goklah, the Mahratta chief, was killed in the affair; but the majority of his troops kept together, and seemed to be determined to continue their co-operation with the English. Proposals were made not only at the Nizam's court at Hyderabad, but also to Wellesley, to take off Dhoondiah by means of a plot and assassination. "Such an arrangement," said the British commander, "may suit very well at Hyderabad, but I think it unbecoming an officer at the head of a body of troops, and I, therefore, declined to have anything more to do with the business than to hold out a general encouragement. . . . Government have authorized me to offer a reward for him, and I propose to avail myself of this authority as soon as he is at all pressed, and I find that his people begin to drop off from him. This will be, in my opinion, the fittest period. To offer a public reward by proclamation for a man's life, and to make a secret bargain to have it taken away, are very different things: the one is to be done, the other, in my opinion, cannot, by an officer at the head of the troops."* Throwing a bridge over the river Werdah, and constructing a redoubt for its security, Wellesley stretched forward towards Hoondgul and Budnaghur, being joined on his route by a good many Mahrattas who had suffered severely from Dhoondiah's rapacious and cruel banditti. That robber, however, was deemed so strong and so confident, that it was reported on the 11th of July, that he was coming down to meet the English force. "If he does come," said Wellesley, "I shall certainly dash at him immediately." And on the 13th, Dhoondiah came down with his whole army and his guns to within two coss of Wellesley's camp, then at Savanore. He examined the camp for some time from a hill, and then retired. On the morning of the 14th Wellesley threw his baggage into Savanore, and marched with five days' provisions, as light as possible, to Hoondgul. But Dhoondiah had flitted away to the jungles behind Dummul. He had, however, left a garrison of about

* Wellington Dispatches.

† Id

* Wellington Dispatches.

600 men in Hoondgul, which was surrounded and stormed on the evening of the 14th, with but trifling loss to the Company's troops. On the 15th Wellesley marched about 17 miles to the eastward, to another Mahratta town which had been seized by the robbers, but which was evacuated. On the next day the British made another long march to another town, which Dhoondiah's bands had been besieging for some weeks in the country manner. The siege was raised, and the besiegers fled towards the hills and forests. For want of sufficient cavalry Wellesley could not pursue the fugitives; but Dhoondiah's people now began to desert him in numbers, and the government proclamation offering a reward of 30,000 rupees for his head was now issued. Moreover, another corps under Colonel Bowser was coming up in another direction, and Colonel Stevenson was marching against the robbers from another quarter. On the night of the 19th of July Wellesley was joined by Goklah's Mahratta cavalry, about 1000 strong; but unluckily the draught and carriage bullocks fell sick, and his progress was delayed by losing one half of them. The British commander was employed for some days in getting fresh cattle and arranging them in departments for the service of the army. Several times Dhoondiah was very near him, though he could not be seen. As soon as Wellesley was enabled to resume his march, he pressed forward for Dummul. This was a strong stone fort, well built, with a dry ditch. A garrison which Dhoondiah had left in it seemed disposed to offer a stout resistance, but on the morning of the 26th of July Wellesley stormed the fort in three places, and carried it with a trifling loss, which was chiefly attributable to the breaking of the scaling ladders. After this success he made three forced marches; and on the evening of the 30th of July he surprised an encampment and the main division of Dhoondiah's forces (which was then preparing to cross over the Malpoorba river), drove into the river or destroyed everybody that was in the camp, took an elephant, several camels, bullocks, horses innumerable, families, women, children, &c. The robber's guns

were gone over. Wellesley made an attempt to dismount them by a fire from the opposite bank, but it was getting dark, the infantry were fatigued by the length and rapidity of their march,* and seeing that he could not succeed, he quietly withdrew his guns and men into the captured camp. Dhoondiah was believed not to have been with this part of his army; but Bubber Jung, one of his chief men, was in the camp, put on his armour of mail to fight, mounted his horse, and rode him into the river, where he was drowned. Great numbers met with the same fate. In all 5000 men were driven into the river or otherwise destroyed. On the next morning some English soldiers swam across the river, which was both broad and rapid, seized a boat, and got possession of the six guns on the opposite bank. Both boat and artillery were given to the Mahrattas to keep them in good humour. After this catastrophe Dhoondiah, with the whole of his remaining force, fled along the banks of the Malpoorba towards the jungles of Kittoor and Soonda. He could not cross the river for want of boats, and was thus ascending to its source. He was closely followed by the corps of Bowser and Stevenson, which had now come up; and Wellesley and his Mahratta allies moved on the flank of these corps, so as to sweep the whole country to the distance of 15 miles from the river, and prevent Dhoondiah from doubling on any of his pursuers or from gliding between them. "If he goes into the jungles," wrote Wellesley on the 3rd of August, "we will easily come up with his rear; if he takes to the plain I shall cross upon him with my detachment." The robbers moved so rapidly, that though Colonel Stevenson got close upon their tail, he could never cut it off: they went quite into the jungles, and beyond the sources of the Malpoorba, and then took to the country on the right bank of that river, and between it and the Gutpoorba. The transport of the guns and stores of a regular army by such a route

* The troops had been making forced marches every day since the 22nd of July: and on the 30th, the day on which they surprised the camp, they had marched twenty-six miles.

as Dhoondiah had taken must have been attended with great difficulties. Wellesley therefore preferred waiting till boats could be constructed, by which he could cross the river many miles below its source. A detachment from Colonel Stevenson's corps, however, still followed Dhoondiah's track, and found the road covered with dead camels, dead bullocks, and people. Colonel Bowser got across the Malpoorba, and advanced to Shahpoor, where he found sad evidence of the atrocities which had been committed by the flying robbers. Wellesley crossed the river on the 16th, "to give Dhoondiah one more run between the Gutpoorba and the Malpoorba." "I think," added he, "that I shall have a chance of picking up some baggage, &c.; but it is clear that I shall never catch him." Dhoondiah was now in a bad way, his people were starving and leaving him, and reproaching him with their misfortunes. He was retorting and telling them to give up their wives and daughters to the Europeans, whom they were afraid to fight. Even the Patans, the men of his own fierce race and tribe, and the hardest and most brutal of all the adventurers in India, were leaving him fast. At this moment Wellesley had finished his arrangements so as to be able to press upon him in a few days, upon all points at once. Several forts were reduced along the banks of the Malpoorba, and the passes of the river most likely to be fordable were guarded by the Mahrattas. But in spite of every precaution Dhoondiah and his followers returned suddenly to the bank, crossed the Malpoorba, which had fallen earlier in the season than was usual, at a ford a little above its junction with the Kistna, and made off with all speed to throw themselves into the Deccan and ravage that country of our ally and dependant. The Mahrattas who had been placed at the ford would neither face nor follow the marauders, who left behind them a great quantity of provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. Ten thousand brinjarrees were also taken by Wellesley, who must have caught Dhoondiah on the bank of the river, if the Mahrattas at the ford had done their duty. These brinjarrees gave a curious account of Dhoon-

diah's system. They told the English commander, that the robber still had about 40,000 of their class in his interest, that nearly all the brinjarrees of this part of India and many on the Deccan were devoted to his service. Dhoondiah employed them and gave them the means of living and of making good profits in the following manner. When he approached a village or a town which was unprotected by a fort, he sent a body of horse and of brinjarrees to levy a contribution. He took to himself all the money he could get, and gave them at a certain low price all the grain and all the cattle they could find; and they afterwards re-sold the grain and cattle at such profits as his camp would afford. With a trade so profitable to themselves the brinjarrees shut their eyes to the devastations which Dhoondiah committed.

No time was lost in following the marauders. Crossing the Malpoorba at Jelalahaul on the 3rd of September, Wellesley entered the Nizam's territory on the 5th. Colonel Stevenson and some Mahratta and Mogul cavalry followed, and stretched across the country in order to prevent a repetition of Dhoondiah's successful movement. On the 9th of September the robber moved from a camp which he had occupied for some days towards the Kistna; but on his road he discovered Colonel Stevenson's camp, which he could not hope to pass without fighting. He therefore returned by the way he had come, and encamped about nine miles in Wellesley's front, not knowing that that part of the pursuing army was so near him.* On the evening of the 10th of

* Dhoondiah had been misled by one of his own friends and spies. Of these he had many in the Nizam's country, the native country of thousands of the brinjarrees who had been following his camp. Not a few of the Nizam's own officers betrayed him, conveying information to the marauders, and doing all they could to mislead the English who were pursuing them. The killadar of Chinnor, a place fifteen miles from the field of battle, wrote to the King of the Two Worlds, by a regular tapal established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that Wellesley would be at Chinnor on the 9th. "His majesty," adds Wellesley, "was misled by this information, and got nearer me than he expected. The honest killadar did all he could to detain me at Chinnor; but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop, and even went so far as to threaten to hang a

September, Wellesley moved forward, and met Dhoondiah and his army at a place called Conahgul. Dhoondiah was then on his march and to the westward, apparently with the design of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry, and the detachments under Wellesley, which last he supposed to be 15 miles off. Almost as soon as he was seen he was attacked by the 19th and 25th dragoons, and 1st and 2nd regiments of native cavalry. His entire force consisted of cavalry, apparently about 5000 strong: he was strongly posted with his rear and left flank covered by the village and rock of Conahgul. His people stood for some time with apparent firmness; but such was the rapidity and determination of the charge made by our four regiments that all of them soon gave way, and were pursued across the country for many miles. In order to equalize the length of their line Wellesley had resorted to the bold expedient of forming his four regiments and charging in one line. Many of the marauders and Dhoondiah himself were killed: all the rest were dispersed and scattered in small parties over the face of the country.* Part of the baggage had been left in the camp in the rear, from which Dhoondiah had moved only an hour before the battle began. All this, with elephants, camels, &c., was captured by the English cavalry.† Among the baggage was found a son of Dhoondiah, a boy about four years old. He was conveyed to Wellesley's tent, where every care was taken of him. When Sir Arthur left India he placed in the hands of Colonel Symmonds, the judge and collector at Seringapatam, some hundred pounds for the use of the boy. When Colonel Symmonds retired from service the Honourable Arthur Cole, the resident at the court of Mysore, took charge of him, and placed him in the rajah's service. Salabut Khan, as he was

great man who was sent to show me the road, and who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place."—*Letter to Major Munro, written the day after the battle, in Wellington Dispatches.*

* Dhoondiah's body was found and recognised, and was brought to the camp on one of the guns attached to the 19th dragoons.

† Wellington Dispatches.

named, grew up a fine, handsome, intelligent youth.*

Thus ended the dominion and career of the King of the Two Worlds. If he had not been checked in time he might have proved another Hyder Ali. In India as in Persia more than one dynasty had been founded by a robber chief. "Had you and your regicide army been out of the way," wrote Sir Thomas Munro to Wellesley, "Dhoondiah would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince, and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous Sultauns."†

The remnant of Dhoondiah's army was entirely cut up by Colonel Stevenson, as it was attempting to pass the Kistna river. Tranquillity was soon restored to Mysore, and to the whole of the Malabar country: mutiny and insurrection ceased, and no more robberies and murders were heard of, except such as were committed by the inscrutable Thugs.‡

It was the flourishing state of Mysore, and the ease with which its supplies and resources were brought forward for the use of the British armies, that enabled

* He died of cholera in 1822. Wellington Dispatches.

† Gleig, Life of Sir Thomas Munro.

‡ During the war against Scindiah there sprang up a Perkin Warbeck or impostor Dhoondiah. This was a Mahratta freebooter, who assumed the character of a Fakir and the name of the dead robber, giving out that Dhoondiah had never been killed, or that he had come to life again in his person. Such characters were always sure of obtaining disciples. While the English troops were engaged in fighting or pursuing Scindiah, the new Dhoondiah grew very strong. He collected about 10,000 horse and Peon plunderers; crossed the Kistna in December, 1803, and proceeded towards the Toombudra and the Company's frontier, plundering, devastating, and murdering as he advanced. On the 28th of December Major-General Campbell went in pursuit of him with the cavalry and flank companies of the infantry of his division. After forced marches and a rapid and silent night march, Campbell caught the robber napping, in an encampment between Doodyhall and Moodianoor, dashed into the heart of the camp with the cavalry, killed 2000 on the spot, and wounded and took more than 1000. The rest threw down their arms, abandoned their booty, and fled. It was only to be regretted that 3000 of their horse, under Jittim Kakar, a well-known marauder, had gone off the day before on a plundering excursion towards Gajinder Ghur.—*Letter of Major-General Campbell in the Marquess Wellesley's Ind. Dispatches.*

Lake and Wellesley to carry on the war against Scindiah with so much spirit and success. The province of Bullum had never been effectually conquered, either by the English, or by the Mysorean Sultans: the authority of Hyder Ali and of Tippoo had been extremely precarious, and the presence of an army had always been necessary to enforce the payment of the revenue. But in the course of the year 1801, military roads were opened through the forest towns by General Wellesley, and from that time no part of Mysore has been more tranquil than Bullum.

Soon after the annihilation of the 'King of the Two Worlds,' Colonel Wellesley was removed from Mysore, and sent with an expedition to the island of Ceylon. The object of this expedition was wholly different, and its destination strictly defined by his superiors in command, when a duplicate of a dispatch from London reached him at Trincomalee; announcing the bold plan of the British ministry to send an expedition from India, by the Red Sea, to support the expedition sent out from England under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, against Bonaparte and the French in Egypt. No sooner had Wellesley read this dispatch than he made up his mind, and knowing that his was the only disposable force, without orders or instructions, which it was impossible to obtain in time, but for acting without which he might, in the strictness of military discipline, have been cashiered, he proceeded to act on his own responsibility, and to remove the expedition under his command at once from Ceylon to Bombay, where it would be some thousand miles nearer to the Red Sea and Egypt. The whole of these operations afford honourable proofs of the Duke of Wellington's early abilities and decision of character. He fully expected to have the command of this Indian expedition to Egypt; but when he arrived at Bombay he found it was confided to his senior, Major-General Sir David Baird. This was apparently a severe disappointment. He says, however, and we have no inclination to call his word in doubt, that he would have accompanied Baird in a subordinate capa-

city but for an illness which obliged him to remain behind in India. In the event, all this, we think, proved to be part of his good luck. The great merit of the novel expedition from India to Egypt was in the conception, and that belonged neither to Wellesley nor to Baird. Before it reached Egypt the French were pretty well disposed of; and though admirably conducted and abounding in interest and instruction, it had no opportunity of striking a great blow. If Wellesley had gone with it he would have lost the much more instructive and decisive campaigns against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar; and the glory of the battle of Assaye, which first connected a *prestige* with his name, would (if indeed it had been fought at all) have belonged to another. Though he did not accompany General Baird, he gave him a copy of memoranda, which he had drawn up on the operations to be pursued on the Red Sea and in Egypt. This remarkable document shows what diligent attention he had paid to the subject—what exact information about Egypt—the policy of the Mameluke beys—the real situation and prospects of the French, &c. &c.—he had managed to obtain even while acting on such a remote and different field as India; and it proves beyond a doubt that he had already within him the foresight, sagacity, and every other quality of a great general.*

It was honourable to the administration of Lord Mornington, that he should be enabled so soon after two expensive wars, and with the almost immediate prospect of another expensive war in India, to send such an armament to the Red Sea. Major-General Baird, who sailed from Bombay on the 7th of April, took with him 2800 British troops, 2000 sepoy, and 450 of the Company's best artillerymen; and this force was well supplied from the Company's arsenals and magazines. The expedition contributed greatly to raise our reputation, wherever it was heard of and understood; and to impress the nations of Europe with a sense of the military power and energy of England.†

* Wellington Dispatches, and Indian Dispatches of Marquess Wellesley.

† Sir David Baird reached Jeddah, on the Red Sea, on the 17th of May, 1801, and was there

The governor-general found the means of sending other troops to Ceylon, where they were very soon wanted; as the Cingalese who dwelt in the interior, and who were in fact masters of all the island, except some strips along the coast, proved desperate, and for a time dangerous, enemies to the British. The settlements which had been torn from the Portuguese by the Dutch, were taken from the Dutch by the English, during the time that Lord Hobart was governor of Madras. For a time they were allowed to form an appendage to the Madras presidency, and the Company considered that they were to enjoy the same sovereignty in Ceylon as they enjoyed in India; but Mr. Pitt's government very soon placed the Ceylon settlements under the direct administration of the Crown, and appointed a governor who was to be altogether independent of the authority of the Company. As Ceylon is divided from the Coromandel coast only by a narrow strait; as the Company's troops and money had been employed in making the conquests in the island; and as a close intercourse and connection must exist between the island and the presidency of Madras; great discontent was felt and expressed by the Anglo-Indians, or by nearly all of them that were in the Company's service. It was felt also by others, that the annexation of Ceylon to the crown, while the government of the continent was left to the Company, rendered our Indian system more and more confused; dividing and

joined by an English division from the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of the 61st regiment, some squadrons of light horse, and a strong detachment of artillery. On the 8th of June Baird reached Coaseir, and began landing his troops; but it was the month of July before his van division began to cross the burning deserts which lie between the Red Sea and Egypt; and, before he could unite his forces at Cairo, Menou, the French general, capitulated to Lord Hutchinson. (Sir Robert Wilson, 'History of the British Expedition to Egypt,' &c. *Æneas Anderson*, Lieut. 40th regiment, 'Journal of the Forces, &c., and of the Transactions of the Army under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby,' *Le Comte de Noé*, 'Mémoires relatifs à l'Expedition Anglaise partie du Bengale en 1800, &c.')

The Comte de Noé, then a royalist emigrant and an officer in the British 10th regiment of the line, went with Sir David Baird on this expedition, his account of which contains some interesting details not to be found elsewhere.

confounding powers which were already too much divided and confounded. Lord Mornington himself best expressed the evils of this system, and best explained how it ought to be superseded. "Whatever," said he, "may be the nature of the government, which the wisdom of Parliament may permanently establish for India, I hold two principles to be indispensable for its permanent efficiency and vigour: First, that every part of the empire in India, *insular* as well as *continental*, shall be subject to the general control of one undivided authority which shall possess energy, *in peace*, to maintain order, connection and harmony between all the dispersed branches of our dominions, and to extend equal benefits of good government to every class of our numerous and various subjects; and, *in war*, to direct every spring of action to similar and corresponding movements, to concentrate every resource in a united effort, and by systematic subordination to diffuse such a spirit of alacrity and promptitude to the remotest extremities of the empire as shall secure the co-operation of every part in any exigency which may demand the collective strength of the whole. Secondly, that the constitution of every branch of the empire should be similar and uniform, and, above all, that no subordinate part should be so constituted as in any respect to hold a rivalry of dignity, even in form, with the supreme power."*

His lordship afterwards urged that as the legislature had vested in the governor-general in council, subject to the Board of Control in England, the sole power of making war against any native state on the continent of India, the same principle required that the governor-general in council should possess similar powers with regard to war in Ceylon, which could scarcely be considered in any other light than as a dependency on our continental empire: that the wisdom of the legislature had certainly contemplated a unity of executive power as the most effectual security for the British empire

* Wellesley, Ind. Dispatches, &c. Letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, dated May 10th, 1801.

on the continent of India; and had determined that the authority which held the sole power of disposing of the resources necessary for the prosecution of war should also possess the sole power of making war; and that no provincial, local, or subordinate authority should be enabled to involve the general interests of the empire in the expense and hazard of hostilities: that under the constitution or regulation which had been made for the island of Ceylon, the order and system established for the general government of India were absolutely reversed; the king's governor of Ceylon exercising the authority of concluding treaties, of making wars, and of conducting military operations in the island, without having the power of furnishing supplies either of men or money beyond the fixed establishment of the island; while the governor-general in council was required to furnish supplies of men and money for the prosecution of war in Ceylon, without possessing any power of controlling the origin, conduct or progress of the war, which war might, however, deeply affect the security, interests, and honour of the general government of India. His lordship also showed that Ceylon had been properly termed the outwork and bulwark of our empire in India; that it was an essential part of our strength, and that the proper management of its civil and military government was of the utmost importance to the defence of our continental dominions. "Nor," said he, "can an argument be adduced to prove the importance of Ceylon which will not also demonstrate that its interests are inseparably blended with those of the empire on the continent, and that its government cannot be separated from the general control without hazard to the safety both of that empire and the island of Ceylon. The entire military establishment of India ought to be applicable to the general defence of the whole empire. The sub-division of that establishment, and the separation of our general strength into detachments, subjected to independent commands, and appropriated to exclusive provincial and local services, must impair the general efficiency of our

army by destroying the unity of our military power The independence of the government and military command of Ceylon would considerably embarrass the government-general in the prosecution of operations against the remaining possessions of the French and Dutch to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, or against Egypt, or against various places in these seas, or even in any transfer of troops from the several maritime garrisons in India. Your lordship is intimately acquainted with the advantages which the ports of Ceylon offer for assembling troops and ships, and for completing every necessary depôt in the preparation of such services. The government-general repeatedly derived important advantages from the full command of those ports during the last war. In the present state of the island, it would not be possible to use its ports and resources with similar effect. A considerable portion of the value of Ceylon, in time of war, is therefore actually suspended by the existing constitution of the government of that island." *

His lordship's sentiments varied upon this particular point; but at last he declared himself to be thoroughly convinced that the most effectual mode of rendering Ceylon a valuable addition to the British possessions in India, and an efficient augmentation of our military and political power, would be to annex it as a province to the supreme government of Bengal. His representations, however, were overlooked by the home government, which was not likely to give up the sovereignty of Ceylon when it *doubted*, at least, whether it ought not to assume the sovereignty of all the dominions the Company had in India; and thus the additional anomaly was allowed to exist, not without mischievous effects to the public interests. Dispassionate men may question whether the entire sovereignty of the crown was or was not preferable to the mixed authority of the crown and Company; but few could doubt that the island of Ceylon and

* Wellesley, Indian Dispatches, &c. Letter to Lord Hobart, then President of the Board of Control, dated Nov. 30th, 1803.

the continental dominions ought to be governed by one and the same system. The wars with the Cingalese, and other affairs of Ceylon, will occupy another chapter of our book. Here, we need only state that sundry grave errors were committed by the king's governors and the king's

officers commanding in the island, and that some shameful reverses were sustained by the English troops in Ceylon during the war which the governor-general waged on the continent with the Mah-rattas and their allies.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARQUESS WELLESLEY CONTINUED.

THE conduct of the late governor-general, Sir John Shore, was not calculated to give permanent tranquillity to the dominions of Oude, or to elevate the character of the British government in the eyes of the inhabitants. However good and honest his intentions may have been—and Sir John was assuredly an honest, good, and conscientious man—his recognising the title of Vizier Ali in one month and dethroning him in the next, had certainly produced a very bad effect. The people believed it all to have been jobbery and a trick; the prince, expelled from Lucknow, was incensed to the utmost degree of fury; and Saadut Ali, who had been placed upon the musnud, seemed to be not very grateful to those to whom he owed his elevation. Saadut had allowed his payments to the Company to fall in arrears, and he was owing more than eighteen lacs of rupees, when Lord Mornington first took into his hands the government of India. The Court of Directors became clamorous for payment, and the governor-general was compelled to resort to measures which were likely to cool the little gratitude which remained in the nabob vizier's heart. At the same time intelligence was received that the terrible king of Cabul was preparing for another invasion of Upper India; that the fierce Afghans were again descending from their mountains, and pointing their spears towards Lahore and Delhi, and the frontiers of Oude. It was known that Tippoo Sultaun was corresponding with Zemaun Shah, and that the Mohammedan army of the Mysoreans would be joined to the Afghans, if the latter could make good their descent. This seemed to oblige the governor-general to raise the number of the British troops in Oude to the highest point al-

lowed by the treaty which Sir John Shore had concluded with Saadut Ali. Two regiments of native infantry were added to the army; five companies of native invalids were stationed on the famed rock of Chunar, to which Warren Hastings had fled after the revolt of Cheyte Sing; five other companies of native invalids were sent to Allahabad; a considerable force was united to cover the holy and rich city of Benares; and troops were cantoned in the upper provinces to oppose the Afghans on the frontiers of the British possessions, in case Zemaun Shah should come. The shah actually advanced again as far as Lahore, while Lord Mornington was at Madras, busied in the preparations which ended in the total overthrow of Tippoo; but again was the Afghan sovereign recalled to his own states by rebellion and civil war—a war waged by his own brother, Mahmood, who had collected an army in the neighbourhood of Herat. As these inroads caused great alarm and confusion, and great expense, and as it was apprehended that the Afghans would repeat their visit in the following year, the governor-general determined to find them occupation which would keep them at home for some time to come, and diminish their capability of being mischievous in India.* The Persians and the Afghans were old foes. Baba Khan, the present king of Persia, had espoused the cause of Zemaun Shah's brother, and had made an inroad into the province of Khorassan, on the western part of Afghanistan. An intercourse was opened with the Persian court by means of one or two Mohammedan merchants; and on the 29th of December, 1799, Captain John Mal-

* Dispatches, Malcolm.

colun, who had done such good service at Hyderabad, was dispatched from Bombay on an embassy to Baba Khan, the Persian Shah. The embassy was "in a style of splendour corresponding to the character of the monarch and the manners of the nation to whom it was sent, and to the wealth and power of that state from which it proceeded."* It was completely successful in all its objects. The King of Persia not only agreed to renew his attack upon Khorassan, which had the effect of withdrawing Zemaun Shah from his designs upon India, but also entered into treaties of political and commercial alliance with the British Government. The ability of the British negotiator was seconded by circumstances: the news of Nelson's conquest at the mouth of the Nile had spread rapidly through Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, and had produced an impression highly advantageous to England, the sovereign of which was thus designated in the treaty—"The sublime quarter of the high in power, seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the chief jewel in the crown of royalty, the anchor of the vessel of victory and fortune, the ship on the sea of glory, lord of the countries of England and India—may God strengthen his territories, and establish his glory and commands upon the seas!" &c. The fame of Nelson obscured the talents and defeated the intrigues of the French agents at Teheran, where, as in other countries of the East, they had been busily, and not unsuccessfully, occupied; and by the treaty concluded with Malcolm, the shah completely excluded the French from Persia, and gave to the English nearly every benefit for which the French had been contending. In a firman issued to the governors of provinces, &c., the Persian shah ordered them to expel and extirpate all persons of the French nation that should attempt to enter their ports or pass their boundaries; never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place in Persia, but to disgrace, and, if necessary, slay them. On their part the English were bound, in case the King of the Afghans, or any person of the French, should make war

upon the Shah of Persia, to send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants and inspectors, and deliver them at one of the sea-ports of Persia. In the following year (1800) Zemaun Shah, instead of repeating his visit to Lahore, was obliged to march to the west, to meet a Persian army, which was threatening his own dominions with invasion. In the year 1801 Zemaun Shah was defeated in battle, and made prisoner, by his rebellious brother Mahmood, who found it so difficult to retain his seat on the dangerous throne of Cabul, that he had neither time nor means to bestow on plans of Indian conquest.

During the time of the Afghan's second visit to Lahore, Saadut Ali was suspected by the English of not being entirely ignorant of his movements and plans; but these suspicions fell much more strongly upon Vizier Ali, the deposed Nabob of Oude, who increased the number of his armed retainers, and engaged some of the principal people of Benares to join him in an insurrection as soon as the army of Zemaun Shah should approach the frontiers of Oude. Sir John Shore and those who acted with him had committed a serious and very obvious error in fixing the residence of the prince they themselves deposed at Benares; for that city was geographically within the limits of Oude, over the whole of which he had once held sway; that city always abounded with desperate adventurers, collected from all parts of Hindustan; and the settled inhabitants of the neighbouring country had that vigour and fire, and proneness to insurrection, which had so well nigh proved fatal to Warren Hastings, and, in him, to the British empire in India. But the first great imprudence, in the choice of a residence, was followed by other imprudencies. The deposed nabob was allowed to make his palace like a fortress; to maintain, without control or limitation, guards, both horse and foot, and to keep up the style and bearing of a sovereign prince. He never issued from his palace without being attended by a numerous armed train, many of whom were old adherents who had followed him from Lucknow

* Malcolm, 'Political Hist. Ind.'

after his deposition; and whenever he went from home, the *nackára*, or kettle-drum, was carried before him. While he avoided all the English as much as possible, he cultivated a close friendship with the Mohammedan chiefs, who were greatly excited by the advance of their co-religionists, the Afghans, and who considered Zemaun Shah both as the nearest and noblest representative of the house of Timour, and as the servant of the prophet engaged in a holy war for the propagation of the Koran. Mr. Cherry, who had concluded the preliminary treaty with Saadut Ali, and who had packed off that prince to Sir John Shore at Lucknow, was still resident at Benares. With him Vizier Ali was obliged to interchange occasional visits, and to wear a friendly mask; and so great was the dethroned nabob's power of simulation, or so great the dulness or credulity of the resident, that Mr. Cherry could never be induced to believe that Vizier Ali entertained any dangerous designs. Mr. Davis, head of the civil government of Benares, as judge and magistrate of the district and city court, was more discerning; and he repeatedly warned Mr. Cherry, as well as the supreme government at Calcutta, of the consequences that might be expected. He earnestly recommended that the armed followers of Vizier Ali, and the Mohammedan lords residing in Benares, should be reduced; and that their cannon and other warlike implements should be deposited in the arsenal of government. But, unhappily for himself, Mr. Cherry continued in his blind confidence; and measures of precaution were neglected by the supreme government. When, however, it was ascertained by Lord Mornington that Vizier Ali had sent a vakeel or agent to Zemaun Shah, and was giving countenance to all those who sighed for the arrival of the Afghans and thirsted for the blood of the English, instructions were sent to Mr. Cherry to remove the dangerous dethroned man from Benares to Calcutta. As soon as this order became known to Vizier Ali, he gave way to the evil counsels of two rash young men, Izzut Ali and Waris Ali, and to his own savage and impetuous disposition. Pretending to

yield obedience to the governor-general's order—though with regret and grief—he determined to murder Mr. Cherry, who had communicated that order, and then to fall with the sharp edge of the sword on all the English resident in, or near to, Benares. On the morning of the 13th of January (1799), the native superintendent of police waited upon Mr. Davis, to report that Vizier Ali was enrolling a number of armed men, and was making no preparations for his departure for Calcutta. This startling intelligence was instantly communicated to Mr. Cherry, who heard it incredulously, and did nothing. On the night of the 13th, a messenger went from the palace of the nabob to Mr. Cherry's house, and announced that his master would pay the judge a visit on the following morning at breakfast. At the same time it was given out by the nabob's people that he intended to take his departure for Calcutta in a day or two.

On the morning of the 14th, Vizier Ali's kettle-drum was heard, and he was seen approaching the house of the English resident, with a train of horse and foot, consisting in all of 200 men.* In numbers this did not much exceed the nabob's ordinary retinue; but a jemmadar of Mr. Cherry reported to his master that this party came not in their usual manner, but were all

* While these pages were preparing for the press, there appeared a very small but a very interesting volume, entitled 'Vizier Ali Khan; or, the Massacre of Benares, a Chapter in British Indian History.' It is the production of J. F. Davis, Esq., the son of Mr. Davis, the judge of Benares, the author of the best book in any language upon China ('The Chinese: a general description of the Empire of China and its inhabitants'), and the able public servant who is now on his way to take the chief charge of the British interests in the Celestial Empire, as Governor of Hong-Kong.

At the time of the murders at Benares and the attack on his father's house, Mr. Davis was a child; but for his narrative he obtained, besides papers, the personal information and assistance of a senior who was on the spot—of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, the author of the best book upon Cabul and the Afghan tribes, late Governor of Bombay, and one of the best of the many distinguished men who have acquired reputation in India. Few narratives can have higher claims to implicit credit. We have followed Mr. Davis's account in our text.

armed, and with matches lighted. The infatuated resident told the man that he was a fool for his fears. Mr. Cherry's house was not in the town, but at a short distance from it. On the nabob's arrival at the door, the host, according to custom, met and handed him in. He was accompanied by his two young friends, Izzut Ali and Waris Ali, and by a third person more advanced in years. The party of four were attended into the breakfast-room by four followers, armed with swords, shields, and pistols. Mr. Evans, a youth acting as private secretary to Mr. Cherry, was also present in the room. Tea having been brought in, Mr. Cherry handed a cup to Vizier Ali, who would not touch it; but, addressing himself to his host, said that he had something of great consequence to communicate. Then raising his voice, he began to complain of the treatment he had received from Sir John Shore, saying that that governor-general had promised him six lacs of rupees per annum, and had afterwards reduced the sum. He then reproached Mr. Cherry with never having taken care of his interests or attended to his representations. "This," said he, "you have never done. On the contrary, at the suggestion of Saadut Ali, you now wish me to go to Calcutta: but Lord Mornington is absent; what should I do there? Saadut Ali wishes for my death, and the English are in league with him. They listen to him; but neither you nor any one else attends to me. I shall therefore not proceed to Calcutta, but go where I please." While the nabob was speaking thus wrathfully, Waris Ali quitted his seat, and got behind Mr. Cherry. This seemed to be a concerted signal, for the nabob, rising from his seat, seized Mr. Cherry by the collar, while the other held him behind; and as he expostulated, the nabob struck at him with his drawn sword. The rest of the conspirators joined in the dastardly deed. The unfortunate resident, though wounded, threw off the nabob's grip, got free from Waris Ali, and escaped through the verandah into the garden; but six or seven of them followed him in a body, and cut him down before he had gone many yards from the house. In the

meanwhile Izzut Ali had seized Mr. Evans, and grasped his dagger to stab him; but the young Englishman held the assassin's hands; a servant of Mr. Cherry ran into the room, and made a cut at Izzut Ali, who let go his hold of Mr. Evans. The young secretary fled into an adjoining field, but he was seen by some of the horsemen of the nabob's train, who had all remained outside the house; two or three shots were fired at him, and being brought to the ground, some others of the conspirators ran up and dispatched him. At this moment Captain Conway, who was living with Mr. Cherry, happened to ride up to the house, and he also was killed. Mr. Davis, in returning from his morning ride on an elephant, had passed Vizier Ali and his whole train, as they were proceeding towards Mr. Cherry's residence; and on reaching home the judge was informed by the head of the police that he had fully ascertained the facts that Vizier Ali had sent emissaries into the neighbouring districts to summon armed men, and that some mischief might be apprehended from his present visit to Mr. Cherry. The judge immediately dispatched a hasty note to the resident (their houses were little more than a quarter of a mile apart), and being anxious for the return of his messenger, kept a look out in that direction. Presently Mr. Davis observed that Vizier Ali and his train were coming towards his own house with unusual haste; and that some of the nabob's horse, instead of keeping the road, were breaking into his grounds, and beginning to fire at the house. A single sentry, stationed about fifty yards from the door, was shot down. There was now no time to lose. The judge sent Mrs. Davis, her two children, and their attendants, to the terrace on the top of the house, and then ran for his fire-arms, which were below. But the insurgents were already in possession of the lower part of the house, and the only weapon which Mr. Davis could reach was an Indian pike or spear which chanced to be up stairs.* With this weapon, and

* "The pike was one of those used by running-footmen in India. It was of iron, plated with

single-handed against many, the judge defended himself like a valiant soldier; and saved his own life, the lives of his wife and children, and of many others. Taking his station on the terrace, on one knee, over the trap-door of the stair, he waited for the assault. He was favoured by the steepness and narrowness of the staircase, which allowed only a single armed man to ascend at a time. It opened at once to the terrace, like a hatchway on board ship, but it had only a light cover of painted canvas stretched on a wooden frame. This opening he allowed to remain uncovered, that he might see what approached from below. The first to approach was Izzut Ali, who shook his sword, and made use of very abusive language. The judge replied with saying, "The English troops are coming from camp," and by thrusting his pike into Izzut Ali's arm. The coward disappeared immediately: another succeeded; but being wounded in the hand, he ducked under, like his predecessor. No further attempt was made on that staircase, but the 200 cowards kept firing up at the terrace, which had a parapet, or went round the house and the verandah in search of some easier means of getting to the house-top. The judge could not quit his post at the head of the staircase for a moment to look out; and one of the women servants, venturing to look over the parapet walls, was shot through the arm. They could now only remain where they were, casting anxious looks for the cavalry from General Erskine's camp, which was within a short march of the city of Benares.* Though Mr. Davis well knew that the cavalry could not arrive for some time (not more than an hour having elapsed since the attack began), he maintained that it must be close at hand, for the sake of encouraging his wife and servants. In about half an hour from this time, he again heard the noise of many persons ascending the stair

in haste: he grasped his pike, but the new comers were friends, not enemies. After breaking the furniture in the apartments, and ascertaining that there was no way of getting to the house-top except by going up the narrow, winding staircase, the insurgents had gone off to attack other English houses, and had thus allowed the native officer of police and some fifteen sepoy, with their muskets, to enter the house of the judge. Finding that he could muster fifteen, with their firelocks, bayonets, and fifteen rounds each, Mr. Davis now considered his danger as over.

In a short time the sound of Vizier Ali's drum was heard from the town, and parties were seen in motion about the suburbs, where some places belonging to Europeans were on fire. Intelligence was brought that numbers of the inhabitants were joining the insurgents, but none of them approached the house. About eleven o'clock a small advanced party of the cavalry from General Erskine's camp appeared in view. It had been brought on with admirable celerity by Major Pigot and Captain Shubrick. At first they drew rein at Mr. Cherry's house, but finding that all was over there, they galloped to the assistance of Mr. Davis. It was there agreed, that until some infantry arrived from the camp, this small force would be best employed by taking post in front of the house, within view of which a vast multitude was now beginning to assemble. In a short time some of these people came nearer, and declared their hostility by setting fire to a building attached to the police department. General Erskine, who now joined with the rest of his cavalry, sent out a few troopers to drive off these rioters, who appear to have been nearly all armed. One of the troopers falling from his horse, was set upon and left for dead by a part of the fierce mob. The cavalry were soon afterwards fired at by some who came near enough for their shot to reach the house; but a column of infantry now came up, and covered the small party of horse. While the troops were falling in line, some of them were wounded by matchlock or musket shot from a wood in their front. Vizier Ali was said to be there in person;

silver, in rings, to give a firmer grasp, rather more than six feet in length, and had a long triangular blade of more than twenty inches, with sharp edges."—*J. F. Davis, 'Massacre of Benares.'*

* The main army of Oude was far away to the westward, under the command of General Sir James Craig.

but on the first fire from an English field-piece, he retired with his adherents towards his fortified palace and strongly-walled garden, where it was thought a desperate resistance might be attempted. General Erskine pursued in column. The troops marched through one of the suburbs, where they suffered considerably by the fire from the houses. Both of General Erskine's orderlies were shot at his side. On reaching the nabob's palace some field-pieces were directed against it; the gate was presently blown open, and the troops got admission to the principal court. But it was vain to seek for the dastardly assassin there: Vizier Ali had fled northwards towards Betaul, accompanied by all his well-mounted horsemen. The business was finished just as the sun set. It was thought that if the contest had lasted until dark, the city of Benares would have been pillaged by the banditti and adventurers assembled within its precincts. The English inhabitants of the neighbourhood acknowledged that the hour and half during which the stout-hearted judge had kept the assassins at bay, had been the means of their salvation, by enabling some of them to conceal themselves, and others to fly for refuge in General Erskine's camp. Five British subjects, however (besides the soldiers), fell victims to the second insurrection of Benares; for, in addition to Mr. Cherry, Captain Conway, and Mr. Evans, the insurgents had butchered Mr. Robert Graham, a young civilian, and Mr. Hill, who kept a shop in the city.* For some days great alarm was kept up among the English and their friends, by ignorance of the extent of the plot, and by the recollection of the violence and long duration of the former insurrection under Cheyte Sing; but when some few hundred vagabonds had followed on foot the flying horsemen of

the nabob, the commotion subsided, and by the 18th of January the public tranquillity seemed perfectly re-established. On the day following the insurrection twenty elephants, some horses, silver howdahs, and other articles of less value, were seized on the road and brought back to Benares by the troops and police. Some of the adventurers who had joined in the affray merely for the sake of plunder, succeeded in carrying off the spoils they had made in the English houses; but Vizier Ali either left nearly everything that was his behind him in his palace, or lost it on the road during his rapid journey. As he fled through the country he must have received the news of the retreat of the Afghans from Lahore. Early in his flight he halted to address a letter to the Rajah of Benares, urging him to rise against the English; but instead of being conveyed to the rajah, this epistle was delivered to Mr. Davis. The wife and other females of the fugitive's family, amounting, with their attendants, to nearly one hundred persons, were all left behind in the palace. The women were treated with every possible respect. The vice-president in council at Calcutta expressed his satisfaction at the gallant exertions made by the judge; and he authorized Mr. Davis to offer a reward of 20,000 rupees for the apprehension of Vizier Ali, alive or dead. Saadut Ali, the reigning sovereign of Oude, was thrown into the greatest consternation when he heard that his rival and mortal enemy had broken loose. He regarded the insurrection of Benares as a conspiracy, in which many of his own subjects had been concerned. Not knowing how far the conspiracy had extended, he apprehended that many persons in Lucknow had been involved in it, and suspecting everybody, and putting no trust in his own troops, he requested Mr. Lumsden, the British resident at Lucknow, to call up an English battalion from Cawnpore for the protection of his capital and person. The resident not only called up the brigade, but suggested to General Sir James Craig the propriety of either returning without delay to that neighbourhood, or of detaching such part of the army under his command as might be sufficient to keep

* "Some of the English made the best of their way to the camp; and others, especially those with families, concealed themselves as they could, and must probably have been discovered and massacred, if the attention of the insurgents had not been occupied by Mr. Davis's defence. One large party retired into a tall field of maize, or Indian corn, and were completely hidden for the time, though but a short distance from the residence of one of their number."—*J. F. Davis.*

the whole country in order. As General Craig had received the certain intelligence of the retreat of the Afghans from Lahore, he soon withdrew from the western frontiers of Oude towards the capital. Saadut Ali is described, by one who knew him well in the early part of his reign at Lucknow, as a man of sense, who kept up a degree of dignity and decorum in his court to which it had long been a stranger, and who, in his regular habits and application to business, was more like an English gentleman than most natives. His vice was hard drinking, but he indulged only at night. "He had good reason to be apprehensive of revolt, for his reign was new, and his natural parsimony, with the strict order and economy which he endeavoured to introduce into his provinces, were unfavourably contrasted with the profusion of his predecessors."* It appears that he was timid as well as parsimonious; and that when called upon to join the British army with his own forces for the pursuit and chastisement of Vizier Ali and his partisans, he earnestly implored to be excused, upon the grounds that he could not trust his own soldiers, who were little better than an undisciplined rabble. He merely issued circular orders to his officers to be on their guard, and seize the person of Vizier Ali if he should attempt to enter the territory of Oude: and for all the rest he trusted to the English and their large subsidiary force, which had been first established by Mr. Hastings in 1775, and which had been augmented by Sir John Shore in 1798. Ever since the time of Lord Clive, it had been made evident that no king or nabob-vizier of Oude could defend his frontiers or preserve common tranquillity in the interior of the country without the aid of our disciplined battalions.

In the course of the inquiries instituted by Mr. Davis and other servants of the Company, it was very clearly proved that not only a good number of Moham-medan chiefs, but also a considerable number of Hindu baboos or nobles had

promised assistance to Vizier Ali previously to his outbreak. From the evidence adduced there was also ground to suspect that some of the baboos distantly related to the Rajah of Benares had entered into the views of the dethroned nabob, and that a zemindar in the neighbourhood of Benares had actually collected armed men to second that nabob's operations. "It is well known," wrote Mr. Davis to General Erskine, "that this city abounds with armed adventurers, who are ever ready to enter into any service at a moment's notice. There are in the district persons of rank who live and maintain their own guards, without any limitation from government, and who are not under the same subordination to the laws as the other inhabitants." At last the supreme government of Calcutta resolved to put an end to this system, and sent instructions to Mr. Davis to secure the persons of some of the nobles known to have been concerned with Vizier Ali. It was not very easy to execute this last order. One of the baboos occupied a house capable of defence, on the outskirts of the town; three others usually resided together in the fort of Pinderah, distant fourteen miles from Benares, on the Jaunpore road; two more resided in the small fort of Chetaypore on the Chunar side; and a seventh baboo occupied a strong house in the town, with a few of the bravos well known in Benares by the name of bankas.* The best mode of proceeding seemed to be to seize all the baboos by surprise, at the same hour, lest the proceedings against one of them might give the alarm and enable the others to escape. It was also highly important to secure possession of the two forts, and especially that of Pinderah, which was surrounded by the estates and old retain-

* The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, as quoted by Mr. J. F. Davis, in the 'Massacre of Benares,' &c.

* "These bankas are men of all castes; they affect a peculiar way of dressing, half bully and half dandy, strut and swagger about the streets, and are always ready to pick a quarrel or engage in any crime. . . . The term *banka*, by which this sect is distinguished, is derived from the peculiar movement of their sword, in the exercise of which they are proficient. This class of people formerly abounded in Benares, and were the terror of the wealthy and timid, on whose contributions, to avert enmity or secure regard, they were supposed chiefly to subsist."—*J. F. Davis.*

ers of the baboos, and might serve as a point of junction to their adherents. Mr. Davis concerted all the necessary measures with General Erskine. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who has since risen to such high distinction in the Indian service, but who was then a very young man, and assistant to the judge of Benares, was furnished with four companies of infantry and twenty-four troopers to assist him in capturing the baboos in the fort of Pinderah. At the dawn of day Elphinstone reached the fort, and surrounded it so as to prevent any escape. The fort was then entered, and every part of it searched except the zenana, or women's apartments. The retainers declared that the baboos went out hunting two days before, and had not yet returned. A guard was placed over the zenana, but it ultimately proved that the baboos were not there. A seizure was made of fifty matchlocks, forty swords, and some powder and ball. The fort had lately been strengthened; and some new walls with loopholes had been erected. Mr. Elphinstone also discovered a large quantity of papers, and a chest said to contain money; and upon these he put his seal. At the same hour Mr. Sealey, another gentleman of the civil service, supported by two companies of infantry, went to the house of the baboo Juggut Sing, which was the one, capable of defence, on the outskirts of the town. Juggut Sing retired to his zenana, and refused to come forth, though served with a summons of the judge and assured that no personal violence or disgrace was intended. That sanctuary was not to be forced; but his papers were seized, and the house was surrounded with troops to cut off the means of escape. A brahmin, who had served Vizier Ali in the capacity of astrologer, had told Mr. Cherry, four months before the insurrection, that Juggut Sing had pledged himself to restore the de-throned nabob to the musnud of Oude, to make war against the English, to extend his dominions as far as Calcutta, to assemble troops and raise money from the bankers for the purpose of expelling and exterminating the English; that he had received presents and honours from Vizier Ali, had declared that he had ready a

list of sixty of his friends, who would join and take an oath of fidelity to the cause; that he had requested and obtained a secret interview with Vizier Ali, being conveyed by night to a private door adjoining the women's apartments; that at a subsequent meeting the baboo engaged to bring a force of some thousand men well armed, and others undertook to do the same; and that when some one objected to the plot as hazardous, Juggut Sing exclaimed, "I cannot live for ever: how can I lose my life better than in the service of Vizier Ali?" This astrologer, who betrayed his employer, may have invented or exaggerated facts, but the papers found in Juggut Sing's house, and in the residences of the other baboos, proved that a conspiracy had existed for several months, and that Juggut Sing was one of the most active and most influential of the conspirators. The baboo Sheonaut, who occupied the strong house in the town with his bankas, or bravos, was visited at the same moment, and received his visitors with a much more hostile and determined feeling. He was the only one that made a resistance. With five bankas—men as desperate as himself—and with fire-arms and other weapons, he resisted the police. When one of the native police had been killed and another wounded with fire-arms from the windows and other apertures, a party of infantry surrounded the house and stopped their supply of food and water. The baboo and his bravos held out a whole day and night, during which time they received repeated assurances, both verbal and written, that no personal violence or disgrace would be inflicted if they quietly surrendered. They at length rushed out and attacked the soldiers with fury, apparently hoping to take them by surprise and cut their way through them. In the fierce conflict the baboo and one of his bankas were killed, but not before they had killed or wounded several of the soldiers.

Two of the baboos—Juggut Sing and Bowannee Sunker—were tried by a commission with unusual solemnity, and condemned to death. The last named was executed; but Juggut Sing's sentence was commuted for transportation.

He was sent down the Ganges to be embarked, but when he approached the sea he took poison and died, and thus escaped the loss of caste and the other degradations which he had expected to suffer.* Several others of the baboos fled the country; and effectual measures were taken to break up the feudal-like bands of retainers, and to scatter those desperate bravos the bankas.

In the meanwhile Vizier Ali, pursued too closely to be able to make a stand anywhere in the British possessions or in the territories of Oude, sought refuge among the forests on the first range of the Himalaya mountains. There he was joined by freebooters and adventurers of all kinds, so that in a short time he was at the head of several thousand men. With this lawless band he descended into the plains of Goruckpoor, the eastern district of Oude, and threw the reigning nabob-vizier and the whole of that kingdom into alarm. But a British force was soon assembled to oppose the desperate band. They suffered severely in some partial encounters, and finding themselves girded in, and unable to obtain either subsistence or plunder, they lost heart, and fled back towards the mountain forests. Abandoned by most of his people, Vizier Ali fled into Rajpootana, and took refuge with the rajah of Jypoor. The laws of hospitality are held as sacred among the Rajpoots. However disgusted the rajah of Jypoor might be at the crimes of his guest, and however much he might wish to conciliate the British government, he could not venture to surrender Vizier Ali openly, as such a deed would dishonour him in the eyes of his proud and punctilious countrymen; but upon his being given up to Colonel Collins, he attempted to throw the blame of that

breach of hospitality on his chief minister; and he actually imprisoned that functionary for some time, for having, as he said, delivered up his guest to the English without his consent or knowledge. It is not said, however, that the rajah was influenced by any offers of reward, or by any other base motive, to give up the man who had claimed his protection. He stipulated with Colonel Collins that the life of Vizier Ali should be sacred, and that he should not be confined in irons or fetters. Vizier Ali was carried through the city of Benares as a prisoner, on the first anniversary of his insurrection and murders. Being carried down to Calcutta, he was lodged in Fort Willam, in a bomb-proof chamber, divided by strong iron gratings into three parts. The largest part in the centre was occupied by the nabob, and the other two parts were occupied by sentries, one English and one native. At length after many years of captivity in this dull cage, he was transferred to a more comfortable prison in the palace built for Tippon Suldaun's family in the fort of Vellore. There the females of his family subsequently joined him, and there he died a few years ago.

The Earl of Mornington, upon his return to the seat of the supreme government, expressed in warm and hearty terms his admiration of the conduct of the stout-hearted and active judge, attributing the safety of the English residents, and the salvation of the city of Benares from pillage, to the "successful issue of that arduous trial of his prudence, activity, and resolution." Mr. Davis was soon removed to Calcutta, to fill offices of higher trust and importance; and the personal friendship which grew up between him and the governor-general lasted for life.*

The occurrences at Benares and in Oude, Saadut Ali's confession of his own

* "Juggut Sing," says Mr. Davis, "was a man of some talent, but of inordinate vanity. He possessed an excellent Persian library, and was proud of his poetical compositions in that language, which Mussulmans only could appreciate. This was not unlikely to have influenced him in relying on a chief of that religion for his aggrandizement. His delight was to repeat a compliment that had been paid him by a former nabob, who called him 'the nightingale of India.'"

* 'Vizier Ali Khan, or the Massacre of Benares, a chapter in British Indian History,' by J. F. Davis, Esq.

Mr. Davis, by publishing this little volume or tract, has discharged a duty of filial piety, and has done honour to his father's memory. We wish that other sons would follow his example, instead of destroying or altogether neglecting documents and family papers.

helplessness and entire want of confidence in his troops, the invasion and partial devastation of Goruckpoor, by his rival and the mountain robbers, all concurred in fixing the resolution of the governor-general to reduce a part of the mutinous and useless military establishment of the nabob-vizier; and at the same time to increase the efficient force which the Company maintained for the defence of that prince's dominions. Saadut Ali, fully sensible of the dangers to which he was exposed from internal insurrection and from foreign attack, would gladly have received the additional troops of the Company, but the additional pay which was demanded greatly distressed him; and he shuffled and equivocated, in the hope of delaying or frustrating a measure which must go to prevent his accumulating and hoarding up money. By the treaty concluded with Sir John Shore the Company were at liberty to increase the number of their forces serving in Oude, if they deemed it necessary to the security of the two states, or the territories of Oude and those of the Company. After what had happened it was difficult to deny the necessity. The nabob-vizier had himself admitted it: but now he pretended that he could trust his own troops, and that no increase of the subsidiary force was called for. He spoke of abdicating the musnud rather than submit to the governor-general's wishes; he talked about a pilgrimage to Mecca; and it appears that he would gladly have retired if he had been allowed to carry his treasure with him. Lord Mornington ordered the additional force to march into the country, and sent his brother the Honourable Mr. Henry Wellesley* to Lucknow to conclude a treaty by which a territorial cession should be made to the Company, equal to the payment of the increased subsidiary force. Unable any longer to evade compliance, Saadut Ali signed the treaty, allotted some fertile districts, welcomed the new battalions, and disbanded the rabble rout which had been called his army. By this cession, the territories of the Company were interposed as a barrier between the dominions of the vizier

and his foreign enemies; and, although the Company may, by an improved system of management and a better secured tranquillity, have raised the value of the districts ceded, the actual net receipts of that prince's treasury from these districts was not more than the amount which he had before paid to the Company as a fixed subsidy, and much less than he had become liable to pay under the treaty concluded with Sir John Shore. In the present treaty, negotiated by the governor-general's brother, and dated in November, 1801, Saadut Ali agreed to introduce, by means of his own officers, into the extensive territories which remained to him, such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to the security of the lives and property of all the inhabitants. This treaty was final as an arrangement, and productive of great good to both contracting parties. It closed all irritating questions between them; and it fully provided, under every contingency, for the defence of the territories of Oude, for, with fourteen or fifteen thousand disciplined troops, there was little to fear from any enemy that could approach the frontiers, and nothing to apprehend from internal plots or tumults. The country advanced rapidly in prosperity, and, gratified in his love of money by an increase of revenue, the nabob-vizier became contented and grateful, proving by actions, as well as by professions, his attachment to the British government. When the war with the Mahrattas commenced, the governor-general had the satisfaction of receiving the voluntary aid of this prince. Saadut Ali sent as a present a number of fine horses from his stud, sufficient to mount a regiment of dragoons, and contributed, by large loans from his treasury, to the general success of that expensive and extensive war.

Mr. Henry Wellesley, after concluding this treaty of Lucknow, proceeded to take charge of the ceded provinces, as lieutenant-governor, in order to effect a settlement of their boundaries and revenues; an arduous labour which he is said to have performed in a manner as honourable to his own character as it was advantageous to the public interest. The gross

* Now Lord Cowley.

revenue, estimated at one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees in the treaty of Lucknow, was soon raised considerably, and by means which relieved rather than distressed the people.*

In the Carnatic, as in Oude, affairs could not possibly remain on the footing on which they had been left by Sir John Shore. After various and fruitless representations to the Nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah, Lord Mornington proceeded to act with him in the same decided manner with which he acted with Saadut Ali, feeling and expressing his conviction that some new arrangement must be made to save the Company from loss, the nabob from ruin, and the inhabitants from misery and starvation. Omdut-ul-Omrah's negligent, and at times equivocal, conduct during the war with Tippoo Sultaun, and the last siege of Seringapatam, was not calculated to conciliate the governor-general. Soon after the capture of Seringapatam certain documents were discovered among the secret records of the Sultaun, containing conclusive evidence of a secret correspondence having been carried on between Omdut-ul-Omrah and Tippoo, with objects very hostile to the English. These documents were carefully examined by Mr. Edmonstone, the Persian translator. Among them were found a cipher and a key to it, which the nabob had transmitted to the Sultaun.† The papers proved that the nabob had manifested his marked disapprobation of the triple alliance (of the English, Nizam, and Mahrattas) which had reduced the power of the Sultaun; and that he had stigmatized the Nizam as having acted contrary to the dictates of religion, which required that all true Mohammedans should join in support of that cause of which Tippoo Sultaun was the chief pillar; and that his correspondence with the Mysorean had been continued through a series of years. All this was not only in violation of the spirit of Lord Cornwallis's treaty of 1792, but in direct

violation of the letter of one of its most important articles, which stipulated "that the nabob shall not enter into any negotiations or political correspondence with any European or native Power whatever, without the consent of the Company." Lord Clive,* the son of the real founder of our Indian empire, had succeeded Lord Hobart as governor of Madras, and had been authorized by the Earl of Mornington to institute these inquiries, the result of which was a decided conviction in Lord Clive's mind that Omdut-ul-Omrah ought to be deposed, and that his territories, or the civil and military government of them, ought to be henceforward placed in the hands of the Company. Lord Clive wrote to the governor-general,—

"With this strong evidence of internal treachery, and of open opposition to our interests in the Carnatic, established by treaty, it is my deliberate opinion, that a further adherence to the letter of the treaty of 1792, while the Nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah has been, and now is, perfidiously betraying the spirit and substance of the alliance between him and the Company, would be as inconsistent with the true principles of public faith, as it would be obviously incompatible with the preservation of our just rights and interests.

"On these grounds, I have no hesitation in recommending to your Lordship the immediate assumption of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, under such provisions as your lordship may be pleased to authorize for his highness the nabob, his highness's family, and the principal officers of his government."

Upon the receipt of this dispatch, the governor-general, whose activity was prodigious, resolved to proceed to Madras, if not to Arcot, as soon as the season permitted, for the purpose of settling in person an arrangement in the Carnatic. Finding, however, that the state of affairs in Oude and other business would prevent his quitting Bengal, he, in the month of March, 1801, directed Lord Clive to send Mr. Webbe, the chief executive officer of the Madras government, to Calcutta, in

* Malcolm, 'Polit. Hist.,' Marquess Wellesley, 'Ind. Dispatches.'

† It was discovered by the key to the cipher that the English were designated by the name of *Taza Wareds*, or *new comers*; the Nizam by that of *Fleech*, or *nothing*; and the Mahrattas by that of *Pooch*, or *contemptible*.

* The present Earl Powis.

order that he might have the fullest communication with that very able and experienced officer, previously to issuing his final instructions for the settlement of the Carnatic. Mr. Webbe had scarcely reached Fort William when the alarming state of Omdut-ul-Omrah induced Lord Clive to address a letter to the governor-general, stating the conduct he intended to pursue if the nabob should die before his final instructions reached him. Lord Clive's plan was to assume the civil and military power of the Carnatic in the name of the Company, until the Earl of Mornington's plan for its government should be finally arranged. By this time the governor-general was in possession of letters and instructions from home, authorizing the proceedings he had contemplated. The president of the Board of Control coincided in the conclusions which his lordship had drawn from the documents found in Seringapatam, and in the measures which he intended to adopt; the secret committee of the Court of Directors expressed their entire approbation of the resolution which the governor-general had taken, of demanding some more certain pledges of the fidelity of the nabob of the Carnatic than the Company then possessed. Many months before this, and at a period antecedent to the war with Tippoo Sultaun and the discovery of the nabob's treacherous correspondence with that inveterate enemy of the English, the secret committee of the Court of Directors had written to the governor-general:—"In the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun, the respective countries of the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore will of course come under the Company's management; and we direct, that they be not relinquished without special orders from us, or from the Court of Directors, for that purpose, in order to afford sufficient time for the formation of arrangements for relieving those respective princes from all encumbrances on their revenues." This clearly proves that previously to the discovery of Omdut-ul-Omrah's treachery, the Indian government in England contemplated a departure from the stipulation of the treaty of 1792, of which the restoration of the

nabob's country at the conclusion of the war, unless in certain cases (which had not occurred at the date of the secret committee's order), was an express condition. This instruction indeed was conclusive as to the principle upon which the Court of Directors desired that all transactions with the nabob should be regulated. Lord Mornington determined to act upon this principle without any delay; and delay must have been the more dangerous, as most of the territories under Fort St. George were in a disturbed or very uneasy state. In the first instance, however, he merely wrote to Lord Clive to prosecute the inquiry into the nabob's conduct, by a personal examination of his vakeels or agents, and of some officers of the late Tippoo Sultaun, who knew the secrets of the intrigue. He had already directed that the Governor of Madras should take no decisive step unless the nabob died; but, in case of that event, Lord Clive was instructed to raise to the musnud either Hoossein Ali, the reputed son of Omdut-ul-Omrah, or Azeem-ul-Dowlah, the acknowledged son of Ameer-ul-Omrah, under the previous condition that the nabob elect should resign to the Company the entire civil and military administration of the Carnatic, and rest satisfied with the titles and honours of sovereignty, and an annual stipend to be paid by the Company out of the revenues of the country. But the elevation of either of these two princes was to be considered as a measure of expediency, not of right; the governor-general considering the right of the whole family as forfeited by the conduct of Omdut-ul-Omrah. The government of Madras was directed to make the first offer to the reputed son of Omdut-ul-Omrah: if he refused to subscribe to the conditions, the musnud was to be offered to Azeem-ul-Dowlah; and if this prince rejected the offer, the Madras government was to refer for further orders to the governor-general.

Omdut-ul-Omrah continued very sick, but did not die quite so soon as was expected. In the meanwhile the condition of the Carnatic became worse and worse, the nabob's officials and usurers grinding the faces of the poor inhabitants. To

have left the country in this condition would have been equally cruel and impolitic. On the 28th of May, Lord Mornington sent more decisive instructions to Lord Clive. After stating that his highness the nabob was reduced by his own bad conduct to the condition of a public enemy, that he had forfeited every claim to the confidence of the Company, and that he could no longer be permitted, either in justice or in policy, to retain the possession of resources greater than were requisite for the support of the rank which it should be judged proper to permit him to hold, the governor-general directed Lord Clive to stipulate with his highness for the complete resignation of the civil and military government, upon condition of his receiving a stipend not exceeding three, and not under two, lacs of pagodas annually, independent of a provision for the other branches of his family, his principal officers, &c. Lord Clive was instructed to make the nabob acquainted with the proofs of his treachery which were in the possession of the British government, and to show him that he had no claim to either forbearance or generosity. In case of the nabob's refusing this treaty, Lord Clive was commanded to assume the country under a proclamation, which accompanied the letter of instructions, and which exhibited the causes of that measure. But in every case, Lord Clive was to provide in a liberal manner for the nabob's support, as well as for that of his family, state officers, &c. When the governor-general's instructions reached Madras, the state of the nabob's health was so bad as to prevent Lord Clive taking any immediate measures. During this period of inaction on the part of the English, different branches of the nabob's family, quite certain of his speedy dissolution, commenced intrigues for the succession, which convulsed the palace and disturbed the whole country; and a body of men were secretly introduced into the palace by the dying nabob's brother, Hissam-ul-Mulk, who was loud in asserting his claim to the musnud. All this obliged Lord Clive to send a detachment of the Company's troops to occupy the chief entrance into the palace, to preserve order and tranquillity, and to

guard against the seizure of any treasure or property belonging to the nabob. That dying prince expressed his satisfaction at this step. On the 15th of July, 1801, the nabob expired. A few hours after he heard the news, Lord Clive deputed Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant-Colonel Close to confer with the principal officers of the court, and the two advisers of Hoossein Ali, the reputed son of the deceased ruler. These khans refused to enter into any treaty which was grounded on the basis of the civil and military government of the country being vested in the Company. The two commissioners then desired to have a personal interview and conference with Hoossein Ali himself, who was not a child, but a youth of eighteen years of age—an age at which the moral and physical powers of man are fully developed in India, and at which many nabobs had ascended the musnud and governed for themselves. The khans pleaded that the youth was inexperienced and incapable of deciding on high state interests; but the commissioners insisted upon seeing him, and at length the khans reluctantly consented. The conference took place on the 19th of July. The young man, acting or speaking as he was prompted by the khans, expressed an aversion to the proposed treaty, and declared that he must be guided by the advice of the two khans who had been appointed his guardians by the late nabob. Colonel Close and Mr. Webbe then informed the nobles that Lord Clive himself was coming to have an interview with Hoossein Ali, and that his lordship would soon be in the tent of the British officer commanding the troops stationed at the palace. The khans raised many objections to this visit and endeavoured to delay it; but finding their arguments of no avail, they went away to prepare Hoossein Ali's equipage and retinue. As soon as they were gone, the young man whispered to the two commissioners that he had been deceived by his guardians, and that he was ready to go to the tent and meet Lord Clive, without attending to the khans. In a very short time his lordship and the young nabob met in the tent, from which all the khans were presently ordered to withdraw. As those nobles disappeared, all objections

disappeared. The only anxiety displayed by the young man was about the provision for his personal expenses, and his power over the treasure of the late nabob, which he seemed to consider as large. He agreed that a treaty should be made out upon the basis proposed by the governor-general; declaring his conviction that such a treaty would prove beneficial to himself and his family. But, at another conference which took place on the following day, in the presence of the khans, the young man entirely changed his tone, and declared his fixed resolution to be guided by his guardians. It was thought that this extraordinary change might have proceeded from fear. The khans and the attendants were therefore dismissed, and Hoosein Ali was left in the tent tête-à-tête with Lord Clive. Contrary to expectation, his lordship found the youth firm and sullen. He declared that he would face every danger rather than submit to the conditions proposed. After trying a variety of arguments, Lord Clive, finding that he remained unmoved, informed him that he had forfeited all claims to consideration, and must abide the consequences.

The musnud was now offered, under the same conditions, to Azeem-ul-Dowlah. Difficulties of a serious nature occurred: this prince was kept in a most rigorous confinement by the khans; the commissioners could not get at him; and it was feared that, should his intended elevation be known, it might prove dangerous to his life. These difficulties were removed by the bold proceedings of the khans, which evinced a contempt of the Company's authority, and which required active and instant measures. These nobles privately placed Hoosein Ali on the musnud, and prepared to proclaim him publicly. Upon this Lord Clive gave immediate orders to the Company's troops to take possession of the palace, and remove all the nabob's guards. No resistance was offered: every part of the palace was occupied; the nabob's guards quietly withdrew; Azeem-ul-Dowlah was liberated from his prison, and had a guard of honour allotted to him. The liberated prince was grateful and submissive; on the 25th of July he concluded the treaty

with Colonel Close and Mr. Webbe, upon the basis laid down by the governor-general; and on the 26th he was introduced to Lord Clive, and conducted to the palace of Ameer Bagh, which had formerly been the residence of his father. By this treaty all the powers of government were delivered over in perpetuity to the Honourable East India Company, and were totally and for ever renounced by the nabob. Including all his allowances, nearly one-fifth of the revenues of the Carnatic was made over to the nabob; and he was relieved from the crushing weight of debt which had been created by his predecessors, which had encumbered the revenues of the country, and which was rapidly destroying all classes of the inhabitants. The Company engaged to liquidate, by degrees, all such portions of this great debt as should be proved to be just.* An end was thus put to that divided rule which had proved so great a curse; and the nabob was limited to that only sort of life for which nabobs were fit—a life of form and ceremony, of ease and magnificence. Ever since the conquests of the first and great Lord Clive, the rulers of the Carnatic, like those of Bengal and other countries, were virtually nothing but vassals and dependants on the English, without whose aid not one of them could have kept his seat on the musnud, or could have defended his country either from intestine troubles or from foreign invasion. In this light, and in none other, were they considered by their own subjects, and by all their neighbours. Their territories were substantially territories conquered by the sword and by policy, although the English chose to exercise the rights of conquest with gentleness and forbearance, and to cover over the real condition of the nabobs with strange metaphysical distinctions and refinements. Out of these quibbles sprang innumerable difficulties and embarrassments to our governors-general, to our judges of the supreme court at Calcutta, and to other functionaries; as well as many woes and long-

* Treaties published by the East India Company. 'Marquess Wellesley's Despatches.' 'Sir John Malcolm's Political Hist. Ind.'

sufferings to the oppressed and distracted natives, who were often driven to despair by their mock rulers or nabobs, while the real sovereign power merely looked on. If the rights of sovereignty had been assumed—if the Company or nation had frankly proclaimed themselves, what they were *de facto*, the lords and rulers of the Carnatic, Oude, &c.—many evils might have been avoided : if when, by arms or by policy, the English first obtained dominion over these principalities and powers, they had assumed their proper style and title, instead of calling themselves protectors, allies, auxiliaries, and the like (with a false moderation of language which deceived no one, either in Europe or in Asia), the great Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Marquess Wellesley would have been relieved from many a false position, and actions not always warranted by their *nominal* relations with the native princes would have been reconcilable to the Law of Nations.

The Rajah of Tanjore, the neighbour of the late Nabob of the Carnatic, was quite as dependent as that prince upon the Company, and had been quite as unfaithful to his treaties. On a more limited scale his government was equally destructive of industry and prosperity. He behaved so badly during Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo Suldaun, that the English deliberated even then upon the propriety of taking the government out of his hands. During Lord Harris's campaign and the siege of Seringapatam, he corresponded with the enemy, withheld the assistance he was bound to give to the English, and committed other offences. There was a claimant to the musnud who pleaded a more legitimate right to it, and who was ready to purchase his elevation by complying with the will of the Company ; and as early as the end of October, 1799, Ameer Sing was dethroned, and Serfojee was put in his place, but not until he had resigned for ever all the powers of government to the English, and accepted a pension of one lac of star pagodas, with a fifth of the revenues.

In another and distant quarter a dependent and almost fictitious government was broken up. The nabob of Surat had

long owed his political existence to the presidency of Bombay, who had garrisoned and held the castle of Surat, and had otherwise supported and defended him at a great expense. In 1797 the Court of Directors and the Bombay government expressed their impatience at the unliquidated and increasing debt, and called upon the nabob to reform his system, to disband his own undisciplined and mutinous soldiery, and assign to the Company funds sufficient to maintain three battalions of sepoys. After long pressing, the nabob agreed to pay one lac and thirty thousand rupees per annum to the Company ; but before the treaty was finished he died, leaving only an infant son, who followed him to the grave in a very few weeks. The succession was claimed by the nabob's brother, who had no chance of success except through the countenance and assistance of the English. The government of Bombay refused to establish him on the musnud unless he agreed to pay the troops and the arrears due for them, and to admit a regular court of judicature. The claimant hesitated, equivocated ; and thereupon, on the 10th of March, 1800, the governor-general ordered him to be set aside, and the government and revenues of Surat to be assumed by the English. A liberal allowance was made to the claimant. However distasteful this arrangement may have been to the helpless nabob, it was acceptable and highly beneficial to the people, who had repeatedly applied to the government of Bombay for protection against their native rulers, and for security to their property and trade. It was the English, and the English alone, that had preserved the city from the destructive conquests of the Mahrattas ; and it was at the invitation of the inhabitants that the English had first taken possession of the castle of Surat. This was not a place to be left to the misrule and confusion which inseparably accompany a double or divided rule. Though declined from its ancient prosperity and magnificence, Surat, the capital of Guzerat, was still one of the most populous cities in all India, and being advantageously situated on the south bank of the Tuptee river, at the distance of only twenty miles

from the sea, its commerce was still considerable. It was inhabited by Mussulmans, Hindus, Parsees, and Borahs, and was frequented for the purposes of trade by people of other religions; and to preserve tranquillity in the city by checking the fanatical ebullitions of the followers of so many hostile faiths was a task which had far exceeded the power and faculties of the nabobs. Surat had been for many years the head-quarters of anarchy and assassination. In 1795 the Mohammedan and Hindu inhabitants waged a ferocious war upon one another in the streets, and committed atrocities which scared away many of the more pacific denizens and visitors, upon whose industry and trade the prosperity of the city mainly depended. There was no police, no law, no regularity in the collection of the taxes and port duties, no redress for any grievances, except occasionally by appeal to the British resident or to the pre-

sidency of Bombay; and Lord Mornington appears to have been justified in saying that the nabobs had proved themselves as incompetent to conduct the internal affairs of this populous city as to provide for its external defence. Here, as in Tanjore and in the Carnatic, the assumption of all the powers of government by the Company was felt as a blessing by the people; and if the ancient prosperity of Surat has not been restored, the cause is to be sought for, not in the mismanagement of the Company, but in natural circumstances over which government can exercise very little control. But now, at least, the reign of law and a good police are established, and the Mohammedan prays in his mosque, the Hindu performs his religious rites, and the Parsee, the disciple of Zoroaster, worships the Almighty power in the rising and the setting sun, without shedding each other's blood.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARQUESS WELLESLEY CONTINUED.

It was highly necessary that the British power in India should be consolidated, and its command of resources extended, for when the governor-general had effected his settlements in Oude, the Carnatic, Tanjore, and Surat, he found himself on the verge of a long and most costly war. Tippoo was in his grave; but a new and formidable enemy to the English had started up in the Mahratta confederacy; and a clever Frenchman was lending the aid of his military knowledge and genius to these warlike Hindus. This Frenchman was M. Perron, of whom some mention has been already made. He had first come to the country as a petty officer of a ship with Admiral Suffrein, in the year 1782, when the government of Louis XVI. was making a desperate struggle with the genius and resources of Warren Hastings for the supremacy in Hindustan. After a variety of adventures he became quartermaster-sergeant to a corps containing some Frenchmen in the service of Scindiah. He fought for this chief in more than one great battle, and was gradually raised to the rank of a general, and to the command in chief of Scindiah's forces, the best and select portion of which owed to him the good discipline it had attained. A wide territory in the Jumna region was assigned to him by his thankful employer: he displayed much of the pomp and exercised much of the sovereignty of an Oriental potentate; and when, in 1793, that flitting phantom the Mogul emperor, Shah Alum, became the prisoner of Scindiah, it was to this once poor and lowly Frenchman, this *ci-devant* petty officer in Suffrein's squadron, that the custody of his person was confided. His honours, his wealth, and his authority excited the envy and malice of many of the Mahratta chiefs. In 1802, when

Scindiah made war upon the Peishwa, or Mahratta sovereign of Poonah, and expelled him from his dominions, Perron lent his valuable assistance. The dispossessed Peishwa applied for assistance to the English, who had long conceived apprehensions of the turbulent spirit, the ambition, and power of Scindiah; and on the 31st of December, 1802, a subsidiary treaty was concluded at Bassein. The Nizam of the Deccan joined with the English and the Peishwa, while the powerful Rajah of Berar united his forces to those of Scindiah. The governor-general had three great objects in view—to restore the comparatively pacific and friendly Peishwa, to destroy or dissipate the formidable disciplined forces which Perron had raised, and which contained several other French officers, and to defeat Scindiah's vast plans of encroachment and aggrandizement, which were threatening to convulse the whole of India from the Himalaya Mountains to Cape Comorin. Hordes of banditti had been for some time daily pouring in from Malwa and Hindustan, to enrol themselves at Poonah under the banners of Scindiah, who promised them plunder as well as pay. It was impossible that these devouring armies should limit their operations to the Mahratta states, or to the contest for the sovereignty of those countries: they must be early forced by want, if not invited by policy, to invade the richer territories of the British government or the territories of its allies. The scene too was open to French intrigue. The governor-general had received intelligence of the peace of Amiens, which would allow the French to revisit India as friends, and then to renew their correspondence with all the enemies of the English. If Scindiah were allowed to

establish a complete ascendancy over the Mahratta empire, from the banks of the Ganges to the Sea of Malabar, there could be little doubt in the mind of any man acquainted with the constitution of the army of that chief, and the influence and authority of the French officers by whom it was commanded, that the French nation might in a very few years aid him to the consolidation of a military power which would have struck at the very existence of the British government in India. Scindiah, and his father before him, had owed their power to French officers, to French arms, and to French counsels. The present ruler was so familiarized to their systems, manners, and feelings, as to be almost half a Frenchman himself. The Peishwa, in imploring for English assistance, had engaged to receive a subsidiary English force, and to cede, for its subsistence and pay, territories rendering an annual revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The Peishwa at the same time engaged to identify his interests with those of the Company, and to conclude a defensive alliance on the basis of the treaty of Hyderabad, which Lord Mornington had concluded with the Nizam of the Deccan. In the treaty of Bassein as finally concluded, on the 31st of December, 1802, these conditions were inserted. Moreover the Peishwa renounced all claims to Surat and to the other districts in Guzerat which had recently been assumed by the Company; he agreed to abide by the arbitration of the Company in all his unsettled disputes with the Nizam; and he also engaged to discharge from his service any Europeans that belonged to nations hostile to the English, or that were discovered meditating injury or carrying on intrigues injurious to the interests of the English. In return, the English government bound itself to furnish to the Peishwa a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry, with a complement of field-pieces and European artillerymen. The treaty of Bassein was confirmed by the governor-general on the 11th of February, 1803.

By the treaty of Amiens, Pondicherry and their other factories had been restored to the French. The Court of Directors conceived that this peace would be lasting,

and therefore strongly recommended economy and retrenchment to their governor-general. But Lord Mornington and his brother never thought that there was any chance of remaining at peace with Bonaparte, and his lordship therefore wisely abstained from making any sudden reduction in the Indian army. In taking re-possession of Pondicherry, the French officers acted with consummate imprudence, betraying the intentions of their master to make that city the centre of political intrigue, to sap the power of the Company while the peace lasted, and on the renewal of war to contend once more with the English for dominion over the East. The views of the French government in resuming these Indian possessions under the treaty of Amiens, were fully developed in a memoir drawn up by Monsieur Lefebvre, an officer attached to the staff that was formed for Pondicherry. It pointed out the possibility of a French army reaching India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea. While the English would be directing all their attention to defeat the advance of this armament from the west, one secret expedition could be prepared to proceed from Spain by way of Mexico to Manilla, and another secret expedition, to be provided by the Dutch, could proceed by the Cape of Good Hope to the Spanish islands in the Indian Ocean, and from thence to Trincomalee in Ceylon, a port of the greatest importance to the English navy. It was calculated that these three joint expeditions, aided by the Mahrattas and other native powers inimical to the English, must inflict an irreparable blow on the interests of Great Britain in India, and that, if those interests were once destroyed, the invasion and conquest of England would be easy achievements. According to M. Lefebvre's *projet*, the French and their auxiliaries, on arriving in Hindustan, were to declare that they came to give liberty and independence to the native princes, to liberate the Great Mogul from thralldom, and to reconstruct the once magnificent empire of Timour.

If Bonaparte (without doing anything else) could have forwarded encouragement, money, and support to that adventurer, Perron had abilities, and occupied

a position, which might long have proved very dangerous to the British power in India; although it does not appear that Perron had either much regard for Bonaparte or much nationality. It was thought that his leading passion was a love of money; and Lord Wellesley seems to have calculated on that passion as affording the means of detaching him from his old Indian master, and bringing him into the pay of the Company. When General Lake took the field with an army of 10,500 men, to co-operate with which force 3500 men were assembled near Allahabad, and about 2000 at Mirzapoor, the governor-general, who had previously instructed him to make every possible effort to destroy and scatter or win over Perron's brigades, wrote to Lake:—"It would be highly desirable to detach M. Perron from Scindiah's service, by *pacific negotiation*. M. Perron's inclination certainly is to dispose of his power to a French purchaser; but I should not be surprised if he were to be found ready to enter into terms with us; *provided he could obtain sufficient security for his personal interests*. I empower your excellency to conclude any agreement for the security of M. Perron's personal interests and property, accompanied by any *reasonable remuneration* from the British government, which shall induce him to deliver up the whole of his military resources and power, together with his territorial possessions and the person of the *Mogul*, and of the heir-apparent, into your excellency's hands. The same principle applies generally to M. Perron's European officers. And the proclamations with which I have furnished your excellency will enable you to avail yourself of the first opportunity of offering propositions to those officers, or to the several corps under M. Perron's command." It appears, however, that these ingenious proclamations and the correspondence opened did not produce the expected effect. That adventurer took the field with 16,000 or 17,000 infantry disciplined in the European manner, a large body of irregular infantry, from 15,000 to 20,000 Mahratta horse, and a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. But in the meantime the younger

brother of the governor-general, now Major-General Wellesley, had made a dash upon Poonah, had balked and driven out the Mahratta troops of Holkar, had saved, by a most rapid and brilliant movement,* that capital of the Peishwa from being burned by Holkar's people, and had reinstated that prince in his dominions. The Peishwa re-entered his capital early in the month of May. No opposition was offered to him; on the contrary, he was received by his subjects with demonstrations of joy and affection, and all the principal chiefs of the southern part of the Mahratta empire renewed their allegiance to him, and gave their approbation and sanction to the treaty which he had concluded with the English. Several of these great chiefs, whose power resembled that of the great English barons in the time of the feudal system, and who had not made their appearance at court for many years, now hastened to Poonah, with their mail-clad and lance-bearing followers. At first it was thought that the war would end here, and that Scindiah, awed by the strength and popularity of the restored Peishwa, and by the energy of the English generals, would endeavour to conclude a treaty of peace. But Scindiah gave ear to the confident assurance of M. Perron, and counted upon the number and efficiency of his disciplined corps. His great ally Holkar, too, was all for war. Holkar, who fled before General Wellesley without fighting, joined his forces to those of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar. These allies

* It was in this beginning of the campaign, and through means which will presently be explained, that General Wellesley made a new era in our Indian warfare. To use his own words:

"We marched to Poonah from Seringapatam, the distance being nearly 600 miles, in the worst season of the year, through a country which had been destroyed by Holkar's army, with heavy guns, at the rate, upon an average, of thirteen and a half miles a day, and if the twelve days which we halted on the Toombudra for orders be excluded, we arrived at Poonah in two months from the time we marched. On this march we lost no draught-cattle. I remained in the neighbourhood of Poonah, in a country which deserves the name of a desert, for six weeks; and then marched again with the train in the same state as to numbers as when it left Seringapatam, and the troops and cattle were in the field during the monsoon."
—*Wellington Dispatches*.

assumed a very high tone. Their confederacy seemed the more dangerous as Scindiah possessed several convenient seaports through which he might receive assistance, if any should be sent him, from France, and as, conformably to the treaty of Amiens, the French had just now taken possession of their Indian factories. The energetic governor-general, whose plans were worked out by men as energetic as himself, resolved to allow the confederates no time. As in the days of Warren Hastings, immense marches were undertaken, and were performed with a much more astonishing precision and rapidity.

While General Lake marched towards Delhi, taking by storm, as he passed it, the important fortress of Ali-Ghur, General Wellesley kept the chief command of all the British and allied troops serving in the territories of the Peishwa and the Nizam of the Deccan, having full powers to direct all the political affairs of the British government in those countries.* After some fruitless negotiations with Scindiah, Wellesley marched from Poonah to the north, and, after sustaining a great loss in carriage-cattle, he reached Ahmednugur, a strong place garrisoned by Scindiah's troops, which he forthwith took by escalade. On the 24th of August he crossed the Godavery river, and on the 29th of that month he entered Aurungabad. On the same day that he crossed the Godavery, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, having avoided a corps under Colonel Stevenson, rushed with an immense army of cavalry, and of cavalry alone, into the Nizam's territory, by the Adjunttee ghaut or pass, intending to plunder and ravage, to cross the Godavery, and to march upon Hyderabad. "I hope," said Wellesley on the 30th, "to be able to strike a blow against their myriads of horse in a few days, if I should not be so unlucky as to have the Godavery become fordable about six weeks sooner than usual." He accordingly returned to that river and moved eastward along its northern bank to intercept the enemy and place himself between them and the very important city

of Hyderabad. Scindiah and the Rajah immediately altered their course, striking away in the direction of Julnapoor; but Colonel Stevenson got there before them with the Nizam's auxiliary force, and made sure of that town. On the 12th of September Wellesley was encamped about twenty miles to the north of the Godavery, Colonel Stevenson being at some distance from him. From the rapidity of their movement it was no easy matter to come up with the Mah-ratta cavalry, who were committing terrible depredations; but Stevenson once or twice beat up their camp by making night marches. About the middle of September, Wellesley received information that Scindiah had been reinforced by sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and a large train of artillery; and that the whole of his and the Rajah's forces were now assembled near the banks of the Kaitna. On the 21st he drew nearer to Colonel Stevenson's corps, and held a conference with that distinguished officer, in which a general plan of attack was concerted. On the 22nd Colonel Stevenson took the western route, and Wellesley the eastern, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna. They expected to join forces and attack the enemy early on the morning of the 24th. But on the 23rd the general received a report that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off that morning with their myriads of horse, and that their infantry were about to follow, but were as yet in camp at the distance of about six miles from him. General Wellesley therefore determined to march upon the infantry and engage it at once. He sent a messenger to Colonel Stevenson, who was at the moment about eight miles off on his left, to acquaint him with his intention and to direct his advance with all possible rapidity; he then moved forward with the 19th light dragoons and three regiments of native cavalry to reconnoitre. His infantry, consisting of only two British and five sepoy battalions, followed with all their speed. After he had ridden about four miles Wellesley, from an elevated plain, saw not only the infantry, but the whole Mah-ratta force, consisting of about 50,000

* Wellington Dispatches.



Fortress of Ali Ghur.

men, encamped on the north side of the Kaitna, where the banks of that river were very steep and rocky. Their right, consisting of cavalry, extended to Bokerdon; their left, consisting of infantry, with 90 pieces of artillery, lay near the fortified village of Assaye, which has given its name to the memorable battle. No thought of retreat was entertained. Wellesley resolved to attack the infantry on its left and rear, and for that purpose he moved his little army to a ford a little beyond the enemy's left, leaving the Mysore and other irregular cavalry to watch the Mahratta cavalry, and crossing the river only with his regular horse and infantry. He passed the ford, ascended the steep bank, and formed his men in three lines, two of infantry and the third of horse. This was effected under a brisk cannonade from the enemy's artillery. Scindiah, or the European officer who directed his movements, promptly made a corresponding change in his line, giving a new front to his infantry, which was now made to rest its right on the river and its left upon the village of Assaye and the Juah stream, which flowed in a parallel direction with the Kaitna. Scindiah's numerous and well-served cannon did terrible execution among Wellesley's advancing lines, killing men and bullocks, and drowning the weak sound of his scanty artillery. At one moment such a gap was made by cannon-ball in the English right, that some of the Mahratta cavalry attempted to charge through it; but the British cavalry in the third line came up and drove the Mahrattas back with great slaughter. Finding his artillery of little or no use (the guns could not be brought up for lack of bullocks), General Wellesley gave orders to leave it in the rear, and bade the infantry charge with the bayonet. His steady, resolute advance in the teeth of their guns had already awed the Mahrattas, who would not stand to meet the collision of the bright English steel: their infantry gave way, and abandoned their terrible guns. One body of them formed again, and presented a bold front; but Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell charged them with the British cavalry, broke and dispersed them, and was killed in the mo-

ment of victory. Wellesley's sepoy's having proceeded too far in pursuit, many of Scindiah's artillerymen, who had thrown themselves down among the carriages of their guns as though they were dead, got to their feet again and turned their pieces against the rear of the advancing sepoy's; and at the same time the Mahratta cavalry, which had been hovering round throughout the battle, were still near. But Maxwell's exploits speedily led to the silencing of this straggling artillery fire, and to the headlong flight of Scindiah's disciplined infantry, who went off, and left 90 pieces of cannon, nearly all brass and of the proper calibres, in the hands of the conqueror. General Wellesley led the 78th British infantry in person against the village of Assaye, which was not cleared without a desperate combat. It was near dark night when the firing ceased. The splendid victory cost General Wellesley 22 officers and 386 men killed, and 57 officers and 1526 men wounded: excluding the irregular cavalry, which remained on the other side of the river, and had not been engaged, the total number of killed and wounded amounted to nearly one-third of his force. The general himself had two horses killed under him, one shot and the other piked; every one of his staff officers had one or two horses killed, and his orderly's head was knocked off by a cannon-ball as he rode close by his side. The enemy, who fled towards the Adjunttee Ghaut, through which they had passed into the Deccan, left 1200 dead, and a great number badly wounded, on the field of battle.*

Shout, Britain, for the battle of Assaye,

For that was a day

When we stood in our array,

Like a lion turn'd to bay,

And the battle-word was conquer or die!†

The native cavalry of Fort St. George emulated the bravery and stamina of that splendid regiment the 19th light dragoons. At the most critical moment of the battle, which still ranks amongst the hardest fought of those that have been

* General Wellesley's own Dispatches and Letters, as printed in Colonel Gurwood's invaluable collection. Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War in India,' &c.

† Indian War-Song.

gained by the illustrious Wellington, the British dragoons, when making their extremest efforts, saw their Asiatic fellow-soldiers "keep pace for pace and blow for every blow."^{*}

Colonel Stevenson, who had encountered some unexpected obstacles, arrived at Assaye on the 24th, and was immediately dispatched after the flying enemy, whose infantry was, as usual, left behind and abandoned by the cavalry.

While these things were doing in the south, General Lake continued both his advance upon Delhi and his correspondence with Perron. This Frenchman now found great difficulty in keeping his army together and in preserving any discipline; a large portion of his cavalry left his camp and turned their horses' heads homewards, declaring their inability to oppose the English; and, what was still more fatal, his own French officers began to intrigue and plot against him. After making a spiritless demonstration near Ali-Ghur, he retreated without fighting, and with about 15,000 men, on the 29th of August. The town of Coel threw open its gates at Lake's approach; but the garrison of Ali-Ghur, the ordinary residence of Perron, and his principal military dépôt, made a desperate resistance. On the 4th of September storming-parties, headed by Colonel Monson and Major Macleod, carried the place: 2000 of the garrison perished, the rest surrendered or fled out of the fort. On the very same day, however, five companies of Lake's sepoys, who had been left with only one gun to occupy a detached position commanding the road through which provisions must be brought up, found themselves under the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. They had been attacked on the 2nd by a cloud of cavalry commanded by a Frenchman of the name of Fleury. This time the sepoys beat off their numerous assailants; but on the 4th the Frenchman led the Mahrattas back to the attack, and the sepoys, having consumed nearly all their ammunition, were compelled to capitulate. Before the reinforcements sent by General Lake could reach the spot, Fleury

and his flying horse had disappeared in the wide country behind the Jumna. Some days before the capture of Ali-Ghur and his dépôt, Perron wrote to Lake, expressing a desire to effect some arrangement which might preclude the necessity of any actual contest between the English and the troops he commanded; and, even previously to this, he had applied for leave to pass through the Company's territories, intending, he said, to quit the service of Scindiah and return to Europe. These applications were followed up by the Frenchman sending a confidential agent to the English camp. This agent had a long private interview with General Lake, and is generally believed to have returned to his principal with a large sum of money in specie or in drafts upon the treasury at Calcutta. On the 7th of September (three days after the storming of Ali-Ghur), Lake received a letter from Perron, stating that he had quitted the service of Scindiah, and now requested permission to pass with his family, his effects, and the officers of his suite, through the Company's dominions to Lucknow. He stated as reasons for his retiring, that he had received intelligence that his successor had been appointed, and was already on his way to take his command from him; and that the treachery and ingratitude of his European officers had convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless. The permission demanded was readily granted by General Lake, who, as well as the governor-general, attached great importance to the withdrawing of the very able French adventurer. As Perron began his journey for Lucknow, General Lake, starting from Ali-Ghur, resumed his march upon Delhi. On the 11th of September the English general received intelligence that the army which had belonged to Perron, and which was now commanded by another Frenchman, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi, under cover of night, with the intention of fighting a battle for the defence of the ancient capital of the Great Moguls, but which was now the prison of the feeble representative of Timour. Lake's troops were fatigued with a long march, and oppressed by the

^{*} Quarterly Review, No. xxxvi.

heat of the day, when they reached their ground of encampment, about six miles from Delhi; and they had scarcely pitched their tents before their outposts were attacked by some of the Frenchman's squadrons. This officer, named Louis Bourquien, had 19,000 men under his command; and he had posted his main body on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank, so that it was only their front that could be attacked, and that front was defended by a line of entrenchments, and a great number of cannon—almost as many as were turned against General Wellesley at Assaye. Lake had only 4500 men; but there was some admirable British infantry among them. By some ingenious movements, he tempted the enemy from their heights and entrenchments down to the plain; and, when they thought he was about to fly from the field, he turned upon them with one short volley, and then with the bayonet. They could not stand the charge—they ran towards their guns, which they had brought down to the plain, and which opened a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. But another volley and another bayonet charge drove them from their now exposed pieces; a charge of Lake's cavalry, and some rounds from his flying artillery, completed the *débâcle*; and the enemy fled to the banks of the Jumna, and beyond that river, leaving behind them 3000 or 4000 of their number killed, wounded, or prisoners, sixty-eight cannon—the whole of their artillery, a great quantity of ammunition, and their military chest. While it lasted, the affair had been very hot: General Lake had his horse shot under him, and three or four hundred of his people were laid low by the grape and chain shot. On the following morning Lake encamped opposite to the city of Delhi, which, together with the fort, was evacuated by those who held the Mogul in thralldom. On the 14th of September, Louis Bourquien and four other French officers who had fought in the late action surrendered as prisoners of war in the British camp; on the 16th General Lake paid a visit to Shah Alum, who had long before expressed his anxious wish to avail himself of the protection of the British

government, and this visit was accompanied with processions and pomps of an extraordinary kind. The Mogul, who was now old and blind, and miserably poor, received General Lake as a deliverer, and gave him—which was about all he could give—a series of sounding Oriental titles, as “The Sword of the State, the Hero of the Land, the Lord of the Age, and the Victorious in War.” [The aged descendant of the great Timour had some reason to rejoice at being received into British protection; Scindiah had tyrannized over him in the most barbarous fashion, and, before Scindiah had gotten possession of his person and of his dominions, a chief named Gholaum Khadur had struck out one of his eyes with his own dagger, had ordered a domestic of the palace to deprive the emperor of his remaining eye, and, meeting a refusal, had struck off the servant's head with one stroke of his scymitar.] Another of the French adventurers surrendered; and now no military man of any note or ability, of that nation, remained in this part of India. From Delhi General Lake proceeded to Agra, where he arrived on the 4th of October. The garrison in the fort returned no answer to his summons to surrender; but some outposts were easily carried, some of the defeated troops deserted to General Lake, and on the 17th, when breaching-batteries began to open their fire, the garrison capitulated.

So vast were the resources of Scindiah, that he had been enabled to send seventeen regular disciplined battalions, and from 4000 to 5000 horse, to endeavour to regain possession of Delhi, while General Lake was engaged in the siege of Agra. On the 27th of October, when he had garrisoned and secured his last conquest, Lake started in search of this new enemy. The rains were falling heavily, the roads were in a wretched state, and at some points they were inundated by the enemy, who had cut the embankments of reservoirs; but speed was necessary, and, leaving the rest of his forces behind him, Lake pushed forward with his cavalry alone, marching from midnight on the 31st of October till seven o'clock the next morning, when he found the enemy well posted, with their right

upon a stream, their left on the village of Laswaree, and with their front provided with seventy-two pieces of artillery. Lake's foremost brigade came in contact with the Mahrattas' left, and drove it in and penetrated into the village of Laswaree, which has given its name to the battle;* but here they were exposed to a terrible fire of cannon and musketry; Colonel Vandeleur fell, and Lake thought it prudent to draw off the brigade. Other brigades who had attacked at other points were also obliged to fall back; but they carried away with them several of the enemy's guns. The infantry and artillery which Lake had left behind had started on their march at three o'clock, and had continued to march with such spirit, that they performed twenty-five miles in somewhat less than eight hours, and joined him and his cavalry a little before eleven o'clock. At their apparition the enemy offered upon certain conditions to surrender their guns and retire. Lake, anxious to stop the effusion of blood, granted the conditions proposed, but, seeing that they hesitated, he gave them one hour to decide whether they would accept the terms or fight. The hour expired, and then the real battle began. On the side of the British the brunt was borne by the King's 76th regiment, which, with a battalion and five companies of sepoy, had to sustain a tremendous fire of canister-shot and a massive charge of cavalry. "This handful of heroes," as Lake called them, though thinned by the enemy's artillery, stood firm, and repulsed the horse. Then Major Griffiths was sent at the head of the 29th dragoons to sweep away that numerous cavalry, a duty which he performed completely, though not without losing his own life, being struck by a cannon-ball. Then followed the terrible bayonet charge of the British infantry, the right wing of which was led by Major-General Ware, who was killed by another cannon-shot.† For a time the

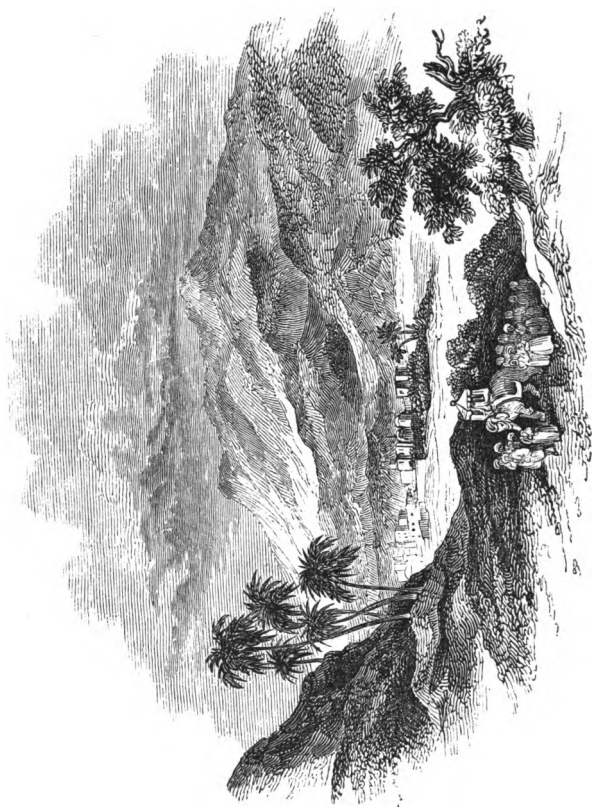
enemy seemed determined to defend their position to the last, disputing every point inch by inch, and only giving way when the bayonets were at their breast, and their own artillery turned against them. Even when their situation had become altogether desperate, they continued to manifest the same dogged courage: their left wing endeavoured to effect a retreat in good order; but this attempt was frustrated by a brilliant charge, made by the 27th regiment of dragoons and a regiment of native cavalry. But presently the mass of the enemy either fled from the field, or cried for quarter, and surrendered; and all the artillery, all the baggage, and nearly everything belonging to them, fell into the hands of the victors. With the exception of 2000 who surrendered, the whole of their 17 battalions were destroyed. It was calculated that the dead alone on the field could hardly have been less than 7000. Though some of their cavalry were enabled, by the fleetness of their horses and local knowledge, to escape destruction, the rest, excepting those who had the good fortune to conceal themselves among the bazaar people, were numbered with the slain. The English loss amounted to 172 killed and 652 wounded. General Lake, who had personally led the charge of cavalry in the morning, who had afterwards led on the 76th, and who had conducted nearly every operation of the day, had two horses shot under him, and saw his son, who was acting as his aide-de-camp, badly wounded by his side. But the battle of Laswaree most honourably terminated the mission which had been intrusted to this active and gallant officer.*

death the command of the column devolved upon Colonel Macdonald, who, though wounded, continued in the exercise of the important trust with the utmost activity, judgment, and intrepidity, till the close of the action."—*Memoirs of the War in India, conducted by General Lord Lake, Commander-in-Chief, and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), from its commencement in 1803 to its termination in 1806, on the banks of the Hyphasis, &c. By Major William Thorne, Captain 25th Light Dragoons.*

* "The seventeen battalions annihilated at Laswaree were called the Deccan Invincibles, and were considered as the flower of Scindiah's army, which altogether had made immense and rapid strides towards the point of perfection of the best of European troops. Throughout this event-

* At first this affair was called the Battle of Cassowly. *Wellington Dispatches.*

† "Major-General Ware fell dead, his head being carried off by a cannon-shot. He was an excellent officer, and his loss was severely felt and deeply lamented by the whole army. After his



Gawli-Ghur.

No. 29.

Lake had defeated, routed, annihilated that army of Perron which had caused the governor-general such great and reasonable alarm, and had placed in the hands of the English all the extensive territory watered by the Jumna; and, between him and General Wellesley, the power of Scindiah and all the most perilous part of the Mahratta confederacy was utterly shattered before the end of the year. Scindiah asked for and obtained a truce from Wellesley at the beginning of November; but his ally the Rajah of Berar still kept the field; and when the English commander came up with this rajah in the plains of Argaum, about twenty miles north of the Poorna river, he found Scindiah's cavalry drawn up with him—no uncommon instance of the faith with which these Indian chiefs observed truces and treaties. On the 29th of November, Wellesley attacked and defeated the whole host, who fled in the greatest disorder, leaving thirty-eight cannon and all their ammunition to the conquerors; whose cavalry moreover pursued them by bright moonlight for several miles, taking many elephants, camels, and much baggage.*

After the battle of Argaum, General Wellesley determined to lose no time in commencing the siege of Gawil-Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India, situated on a lofty rock, in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee, and consisting of one complete inner fort fronting the south, where the rock is steepest; of an outer fort, covering the inner one to the north-west and north; and of a third

wall, covering the approach to the rock from the north by the village of Labada. All the walls were strongly built, and fortified by ramparts and towers. The communications with the fort were through three gates. The ascent to the first gate was very long and steep, and practicable only for men; that to the second was by a road used by the garrison, but it wound round the west side of the fort, and was exposed for a great distance to its fire, the road being at the same time very narrow, so as to render a regular approach impracticable, and the rock being scarped on each side; the road to the third, or northern gate, was broad, and over ground level with the fort, to which it led directly from the village of Labada; but to get at that village, it was necessary to take a road which ran thirty miles through the mountains, and it was obvious that the difficulty and labour of moving ordnance and stores to Labada would be very great.* This last route was, however, adopted. The chief management of the siege was intrusted to Colonel Stevenson, General Wellesley covering his operations with his own division and with all the cavalry, and intending, if possible, to assist by making attacks from the southward and westward, while the colonel attacked from the north. It took Stevenson from the 7th of December to the 12th to reach Labada; and during those five days the troops in his division went through a series of laborious services, such as nobody with the army had ever witnessed before, and that too with the utmost cheerfulness as well as perseverance. The heavy ordnance and stores were dragged by hand over mountains, and through ravines, for nearly the whole distance, by roads which it had been previously necessary for the soldiers to make for themselves. By the 12th, at night, however, Colonel Stevenson had broken ground, and erected two batteries in front of the north face of the fort of Gawil-Ghur; and on the same night General Wellesley's division constructed one battery on the mountain under the southern gate, with the view to breach the wall

ful Mahratta war every conflict gave evidence of this improvement, which was attributable to the connection of the natives with the French, whose energies, address, and abilities were exerted to the utmost in exasperating the chiefs against the English, and in forming their subjects into hardy and disciplined soldiers, with the view of thereby overthrowing our dominion in the East."—*Major Thorne, Memoir of the War in India, &c.*

* "From unavoidable circumstances," says the general, "we did not begin the action till late in the day, and not more than twenty minutes' sun remained when I led on the British cavalry to the charge. But they made up for it by continuing the pursuit by moonlight; and all the troops were under arms till a very late hour in the night."—*Private letter to the Hon. H. Wellesley, in Colonel Gurwood's Wellington Dispatches.*

* Wellington Dispatches, Dispatch from General Wellesley to the Governor-General.

near that gate, or, at all events, to distract the enemy by drawing their attention to that quarter. The enemy's garrison was numerous: it consisted of Rajpoots, and of a great body of regular infantry, who had escaped from the battle of Argaum, and who were all well armed with English muskets and bayonets; but on the 15th, some breaches being made, and the outer walls carried by storm, the light infantry of the 94th regiment, headed by Captain Campbell, fixed their ladders against the inner fort, in which no breach whatever had been made, gallantly escalated the high wall, and opened the gate for the storming-party, who, in a trice, were entire masters of every part of the fortress. Vast numbers of the garrison were killed, particularly at the different gateways: their general or commander, Beny Sing, and his killadar, were found buried, like Tippoo at Seringapatam, amidst a heap of slain near a gateway; and some of the Rajpoot chiefs, according to the custom of their country, had put their wives and daughters to death before going out to meet their own.* On the 17th of December, or two days after the fall of Gawil-Ghur, the Rajah of Berar signed the conditions of peace which Wellesley dictated, ceding to the Company the important province of Cuttack, with the district of Balasore, and dismissing all the French or other European officers in his service. Before the Rajah ratified the treaty, General Wellesley had made three marches towards Nagpoor, "in order to keep alive the impression under which it was evident that the treaty had been concluded." As soon as Scindiah found that the Rajah had made peace, he began to be alarmed, and to implore to be allowed to negotiate; and on the 30th of December he signed a treaty of peace, by which he yielded to the Company all the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, besides numerous forts, territories, rights, and interests; engaging to conform to the treaties which the Company had made with the Peishwa, to recognise the right of the Peishwa to

the territories which the Company had put him in possession of, and, in case of any difference afterwards between him and the Peishwa, to admit the mediation, arbitration, and final decision of the Company. Scindiah also agreed to dismiss such European officers as he yet had, and (as the Rajah of Berar had also done) "never to take or retain in his service any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power the government of which may be at war with the British government; or any British subject, whether European or native of India, without the consent of the British government."*

In the course of these campaigns an immense extent of country had been traversed, separate co-operating corps had been moved with a rare regularity and intelligence, and had, when necessary, been brought to a junction with admirable precision as to time and place; the staff officers had surveyed the country with a much improved skill; the army made no blunders through that want of proper intelligence which had so often been felt elsewhere; the marches had been more rapid, as well as more certain; and, altogether, there was visible an immense improvement, which few or none will dispute was mainly due to the practice and example of Arthur Wellesley. In a private letter to one of his brothers, the great and accomplished soldier said at the time—"The operations of this war have afforded numerous instances of improvement in our means of communication, of obtaining intelligence, and, above all, of movement. Marches such as I have made in this war were never known or thought of before. In the last eight days of the month of October, I marched above 120 miles, and passed through two ghauts with heavy guns and all the equipments of the troops, and this without injury to the efficiency of the army; and in the few days previous to this battle (Argaum), when I had determined to go into Berar, I never moved less than between seventeen and twenty miles, and I marched twenty-six miles on

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches; and Journal of Major-General Sir Jasper Nicolls, as quoted by Colonel Gurwood.

* Treaties of the E. Ind. Comp. with Native Powers, &c.

the day on which it was fought."* It was in this great field of India, where alone a British officer could now have the handling of great masses of men, that Arthur Wellesley prepared himself for the duties which he had afterwards to perform in Portugal and Spain, and that he laid the groundwork of the lofty and enduring edifice of the fame of the Duke of Wellington.

Nearly everything had depended upon the rapidity of movement, and the facility of moving the matériel of the army. The great danger in Indian warfare is that of not being able to bring the enemy to action. Hyder Ali well knew the advantages of this Parthian mode. When an English commander, weary of pursuing him, reproached him for flying before so small a force, Hyder replied, "You will understand my mode of war in time. Shall I risk my cavalry, which costs 1000 rupees a horse, against your cannon-balls that cost two pice? No; I will march your troops till their legs shall become the size of their bodies. You shall not have a blade of grass or a drop of water. I shall hear you every time your drum beats, but you shall not know where I am once a month. I will give your army battle; but it must be when I please, and not when you desire it."† Hyder Ali kept his word; and Scindiah's army, abounding in cavalry and in transport cattle, seemed disposed to act upon this system. But the active mind of the English general had long been intent on the means of improving the cattle of his army, without which there could be no rapid movements. Fastidious and inferior intellects had despised such subjects; but his talk and his thoughts had long been of oxen. Like his then commander-in-chief, General Harris, he had grieved over the miserably slow marches of the army in the last campaign against Tippoo. This slow progress was entirely owing to the bad system then in force for the draught and carriage departments. This defect in the organization of our Indian army had been seriously felt and complained of by every succeeding commander-in-chief

from the time of Sir Eyre Coote* to that of Lord Cornwallis; but nothing had been done to remedy it. With every new war the wild and small cattle of the Carnatic were to be purchased, at whatever price, and attached to the guns without previous training or experienced drivers; and it was chiefly owing to this wretched system, and to the great superiority of the Mysore cattle, that Hyder and his son had defeated every attempt made by our commanders to overtake them in the field. This most serious defect was effectually removed after the capture of Seringapatam, for General Harris immediately recommended the use and protection of Tippoo's admirable establishment of cattle, which was unequalled in India; and General Wellesley joined in making urgent representations to his brother the governor-general, and in making every possible effort to keep up and increase the breed, and to give the animals proper training and proper drivers. "It was this establishment which enabled Hyder Ali to march 100 miles in two days and a half to the relief of Chillumbrum, and, after every defeat, to draw off his guns in face of his enemies; which enabled Tippoo Suldaun to cross the Peninsula in one month for the recovery of Bednore, and to march 63 miles in two days before General Medows. . . . It was also this establishment which enabled General Wellesley to effect those movements of unexampled rapidity which are the admiration of every military man."† When the war was over, and when General Wellesley was about to return to England, he most earnestly recommended the breeding establishment in Mysore to the commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Stuart; and from this time the breed of cattle began

* Sir Eyre Coote had said after the battle of Cuddalore, "If Hyder Ali, buoyed up with former success, had not come to seek us, I could not have moved the army to follow him; and this is a situation so trying to the responsible military commander, that an officer of character shudders at the idea of being placed in such a predicament."

† Memorandum on the Establishment of Draught Bullocks and the Breeding Establishment in Mysore, by Col. M. Cubbon, in Appendix to Life and Services of General Lord Harris, by the Right Hon. S. R. Lushington.

* Letter to the Hon. H. Wellesley, Wellington Dispatches.

† Southey, in Quarterly Review, No. XXV.

to be not only prodigiously increased, but greatly improved. "The cattle of this establishment are as different from all other Indian cattle, as the Arab is from the country horse; and as superior to them not merely in their blood and configuration, but their strength and energy, their quick step, power of endurance, and of keeping their condition under great privation. Heavier and larger cattle may be found, perhaps, better calculated for the slow movement of heavy ordnance, but none that can be compared to them in spirit and activity, that, like them, would make forced marches with troops, withstand all changes of weather, or be so fresh at the end of a campaign. This breed is peculiar to Mysore, and takes its name from the village of Hagglewaddy. Its origin is beyond tradition, but it has ever been in the hands of the ruling power, on account of its superior qualities."* These cattle, by the regulations of the Indian government, are at the disposal of the commander-in-chief for the time being, and their distribution rests with him. The advantage of possessing such an establishment, in time of war, is beyond all calculation, and has often been felt at critical moments. It was owing to the superb bullocks furnished by it, that Major-General Pritzler was in a condition to march 346 miles in 25 days, in pursuit of the Mahrattas, in the war of 1817; and that Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell was enabled, after the failure of his Bengal equipments, to advance upon Ava in 1825, and bring that very trying war to a favourable termination. Equal care was bestowed by General Wellesley on the commissariat departments, which had been managed better than they had ever been before by an English army, whether in Europe, Asia, or America, since the days of the great Marlborough, whose letters and dispatches, like those of his great successor, abound in minute details, which prove the incessant attention paid to this important subject. The agreeable picture which Bishop Heber has drawn of the Brinjarrees seems to be correct only with reference to that class of men as improved

by the kind and considerate treatment they received in the course of this campaign against Scindiah, and by the wise system which was adopted by Lake and Wellesley, and which has since been followed by all our commanders in the field.* On his first acquaintance with them, General Wellesley found them shy of approaching his army, apt to quarrel with his sepoys, much given to plunder, and still more to trickery and cheating, and often very slow in bringing up their bad corn and rice. One of the most serious annoyances he suffered in his advance from Poonah to the field of Assaye arose out of the great disinclination of the Poonah brinjarrees to come forward at all in the service of the British army. On that march his brinjarrees "played tricks, as usual," and left him with only one-third of the rice which he ought to have had. They deserted Colonel Murray's corps altogether, leaving the soldiers for some days to the chance of starvation. They were found unmanageable unless their profits were enormous; and, unless they attended the camps as dealers on their own account, their dishonesty and rascality were prodigious. To effect a change in their character and habits, General Wellesley had recourse to those excellent means which have since been adopted as a system. One of his officers, who shared in the difficulty, danger, and glory of this campaign, says, "General Wellesley has always made it a point to encourage these people, by promises, kindnesses, presents, indeed, by every kind of liberality of which he possesses the means, to attend

* Memorandum, &c. by Col. Cubbon.

* "The brinjarrees, or carriers of grain, are a singular wandering race, who pass their whole time in transporting this article from one part of the country to another, seldom on their own account, but as agents for more wealthy dealers. They move about in large bodies, with their wives, children, dogs, and loaded bullocks. The men are all armed, as a protection against petty thieves. From the sovereigns and armies of Hindustan they have no apprehensions. Even contending armies allow them to pass and repass safely, never taking their goods without purchase, or even preventing them, if they choose, from victualling their enemy's camp. Both sides wisely agree to respect and encourage a branch of industry, the interruption of which might be attended with fatal consequences to both."—*Bishop Heber, Indian Journal.*

our camp, and collect grain for the army. He advances them money; takes their grain when not immediately wanted; gets the duties on its transport remitted; procures permits to collect it in our allies' territories; gives or orders escorts; provides guards in camp, or wherever required: whenever they meet extraordinary losses, he balances them by the price; and not seldom has he ordered two or three rupees a head, as a reward for each bullock brought.* The fame of these proceedings soon spread throughout the country, and gradually produced the desired effect. A few days after the battle of Assaye, when provisions were much wanted, from 2000 to 3000 bullocks loaded with grain approached the camp. They belonged to a brinjarree tribe, who had collected the grain to the eastward and southward, and who were looking out for one of the armies, where they would be sure of a market. This was their own account; but it was most likely that they were going to Scindiah, or to his ally, the Rajah of Berar. The Cutwahl, or head native civil magistrate in camp, heard of their approach when at a distance, and by his dexterity induced them to go to the British army—a step which it might not have been convenient or politic (considering the effects likely to be produced upon other brinjarree communities) to have forced them to take. General Wellesley was very generous to these brinjarrees, and to the cutwahl who had induced them to carry their grain to his market, instead of taking it to his enemies. To the cutwahl he gave a heavy pair of gold bangles, enhancing considerably the value of the gift by putting them on the man's wrists with his own hands. "Marks of favour are highly esteemed by inferiors in all countries, but in none more than in India: this simple attention of General Wellesley, no doubt, raised the cutwahl very much in his little city, the camp bazaar."† On other occasions he gave handsome dresses and turbans to the brinjarree chiefs. After this the brinjarrees be-

gan to flock to the camp, and to follow the army without the necessity of any solicitation; and thus one of the most important obstacles to the progress of war, and the greatest of all calamities to the chances of which our troops were exposed, were effectually removed.* Even the proneness to trickery and cheating was diminished when the brinjarrees found that they could make a surer profit by being honest.

In the course of this same year the enterprising Governor-General of India had set in motion a third and a fourth army against the Mahratta confederacy, the existence of which, formidable in itself, might have become in the highest degree dangerous, if Bonaparte could have succeeded in throwing any considerable force into Hindustan. As elsewhere, the progress of British arms was favoured by intestine dissensions, disputed successions, and furious jealousies among the Mahratta chiefs. Colonel Powell, starting from Allahabad, with troops belonging to the Bengal establishment, overran the often-disputed province of Bundelcund,

* Colonel Gurwood, 'Wellington Dispatches.' It should appear, too, that some changes were introduced into the old system, in order to render the brinjarrees more extensively useful to armies in the field. After this Scindiah war—in November, 1804—we find General Wellesley thus describing these indispensable attendants on an Indian army:—

"*Brinjarrees.* These are a class of carriers who gain a livelihood by transporting grain or other commodities from one part of the country to another. They attend armies, and trade nearly in the same manner as they do in common times of peace. They either purchase grain themselves in the country with their own money, or with money advanced to them by the Company, and sell it in the bazaar, at the rates of the day, on their own account; or they take grain at the Company's stores at certain reduced rates, and sell it on their own account in the bazaars; or they take up grain in the Company's stores, and carry it with the army, and receive a sum of money for every march they make, and the grain is sold in the bazaars on account of the Company; or they hire their cattle by the month to the Company, and take up grain from the public stores and carry it with the army, where it is sold in the bazaars on account of the Company.

"It is the business of the superintendent of supplies to settle all these various accounts, and to see that the brinjarrees get fresh loads as fast as they empty them; and to know always, as nearly as possible, the quantity of grain which this description of people have got."

* Journal of Major-General Sir Jasper Nicolls, K.C.B., written in the field, 5th October, 1803, as quoted by Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

† Id. id.

reducing the forts, and establishing the authority of the Company. Powell fought one pitched battle near Capsah, in which, as usual, the enemy made good use of their artillery, but were routed with loss. Fort Calpee, on the south-western side of the Jumna, and Gualior, which commands an important pass and defends the frontiers of Gohud, were the most important of the fortresses taken. Gualior, which had once been in our possession (having been gallantly stormed and taken in 1780, by Major—afterwards General—Popham, one of Warren Hastings's best fighting men), but which had been ceded by treaty to a faithless ally, had ever been considered a military post of the greatest importance: the fort, in strength and situation, resembled Gawil-Ghur, standing on a very steep hill, which was long and narrow at the top, and dipped almost perpendicularly at the sides. To block up some other passes through which the Mahrattas might make inroads, as soon as Powell had secured his footing in Bundelcund, Lieut.-Colonel Broughton was detached to the eastern provinces of Berar, to seize the fortress of Sumbulpoor, to drive out some freebooting bands, and to destroy or scatter the only Mahratta force which was left anywhere in the country between Bundelcund, Berar, and Cuttack. Cutting a road for his artillery across a deep and extensive forest, and overcoming every obstacle, Broughton executed every part of the task intrusted to him. Colonel Harcourt, with a division of the Madras army which had been stationed in the Northern Circars, marched from Ganjam on the 8th of September, to drive the Mahratta chiefs out of Cuttack, a province of which the best part was actually in our possession before the Rajah of Berar formally ceded it by treaty. The Mahrattas on the frontier fled, the Bramins of Juggernaut placed their pagoda and idol under British protection, which in itself was a very important advantage; and, after some delay, occasioned by the rains, Harcourt continued his advance, entered the city of Cuttack, and laid siege to the fort, a place of considerable strength, having only one entrance by a narrow bridge over a wet ditch of enormous dimen-

sions. But a co-operating force, detached from the Bengal army, and which might be called a sixth army, or corps d'armée, had landed at Balasore on the 21st of September, and, after getting possession of all the country on the coast, sent forward reinforcements to Cuttack to assist in the siege of the fortress. That place was stormed and taken on the 14th of October, and the fall of the fort left Harcourt undisputed master of the whole of the province.* In Harcourt's operations, as in all the rest of this far-extending, extraordinary campaign, there was a plan of co-operation and mutual assistance: as soon as he had captured the great fortress of Cuttack, he detached Major Forbes to occupy the defile of Bermuth, which formed the only entrance into the province of Cuttack through the chain of mountains which separated it from the states of the Rajah of Berar. Forbes performed his duty admirably; several of the neighbouring Rajahs fled from the tyranny of the great Rajah of Berar, and threw themselves under the protection of the British; the pass of Bermuth was secured; and in a few weeks Colonel Harcourt and the troops that had conquered Cuttack defiled through it, and co-operated with General Wellesley, distracting the attention of the enemy while he advanced and captured Gawil-Ghur. In all these combined movements of different corps, from such opposite points and over so extensive a range of country, scarcely one error of any consequence appears to have been committed, the different detachments meeting at the very time and place appointed, and, whether close together or far asunder, moving like different wheels of one great machine, set in motion by one master power.

The seat of war had extended nearly all over the continent of India, and had exhibited, in the short space of four months, four general and well-contested battles, and eight regular sieges and stormings of

* The British troops in Cuttack appear to have suffered more from wild beasts than from the spear of the Mahrattas. The country abounded with forests, the forests swarmed with leopards, and other beasts of prey, and these devoured a good many of our drowsy or negligent sentinels.

fortresses. British valour and military genius (for even the high word genius is applicable here) had triumphed over accumulated obstacles, the combination of truly formidable powers, and over every advantage arising to the enemy from local position, military means (especially in their immense and well-served trains of artillery), and numerical strength, which had been so improved by French training and discipline. The armies which Wellington had fought at Assaye and Argaum, and which Lake had fought at Delhi and Laswaree, were not what Indian armies had been in the days of Clive and Coote, but admirably officered, and capable of contending with most of the armies of Europe. And, should any attempt be made to diminish the reputation of our two commanders by quoting the native superiority of British and Irish-bred soldiers, it ought to be remembered that the number of Europeans either in Lake's or Wellesley's army was comparatively small; that the mass of their materials were of native growth, were Indians like those that were serving in the armies of Scindiah; and that the disparity of numbers was so great that, if every European under Lake or Wellesley, or in the separate corps operating with them, should be counted as worth five well armed and disciplined natives, the British force would still be greatly inferior.*

The signal successes of the year 1803 gave to the British empire other advantages besides the acquisition of the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges: they secured, by the possession of Delhi, Agra, and Calpee, the mastery and free navigation of the Jumna, with an important tract of country along the right bank of that river; they gave us the greater part of the rich province of Bundelcund, the whole of Cuttack in Orissa, and the most valuable territory in Guzerat, with valuable ports which were before accessible to the enemy—our mortal enemy, France—thereby securing the navigation along that immense coast,

* Major Thorn calculates the numerous Mahratta armies brought into the field in the whole course of the campaign at 250,000 men; and the corps organized by their French auxiliaries at 40,000 more, at the least.

from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouths of the Indus; and, furthermore, they gave to the Company a stronger frontier in the Deccan, and to our allies, the Nizam and the Peishwa, an important accession of strength.* A metaphysician and utilitarian writing after the fact, and far removed from the danger, splitting fine straws in a quiet suburb of that great capital which has not heard the sound of real war, nor in reality ever been exposed to the risk of hearing it, for so many ages, may undervalue the services performed by Lake and the two illustrious brothers, and may underrate and split, or shave down to nothing, the danger with which we were threatened by French intrigue and the Mahratta confederacy, emboldened by hopes of important succours from France, which were actually on their way before the *coup-de-grace* was struck, and which might, by the unsteady chances of wind and weather and the casualties of the ocean, have been allowed to reach their destination; but the British subjects who were living in India, whose lives or property, or both, were at stake, who knew the animus and the means of Scindiah and his allies, and who saw all the danger from a near point, certainly entertained notions very different from those of the not very national historian of British India. Some of these ideas were well and honestly expressed, at the termination of the war, in an address presented by the British inhabitants of Calcutta to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley. These Englishmen stated that, at a moment when the renewal of war in Europe was certain, the menacing attitude of the armies assembled by the Mahratta princes and the uncontrolled authority exercised by French adventurers over the disciplined troops of Scindiah, could not have been viewed without extreme anxiety, nor have been suffered to continue without endangering the whole of our Eastern empire; and, after a proper tribute paid to the army and its gallant and skilful commanders,

* Major Thorn's Memoir of the War in India. —In all, upwards of 1000 pieces of cannon had been captured by Lake, Wellesley, and their subordinates, together with ammunition, treasure, and stores in proportion.

they said that the British power in India had been raised to the proudest pre-eminence; that, "by this auspicious conclusion of a rapid and glorious war, the enemies of the British empire were humbled, French influence was annihilated, our allies were encouraged, our resources enlarged and solidly established, and the British dominions in India rendered at once more secure of enjoying the advantages of peace, and more capable of repelling the dangers of war." The British residing in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were not behind those residing in Bengal, in expressing their sense of the great danger they had been exposed to, and in testifying their gratitude for the services which had rescued the whole of our Eastern settlements from a state of jeopardy, and fixed them upon a basis of better and more permanent security.

Many brilliant achievements at sea have been omitted for the sake of brevity, but the following exploit was attended with too important consequences, and the honour of it belongs too exclusively to the officers of the East India Company, to be passed over in silence.

The French admiral Linois, who had reached Pondicherry, and who had been enabled to escape from that roadstead, finding he could do no good in the Maharratta war, hoped to do some mischief to the English by picking up a few of their stray Indiamen. He had captured several of these ships, and had plundered the English factory at Bencoolen, when, on the 14th of February, 1804, he fell in with a rich fleet of East Indiamen and country ships that were coming from China, and on the point of entering the straits of Malacca. As Linois had with him a ship of the line, three frigates, and a brig, and as our merchant vessels had no men-of-war to convoy them, he made quite sure of an easy swoop and of an immense prize. But, by this time, the Company's ships were generally armed and well officered; and Captain (afterwards, by grace of this action, Sir N.) Dance, who was acting as commodore to the fleet of traders, was both an able and a brave sailor. At sunset, Linois was close up with the English rear, and Dance was in

momentary expectation of an attack; but the French hauled to windward; and the India ships lay-to in line of battle all night, the men being at their quarters, and ready to engage at any moment. At daybreak of the 15th, Dance saw his enemy lying about three miles to windward; and, at the sight, he gallantly hoisted his colours, and offered him battle, if he chose to come down. Linois's ship of the line and his three frigates showed French colours, the brig Dutch colours. At nine o'clock, seeing that the French would not come down, Dance formed in order of sailing, and steered his course under an easy sail. Linois then filled his sails and edged towards him. At one p.m., Dance, finding that the enemy were proposing to cut off his rear, made the signal to tack, and bear down on them, and engage in succession. This manœuvre was correctly performed by three of the Indiamen; and the rest stood towards Linois under a press of sail. The French then formed in very close line, and opened their fire on Dance's headmost ships, which did not return their fire until they got to closer quarters. The 'Royal George' bore the brunt of the action, getting very near the enemy, engaging for about forty minutes, and firing eight or nine broadsides. She was ably seconded, as they came up, by the 'Ganges,' 'Earl Camden,' 'Warley,' and 'Alfred;' the 'Ganges' being in action about thirty-five minutes, and firing seven or eight broadsides; the 'Earl Camden' being in action about twenty-five minutes, and the two other named ships about a quarter of an hour. Before any more of the Indiamen could come up and engage, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward, under all the sail they could set. At two p.m., Dance made the signal for a general chase, and pursued Linois until four p.m.; when, considering the immense property at stake, and fearing that a longer pursuit would carry him too far from the mouth of the Straits of Malacca, the gallant commodore of this well-conducted merchant fleet made the signal to tack; and, the signal being well obeyed, by eight in the evening they all anchored safely in a situation to enter the Strait the next morning.

Nothing more was seen of Linois, who, according to his own account, had run away through fear of being surrounded. The 'Royal George' had one man killed, and another wounded, many shot in her hull, and more in her sails. Not a man was hurt in any of the other ships: only a few shots touched the 'Ganges' and 'Earl Camden;' for the fire of the enemy seemed to be but ill directed, his shot either falling short or passing over head. Dance rendered a proper tribute to the captains and crews, who had not been trained to fight, and whose ships, after all, were indifferently armed, and, like all merchant vessels, in very imperfect fighting order.* "Captain Timms," said Dance, in his letter to the Court of Directors, "carried the 'Royal George' into action in the most gallant manner. In justice to my brother commanders, I must state, that every ship was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almost all of them during the two days we were in presence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined resolution to defend the valuable property entrusted to their charge to the last extremity, with a full conviction of the successful event of their exertions; and this spirit was fully seconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers and ships' companies." According

to the calmest, the most correct, and best of our naval historians, "the promptitude and firmness of Commodore Dance and his brave associates undoubtedly saved from capture a rich and valuable fleet. The slightest indecision in him or them would have encouraged the French admiral to persevere in his attack; and, had he done so, no efforts, however gallant and judicious, could have prevented a part of the fleet at least from falling into his hands."* In this case merit was properly rewarded, and thereby an incentive was given to other seamen not in the national service. The commanders, officers, and crews were liberally rewarded by the East India Company; Dance received the honour of knighthood from the king; and among the sums of money voted to him were 5000*l.* by the Bombay Insurance Company. Other liberal sums were given to him and to the officers and crews by the committee of the "Patriotic Fund."

Early in the spring of the year 1804 General Wellesley crossed the Godavary to put down the independent freebooting parties, fragments of Scindiah's armies, and gangs of banditti from nearly all parts of India, who were plundering and devastating the whole of the Western Deccan. He offered terms to the chiefs of these freebooters, and allowed them five days to dismiss their troops and come into his camp. But at the expiration of that time, on the 4th of February, he endeavoured to cut them off by making forced marches over eighty miles of the roughest country, to the spot where they were encamped. His secret was betrayed by some of the natives following his own army, or he would have taken them by surprise in their camp. As they fled, he followed them with the British cavalry in one column acting upon the right of their rear, while the Mysore cavalry and the cavalry of the re-established Peishwa pursued the centre and left. The marauders, for the most part cavalry, were greatly superior in numbers to their pursuers, and were furnished with field-pieces. In one small affair the British cavalry and the Mysore

* Of the French men of war, Linois's ship carried 84 guns, the 'Belle Poule' and 'Sémillante' were heavy frigates, the 'Berceau' carried 22 long eights, and two English twelve-pounder carronades, and the large Dutch brig had 18 guns; but a still greater advantage on this side was the perfect war-trim of the ships. Of the Indiamen and country ships (the latter being inferior to the former) there were sixteen drawn up in the line of battle, and they carried from 30 to 36 guns each. Some of them carried upon the main deck 26 medium eighteen pounders, or "carronades," weighing about 28 cwt., and of very little use: guns of this description, indeed, have long since been exploded. Ten 18-pounder carronades on the quarter-deck made up the 36 guns. Others of the ships, and those among the largest, mounted long 12 and 6 pounders. No one of the crews, we believe, exceeded 140 men, and that number included Chinese, Lascars, &c. Moreover, in fitting the ships, so much more attention had been paid to stowage than to the means of attack and defence, that one and sometimes two butts of water were lashed between the guns, and the decks in general greatly lumbered.—James.

* James, 'Naval History of Great Britain.'

cavalry killed a great number of them, and captured some of their guns. Wellesley then followed them with astonishing rapidity from hill to hill, nor ceased his pursuit until he had entirely destroyed or dispersed them, and captured all their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and bazaars.* The fatigue was excessive; not a few of Wellesley's horses and men died of it: he himself describes the marches made as being "terrible," and after the lapse of many years, and many other arduous services, he still spoke of this as the most laborious service in which he had ever been engaged.† There was more ignorance than insolence in the notion which suggested to Napoleon Bonaparte and his echoes the contemptuous expression of "Sepoy General."

As General Wellesley took little or no part in the war which followed with Holkar and a new but much weaker confederacy than that whose spear had been broken by himself and General Lake, and as this flying campaign beyond the Godavery concluded his important military service in India, we may briefly allude in this place to his equally important civil services. In the month of July (1804) having, in pursuance of orders from his brother the governor-general, broken up the army in the Deccan, and returned to Seringapatam, General Wellesley received an address from the native inhabitants, which, in simple, unaffected, sincere, and truthful words, expressed the gratitude of the people of Mysore for the tranquillity and happiness they had enjoyed under his government.‡

* "These numerous and formidable bands of freebooters, who were the terror of the country, were daily increasing in numbers, and had already defeated a body of the Soubah's troops, and had taken from them the guns which I have retaken."—*Letter to the Governor-General, in Wellington Dispatches.*

† Colonel Gurwood's *Wellington Dispatches*; André Vieussens's *Military Life of the Duke of Wellington*; Major William Thorn, *Memoirs of the War in India.*

‡ The address, which was presented on the 6th of July, 1804, was to this effect:—

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

"We have felt even during your absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that your care for our prosperity had been extended to us in as

The whole of the Mysore had been well administered under his vigilant superintendence; numerous abuses, on the part of the civil as well as the military servants of the Company, had been checked, and agriculture and trade had flourished, while the storm of war was raging in other parts of India. Deserted villages, of which the tigers, the jackals, and the wild dogs of the ghauts had taken possession, were again occupied by industrious and thriving people; and, while there was a security for the great and the wealthy, such as had never been known under Hyder Ali or his son Tippoo, there was also protection and safety for the poorest. Against all who put in practice any foul money-getting trick, or assisted in any act of peculation, corruption, or oppression, the general was ruthless, driving such men, whatever might be their patronage or their connections, from their rank, stations, and employment. During the five years of General Wellesley's government, the whole country had, in fact, acquired a higher degree of prosperity than could possibly have been expected in so short a time; and through this prosperity it had been enabled in some degree to repay—by the efficacy of its assistance in the hour of emergency, when Scindiah's confederacy and Perron's disciplined army showed their formidable front—the benefits which it had derived from British influence, protection, and power. And yet, during all this time, large sums had been annually appropriated to the construction or repair of tanks, watercourses, roads, bridges, and other works, which tended to the further improvement and increase

ample a manner as if no other object had occupied your mind.

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

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

of the agriculture, trade, and other resources of the country. The best attestation to the merits of the system is to be found in the fact that great numbers of strangers from other parts of Hindustan came and settled in Mysore, and materially aided in improving the agriculture and the entire aspect of the country. An admirable police was organized, and a military plan arranged, by which, between standing troops well disciplined and a sort of militia, Mysore could at any time, on a few days' notice, bring 40,000 men into the field, without confusion, without any great expense, and without oppression or violence of any kind; and with a force like this the Mysoreans could not only defend their own territories, but also spare troops to the Company for operations far beyond their own frontiers. The Mysore cavalry, which had been serving under Wellesley in the Scindiah campaign and in pursuit of the freebooters, had behaved admirably well.

In March, 1805, when he was on the point of leaving the East for ever, the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, Hindus and Mussulmans, presented another address to the Major-General, expressing again their gratitude for the tranquillity, security, and happiness they had enjoyed under his auspicious protection; their respect for the brilliant exploits he had achieved in the field of battle, and their reverence for his affability and benevolence; concluding with a prayer to God to grant him health and a safe and pleasant voyage to Europe, but with the expression of an earnest hope for his speedy return to the country, once more to extend and uphold that protection over them, which his extensive local knowledge of their customs and manners was so capable of affording.*

* The European officers who had been serving under General Wellesley, in their address, presented on the same occasion, warmly expressed their admiration of his exalted talents and splendid achievements, of his consideration and

And in the Deccan and at Poonah the conduct of this great man was equally admirable, and equally productive of important advantages, whether we consider the natives, or the mere interests of the Company or of the British nation. In particular, he curbed the vindictive hand of the expelled Peishwa, whom our arms had restored, and who, like the generality of Indian princes, knew nothing of forgiveness, being, in Wellesley's own words, "callous to everything but money and revenge," and as treacherous as he was vindictive and rapacious. He interposed in many cases where the Peishwa would have deluged the country with blood; he saved many chiefs who would otherwise have been put to death or driven out of the country for the aid they had given Scindiah in expelling the Peishwa. He concluded one of his dispatches with these remarkable words: "The war will be eternal if nobody is ever to be forgiven; and I certainly think that the British government cannot intend to make the British troops the instruments of the Peishwa's revenge." He also found it necessary, on more than one occasion, to teach forgiveness, or calmness and moderation, to the civil government residing at Calcutta. "When," said he, "the power of the Company is so great, little dirty passions must not be suffered to guide its measures.*"

justice in command, which had made obedience a pleasure; and of that frank condescension in the private intercourse of life, which it was their pride individually to acknowledge. They regretted his departure, they too hoped for his speedy return to India, and they ended with the words, "But in whatever quarter of the globe further honours and distinctions shall await you, our sincerest good wishes will constantly follow your career; and we now beg you to accept our most respectful, but most cordial, farewell." The good wishes of these officers in India were realized, and perhaps beyond the expectation even of those who were most sanguine, or who best knew all that was in him. in the Peninsular war, and on the field of Waterloo.

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

CHAPTER VII.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARQUESS WELLESLEY CONTINUED.

NOTWITHSTANDING the decisive victories and the conquests achieved by Generals Lake and Arthur Wellesley in 1802-3, a fresh Mahratta war broke out in 1804. The conduct pursued by Jeswunt Rao Holkar, during the late war between the British government, Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar, was in conformity with the most characteristic features of the policy of a Mahratta chieftain. He had not only promised to join the confederacy against the British, but had actually concluded, through the medium of the Rajah of Berar, a treaty with Scindiah, who made great cessions of territory, &c. to induce him to enter the league and to be true to his engagements. But truth never abided in the palace or under the tent of a Mahratta chief. Although Holkar promised everything, he showed no inclination, after hostilities were commenced, to assist the confederates. There was, indeed, ground to believe that he rejoiced in the first reverses which his great rival Scindiah sustained; and that if this sentiment underwent a change when he saw the unprecedented rapidity and success of the two English generals, who, in the short space of five months, had annihilated two immense armies, and captured a number of fortresses hitherto deemed impregnable, the course of action was too rapid and decisive to give him time for interference; although, before the treaties of peace were concluded, he had put his forces in motion, and advanced as far as the frontier of the Rajah of Jypoor, who was then under the protection of the British government.* Having thus remained inactive during the progress of the war against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, and having greatly strengthened

himself while they had been rushing to their ruin, Holkar suddenly assumed an attitude which excited alarm or suspicion. He continued to declare that he wished to remain at peace, he even professed a great friendship for the British government, but his conduct indicated other designs, and he kept his marauding army close on the frontiers to which he had brought it. The governor-general instructed General Lake to enter into any negotiation that might lead to an early explanation of his views, and relieve the Company from the expense and alarm to which its provinces must be subjected, while such a horde of freebooters as the army of Holkar continued to be assembled on its frontiers or on the frontiers of its allies. On the 29th of January, 1804, Lake addressed a letter to the formidable chieftain, stating generally the terms on which the British government was disposed to conclude a friendly treaty with him; but requiring, as a proof of the sincerity of his amicable professions, that he should withdraw his army from the threatening position it then occupied, retire quietly within his own territories, and abstain from exacting choulte (tribute or blackmail) from the allies of the British. Instead of replying immediately to this letter, Holkar allowed some time to pass, and during this time more flying and marauding troops of horse joined his standard. At last he sent his vakeels to the British commander-in-chief to make extravagant demands, and to claim the very right of levying choulte, which he had been called upon to renounce. The very first proposition advanced by his vakeel was that he should be permitted to collect the choulte "agreeably to the custom of his ancestors," which ancestral custom closely resembled that of the most

* Malcolm, Polit. Hist. Ind.

predatory of our Highland clans in the olden times. The second proposition was that twelve of the finest districts in the Duab, a district in Bundelcund, and the country of Hurriana, which were said to have been in ancient times in the possession of his family or tribe, should be given up to Holkar. And the vakeels finally demanded in his name that all his territories should be guaranteed to him by the English, and that a treaty should be concluded with him on the same terms as that recently concluded by the Company with Scindiah, who had purchased it by making so many sacrifices to the English. These extravagant demands were of course rejected; and their nature, as well as the manner in which they were made, satisfied the commander-in-chief of the Mahratta's real designs. These were more fully developed in the course of a few weeks by the contents of several letters, which he wrote to the tributaries and dependants of the British government in order to excite them to revolt against the English, whose territories, he informed the rajahs, it was his intention to ravage and destroy. Holkar also wrote a most arrogant and insulting letter to General Wellesley, demanding the immediate cession of whole provinces of the Deccan, of some of the best of the possessions of our ally the Nizam, upon the plea that, at some distant period of time, they had been the property of the Holkar family. This letter to Wellesley concluded with a loud boast: "Countries of many hundred coss," said Holkar, "shall be overrun and plundered. General Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings, in continual war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."

If numbers alone could have constituted strength, Holkar had some reason to be confident: he had, at this moment, from 40,000 to 50,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, and upwards of 100 pieces of cannon. His fortresses also were numerous, and Chandore and Gaunah, the ancient strongholds of his family, ranked among the strongest places in all India.

Holkar's menaces were soon followed by acts. He sent a vakeel to the camp

of Scindiah, to urge that humbled chief to throw his recent treaty to the winds, and join him in an attack upon the British possessions; and at the same time he began to plunder the territories of the Rajah of Jypoor. General Lake (by virtue of his achievements in the late war, Lord Lake) and General Fraser were presently sent against him. Holkar retreated from the advanced position which he had occupied, and was pursued to some distance by part of the British forces. His first savage act was the murder of three British officers, Vickers, Todd, and Ryan, who had entered his service when he was in amity with the English, and who bore the rank of captains in his army. These unfortunate men, having signified their intention of retiring, in obedience to a proclamation of the governor-general, were placed under confinement; and afterwards, on the pretext that Captain Todd had carried on a secret correspondence with Lord Lake, they were brought out and publicly decapitated. Their heads were exposed on pikes, their bodies were denied the ordinary rites of sepulture. For some time, the most serious difficulty encountered by the advancing British troops was from the stealthy attacks and depredations of the Mewattees, a tribe inhabiting the hills, who were robbers by profession, and who lived chiefly by cattle lifting. They carried off many camels, elephants, and horses from the English picquets, in spite of the vigilance and precaution that were adopted to guard against their sudden and desperate attacks. Many of these sons of the mist were exceedingly well mounted, and all were armed with matchlocks, spears, or tolwars. They often attacked our foraging parties, and were constantly hovering about the camp in large parties. Whenever they could surprise an officer or a soldier, they murdered him first and robbed him afterwards. Nearly the whole of the hilly territory from Agra to Delhi was at this time the nursery of thieves and robbers: it exhibited little or no cultivation, though very susceptible of it, owing to the savageness of its inhabitants. By the 20th of February, 1804, the main body of the army under Lake was ad-

vanced as far as the neighbourhood of Hindoun, a large and populous village, situated in a very fertile and highly cultivated country. The greatest care was taken for the preservation of the crops; and, although forage had been for some time scarce, no standing corn was allowed to be cut down or to be in any way injured. The strict discipline under which the troops and the camp-followers were kept presented an advantageous contrast to the visitations of a Mahratta army, and greatly surprised the inhabitants, who expressed their gratitude in strong terms. While encamped on this ground, Lord Lake received letters from Holkar, who again pretended to be pacifically disposed. "While the flame of contention can be extinguished by the water of reconciliation," said the wily Mahratta, "it is unfit to bring matters to the extremity of war." He protested that before receiving Lord Lake's last letter he had resolved to march quietly homewards, which design he had now begun to accomplish. At this very moment a khan in the service of Holkar was hovering with a large body of horse on the frontiers of Bundelcund, evidently with the design of invading that province and the countries belonging to the allies of the English to the north of the Betwa. This khan actually entered the territories of Jansee; but he fled beyond the mountains at the approach of the detachment of Colonel Powell, and left that officer to complete the conquest of the interior of Bundelcund by the reduction of those fortified places which had not yet submitted to the British government, though bound so to do by the recent treaty concluded with Scindiah. While Lord Lake was advancing from Hindustan towards the very heart of Holkar's dominions, General Wellesley sent instructions to Colonel John Murray, commanding the troops in Guzerat, to enter the province of Malwa, and to advance in the direction of Indore, the residence of Holkar's family, while part of the troops stationed above the Ghauts directed their operations against his possessions on the side of the Deccan, and especially against his strong fortress of Chandore. Holkar kept retreating before the main army of Lord Lake, and none

of his allies or detached troops or forts made anything like a bold resistance. The chief difficulty of the English lay in the great length of the marches they were obliged to make, and in the burning, maddening heat of the sun. By the beginning of May, however, Lord Lake had traversed the central parts of Rajpootana, had captured Tonk Rampoor, a strongly fortified town, and had driven Holkar from the only footing he had in Hindustan north of the Chumbul. He hastily fled across that river, but he continued to be followed on one side by a detachment under Colonel Monson, while on the other side Colonel Murray with the troops from Guzerat was moving against him. Considering that these two detachments would give full employment to the Mahratta until the cooler season should set in, Lord Lake, in an unlucky moment, thought it advisable to march the main army back into quarters at Cawnpoor and places in that neighbourhood, as the men were suffering dreadfully in their health from the hot winds, and the cattle were perishing fast through want of forage, the ground being parched up like an Arabian desert. But to go back was as bad as to go forward. The sufferings of the retiring troops continued to be excessive. The roads were exceedingly bad, and the country was everywhere swept by a burning wind, called by the natives the "Devil's breath," which, after passing over the great sandy desert, imparts to the atmosphere of these regions an intensity of heat which astonished even those who had long been seasoned to the fury of a vertical sun. Westward of the Jumna, this pestiferous current, this fiery blast, finds no rivers and lakes to temper its severity. One of the officers, who was scorched and withered by it, compares it to the extreme glow of an iron foundry in the height of summer; "though even that is but a feeble comparison, since no idea can be formed of the causticity of the sandy particles which were borne along with the wind like hot embers, peeling off the skin, and raising blisters wherever they chanced to fall."* The European

* Major Thorn.

soldiers died by tens and by fiftens daily. Young men who set out in the morning full of spirits, and in all the vigour of health, dropped dead immediately on reaching the encampment ground, and many were smitten on the road by the noon-day sun, whose rays darted downwards like a torrent of fire. Many brave and athletic veterans fell, without the possibility of receiving any relief. It was the worst of all *coups de soleil*, except that death was almost instantaneous. They who were thus struck, suddenly turned giddy, foamed at the mouth, dropped on the road, and instantly became lifeless. Even when encamped, the sufferings of the poor soldiers were excruciating; for the tents in general were but ill adapted to such a climate, and the thermometer in the shade frequently exceeded 130° of Fahrenheit. The misery was further increased by the scarcity of water, owing to the debility and mortality that prevailed among the camp-followers employed in procuring that inestimable beverage. Numbers of these water-carriers perished through the fatigue which they underwent in this fiery climate, where the natives suffered more than even Europeans, when called to make any extraordinary exertion. On one day as many as nineteen Europeans were buried: "melancholy indeed it was to see the route of the army traced by heaps of earth giving cover to the remains of so many gallant soldiers, who, after escaping the dangers incident to the fire and steel of war, fell pitiable victims to the climate."* On one day, the 1st of June, 250 natives were reported to have died in the bazaar attached to the camp. On the 3rd of June, as the troops were encamping near Karowley, the wind suddenly shifted, impetuous whirlwinds advanced over the sandy plains in vast columns of sand and dust, increasing in magnitude, and ascending into the air to a height beyond the reach of the eye. These objects were only the precursors of the still more tremendous demon of the storm—the typhoon, which came like chaos on the wings of the tempest, rolling before it immense torrents of burning

sand, and giving such a density to the atmosphere, that the sun, which had hitherto appeared as red as blood, became totally eclipsed. Night in the midst of day—night with tenfold terror—darkened all the scene, and the awfulness was heightened by the howlings of the tempest, which resembled the roar of thunder. This lasted about half an hour, during which the army and all the affrighted multitude in its train lay prostrate and silent on the ground, as if anticipating the day of doom. The trees were torn up by the roots, the tents were carried away and scattered about in every direction; the bullocks threw off their burdens and ran wild among the bazaar people; the horses broke loose from the picquets, and galloped about the camp in a phrenzy of fear. Providentially, however, the fearful phenomenon was succeeded by a little rain, which cooled the air, and rendered it so very refreshing that the mortality ceased. On the 4th of June, the army rested all day in honour of George III.'s birth-day. On the 5th, they passed the Jumna at a ford near the city of Agra, the guns and baggage being conveyed in beautiful style across the river in boats. On the 20th, or just after the commencement of the monsoon or rainy season, they reached their comfortable quarters at Cawnpoor. They had marched above 1000 miles.

In the mean time there had been some hard fighting in Bundelcund, and in the country beyond Jypoor. Colonel Powell, who was charged with the reduction of the fortresses in Bundelcund, fell sick and died. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcett, who sent a detachment of seven companies of sepoy, with some artillery, to take a small fort near Kooch. The officer in command, Captain Smith, was not sufficiently aware of the craft of the natives, and of the danger of relying upon their faith. Whilst preparations were carrying on in the trenches, the killadar sent out an offer to surrender the place the next morning, provided Captain Smith would suspend his firing. This proposition was agreed to; but, in the interval, the treacherous killadar applied to Meer Khan, who had retreated before Colonel Powell, but who

* Major Thorth.

had again returned to the neighbourhood with a large body of horse in the pay of Holkar. And on the following morning, the 22nd of May, the khan, with 7000 or 8000 of his cavalry, fell most unexpectedly on two companies of sepoy and about fifty artillerymen in the trenches. With savages like these it was vain to mention the truce or to plead for mercy: every man in the trenches, whether officer or private, was cruelly murdered. Meer Khan seized and carried off all the artillery, consisting of 2 twelves and 1 six-pounder, 2 howitzers, and the tumbrils belonging to the park. Captain Smith, however, succeeded in making good his retreat with the remaining five companies of sepoy, protected by a troop of the 5th regiment of native cavalry and a galloper six-pounder, which single gun kept off the enemy. Emboldened by their success, Meer Khan and his predatory horde made an attack upon Calpee, and attempted to force the passage of the Jumna. They were repulsed by Captain Jones at the head of only two companies of sepoy; and shortly afterwards they were completely defeated and scattered by a small force under Colonel Shepherd.

Captain Gardiner, an officer in the service of the Rajah of Jypoor, and Lieutenant Lucan of his majesty's 74th regiment, who had been detached by Lake to watch the motions of Holkar with two divisions of irregulars, came up on the 29th of May with a chieftain in the interest of Holkar, named Tantia, as he lay encamped with three battalions of infantry, two hundred Mewattees or hill robbers, 3000 horse and 11 guns. Tantia retreated to a difficult mountain pass, about six miles distant from Coterah. Here his battalions took post with their rear to the pass, having a rising ground on their right, and their front and flanks completely encompassed by deep ravines. The only road across these ravines was scarcely broad enough to admit a common country cart, and it was defended by three guns. The khan's people showed a good face until the guns attached to Lieutenant Lucan's division were brought up, after a march of 35 miles. One of the native chiefs then demanded a parley, and offered to surrender, on condition that his party should be

escorted in safety to the camp of Baboojee Scindiah, pledging himself that they would not serve any more against the English. These terms were assented to, and were punctually performed, the khan's battalions, amounting in the whole, with 200 Mewattees, to 2099 men, being conducted, as agreed upon, by our cavalry, and leaving in our possession all their ordnance and stores. But Tantia himself had effected his retreat at the head of the cavalry on the first appearance of Captain Gardiner's force.

During this first campaign of the year 1804, Lake's army and the corps dependant upon it captured 450 pieces of the finest ordnance, 182 wall pieces, 5000 stands of arms, 180 tumbrils and ammunition-carriages, and a vast quantity of military stores of every description.

In order to render the possession of a part of Bundelcund of any value, it was necessary to subdue or dispossess a formidable sanguinary banditti of the Naga race. This singular race of hill people abounds in India east of the Ganges. Their rapacity and sanguinary habits had depopulated the hills inhabited by less martial tribes. In person the Nagas somewhat resembled the Chinese, but little was or is known of their origin, history, or religion. Their villages were perched like eagles' nests on the most inaccessible peaks of the mountains. In Bundelcund a community of them occupied a strong position near Mohobah, surrounded by ranges of high rocks, which, on occasion, they lined with match-lock-men and rocket-boys. They interrupted communications, and made predatory incursions far and near. Towards the end of June Lieutenant-Colonel Martindell marched against them in their stronghold with the Bundelcund division, beat them from their rocks, drove them from that range of mountains, captured nearly all their baggage, plunder, camels, horses and stores, and took the religious standard of the tribe. But disaster and defeat and even disgrace attended the operations of another corps, commanded by an officer of an ill-omened name for India. [This Colonel Monson was related to the Colonel Monson of Warren Hastings's time, the dupe of Francis, and

a firebrand in the Supreme Council at Calcutta.] In July Lieutenant-Colonel Monson who, after reducing some fortresses, had encamped near Kotta on the banks of the Chumbul to guard the frontier, advanced his position about 50 miles from the Mokundra pass, at which place he had been led to expect supplies, and the means of communicating with Colonel Murray, then on his march from Guzerat towards Indore. The corps under Colonel Monson consisted of five battalions of sepoys, a proportion of artillery, and two bodies of irregular horse, the last being commanded by Lieutenant Lucan and a Mahratta chief (Baboojee), who belonged to the family of Scindiah, and who had professed an entire devotion to the cause of the English. The whole amounted to about 3000 men. On the 7th of July, Monson received intelligence that Holkar had swept through Malwa, and had recrossed the Chumbul with the whole of his army. The Colonel expressed contempt for the superiority of the enemy's numbers, and an eagerness for coming to action with him. He made a movement for that purpose; but soon relinquished his design, in consequence of the deficiency of grain in his camp, the absence of one detachment employed to bring up a supply, and of another that was on its march to join him from one of the forts he had captured. Colonel Monson was also expecting the arrival of an escort with money for his troops; but it is said that what most influenced his conduct was the reception of intelligence that Colonel Murray, instead of pressing forwards towards Indore, had an intention to fall back. Although it was dangerous to retreat in the presence of Holkar's numerous cavalry, Monson determined to retire to the Mokundra pass.* Accordingly,

* Monson's conduct has been very severely censured; but it depended upon the movements of others, and there were some capital defects, if not in the plan itself, in the whole execution of the plan of this campaign. Even Lord Lake had not yet learned with what ease and rapidity the Mahrattas could recruit their armies, change retreat and actual flight into an advance, and repeat their blows. If Lake had continued in pursuit of Holkar, instead of retiring to Cawnpore with the main body of the army, the campaign would have been a short one, and the disasters which befel Monson in his retreat would not have

the baggage and stores were sent off at four in the morning on the 8th of July, while the troops, in order of battle, remained on the ground of encampment till half-past nine. As no enemy came up, the troops were then put in motion after the baggage and stores, with the exception of the irregular cavalry under Lieutenant Lucan and Baboojee Scindiah, who were ordered to follow in half an hour, and to apprise Colonel Monson of Holkar's motions. The detachment had marched about twelve miles towards the Mokundra

happened. This was foreseen by General Wellesley as early as the month of April. "If," said he, "General Lake would make a good dash at Holkar, the war could not last a fortnight; but if he should stand upon the defensive in Hindustan, it will last for a length of time." But Holkar's rapid retreat had deceived Lake into the belief that he was far weaker than he really was, and that the corps of Colonels Murray and Monson would be more than enough to drive him beyond Indore, if not into the Punjab; and no necessary preparations had been made for the continued advance of the main body of the army serving with Lake.

No one doubted Colonel Monson's courage; Lake, even in mourning over his retreat, described him as being as brave as a lion. If Monson had stopped at first, instead of retiring, his infantry would have been unable to bring the fleet Mahratta cavalry to action; and every day's delay would have increased the famine in his camp. Retreats had always been disastrous in India. General Wellesley thought that some important lessons were to be learned from this campaign—

"First, We should never employ a corps on a service to which it is not fully equal.

"Secondly, We should take care to be sure of plenty of provisions.

"Thirdly, Experience has shown that British troops can never depend upon rajahs or any allies for their supplies. Our own officers must purchase them; and if we should employ a native in such an important service, we ought to see the supplies before we expose our troops in the situation in which we may want them.

"Fourthly, When we have a fort which can support our operations, we should immediately adopt effectual means to fill it with provisions and stores in case of need.

"Fifthly, When we cross a river likely to be full in the rains, we ought to have a post and boats upon it; as I have upon all the rivers south of Poona.

"In respect to the operations of a corps in the situation of Monson's, *they must be decided and quick*; and in all retreats it must be recollected that *they are safe and easy in proportion to the number of attacks made by the retreating corps*. But attention to the foregoing observations will, I hope, prevent the necessity of a British corps retreating."—*Dispatches*.

pass, when Monson received intelligence that Lucan had been attacked by the whole of Holkar's cavalry. Upon this, orders were given for the troops to halt and form, with the view of supporting the party in the rear. At this moment Baboojee Scindiah, who traitorously joined the enemy soon after, galloped up and declared that the irregular cavalry was entirely defeated, and that Lucan was wounded and a prisoner. The Mahratta was a liar and traitor, but this time the news he brought was too true: Lieutenant Lucan, who had greatly distinguished himself both in this campaign and in the preceding war against Scindiah, was indeed in the hands of a merciless enemy, and he died shortly afterwards of his wounds, or of poison administered to him at Kotta. As it was useless to return, Colonel Monson continued his march; and on the noon of the following day he reached the Mokundra pass without any molestation. On the morning of the 10th of July the enemy showed a large body of cavalry in front of the pass, and this continued to increase in numbers till noon the next day, when Holkar sent a letter to the English commander demanding the surrender of his guns and small arms. This demand being spiritedly refused, Holkar made a vigorous attack on Monson's front and flanks. The Mahrattas, however, could make no impression upon our steady native infantry, and after repeated attacks, and some loss, Holkar drew off his cavalry to the distance of four miles, where he was joined by his infantry and artillery. Colonel Monson, apprehending that the Mahrattas might get upon his rear and cut off his communication with the town of Kotta, through which he expected supplies, began immediately to retire to that town, which he reached after two forced and most fatiguing marches, through torrents of rain and across a country completely inundated. The Rajah of Kotta, believing that Holkar must be victorious, refused to admit Monson's troops into his town, on the plea that he could not furnish them with provisions. The retreat now became very disastrous, the rivers and rivulets were all swollen by the monsoon rains, and the troops were almost reduced

to starvation. The guns could not be dragged on: the Colonel was obliged to leave them behind him after rendering them unserviceable and destroying their ammunition. The Mahratta cavalry hung close on the rear, and several times attacked fiercely. After one of these attacks, in which our sepoys suffered severely, Monson was under the necessity of abandoning his baggage. On the night of the 25th of August, after defeating several charges made by the enemy's cavalry, he reached the town of Kooshalghur, where he found Capt. Nicholl with a detachment of sepoys and a company of the 12th regiment. Before Monson's arrival Capt. Nicholl had been attacked in the town by one of our precious allies, a Mahratta chief of the Scindiah party, who had insisted upon levying a contribution, although the town and fort of Kooshalghur were the property of our ally the Rajah of Jypoor. And not satisfied with this demand of choulte, our said Mahratta ally required the surrender of the elephants, treasure, and baggage, belonging to this British detachment. To this demand no reply was made; and the Mahratta opened his guns on the town, and then attempted to storm the place. Captain Nicholl's force was very small, and there were many gates and openings into the fort; yet he had succeeded in repulsing the assailants. On the morning after his arrival at Kooshalghur, Monson found himself surrounded by the whole of Holkar's cavalry, and detected a correspondence between Holkar and some of the native officers belonging to his own corps. Notwithstanding the efforts he made, nearly two entire companies deserted from one sepoy regiment, and a large proportion of his Hindustanee cavalry fled or went over to the enemy. In the evening the Colonel retreated from Kooshalghur, his troops marching in a compact oblong square. During that night and the greater part of the following day, the Mahratta horse, supported by some artillery, attempted to penetrate, but could make no impression upon that compact body of infantry. On clearing the ravines near the now ruined fort of Hindoun, Monson had to sustain a desperate charge of the enemy's horse in three divisions;

but the sepoy's reserved their fire till the Mahrattas came within reach of the bayonet, and then compelled them to retreat in every direction. After this affair the Mahrattas never charged again. Monson reached the city of Agra at the end of August, with his detachment fearfully thinned, disordered, and demoralized. The loss of officers had been very great, amounting to 13 killed, 7 wounded, and 2 drowned.

The turn of affairs produced by this disastrous retreat compelled the commander-in-chief with his army to take the field without delay, in order to check Holkar, who was now strengthened by the Jauts and the Bhurtpoor Rajah, who had broken the treaty of alliance concluded with General Lake in the preceding year, and were now threatening to seize our newly acquired possessions.* Accordingly, the several corps of Lord Lake's army received orders to repair immediately to the general rendezvous at Agra, in order to commence a second campaign. By the beginning of September all the corps were in motion, although the country continued in a state of inundation, and the rain still poured down in torrents.

The straggling sepoy's of Colonel Monson's unfortunate division hailed Lord

Lake's arrival with transport. They soon recovered their discipline and gallantry; and the barbarity of the enemy helped to root out the partial disaffection which had existed among them. Numbers came daily into camp shockingly mutilated, with their noses and right hands cut off in consequence of their having refused to enter Holkar's service. Those who had enrolled with the Mahratta sent word to the English officers that they would escape at the first opportunity. The barbarians had reached the banks of the Jumna, had taken possession of Muttra, and had spread consternation over the country. A detachment of them had even crossed the Jumna, but they all fled precipitately as Lake advanced. By the 3rd of October Muttra was recovered, and was occupied by our reserve under Lieut.-Colonel Don. The rapid Mahrattas, however, succeeded in seizing and carrying off some of our supplies, and some invalid sepoy's in charge of 100 camels loaded with grain. Before daybreak on the 7th an attempt was made to surprise Holkar in his camp; but the Mahratta and his men were already mounted, and they galloped off with such rapidity as to render it impossible to effect a charge. A few of them, however, were brought down in their flight by Lake's galloper guns. Other attempts to surprise them in their encampments and to bring them to action failed completely, for they were exceedingly vigilant, throwing out posts in all directions, who, by firing signals, and burning blue-lights, gave the alarm. Now and then these posts were surprised, and made prisoners. The men expected vengeance and retaliation, but Lord Lake gave them a rupee each, and then dismissed them with a message to their chief, telling him that none but cowards treated their prisoners with cruelty. The army continued steadily to advance, the cavalry leading, followed by the infantry, and the baggage and bazaars moving along between the inner flank and the river Jumna. The road they were following was the high road to Delhi, which capital was besieged by Holkar's regular brigade of infantry, with a large train of artillery. The siege was pressed with all possible vigour, it being a vital object with Holkar

* The warlike tribe of the Jauts first attracted notice in Hindustan about the year 1700, when, having migrated from the banks of the Indus, they obtained settlements in several districts on the Ganges and Jumna. Their subsequent progress was very rapid. During the civil wars carried on by the successors of Aurungzebe, they secured to themselves a large tract of country, in which they built forts. To the Hindu title of Rajah their chief had no more real right than his ancestors had to the contents of the Mogul's caravans, which they were in the habit of plundering. Their great power was first broken by intestine feuds. One Rajah was killed in battle by a competitor; another was secretly murdered. The Jaut dominions, which had extended from the neighbourhood of Agra to within a few miles of Delhi, were gradually clipped and reduced; and thus the year 1780 they had comprised merely Bhurtpoor, and a small district, of about seven lacs of rupees per annum. In September, 1803, a treaty of perpetual friendship was concluded by General Lake with the Bhurtpoor Rajah, the British government making over to him some new districts yielding 754,000 rupees per annum. The reverses of Colonel Monson had induced the Rajah to believe that the fortunes of the English were declining.

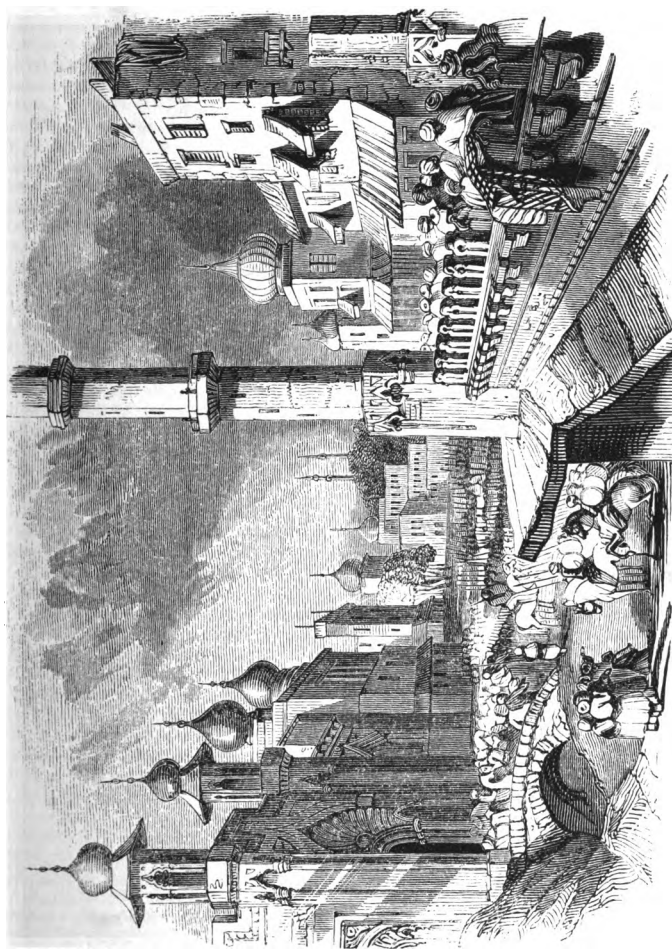
to get possession of the person of the poor Mogul before Lord Lake could get to his rescue. Despising, and leaving in his rear, some forts of which Holkar had obtained possession, Lake continued his march, and reached Delhi on the 17th of October. The besieging Mahrattas fled at his approach. Colonel Ochterlony, the British resident at the Mogul's court, and Colonel Burn, the commandant of the garrison, had successfully defended the wide and crumbling walls of Agra with a very few men, and for several weeks. It was easy for the Mahrattas to make breaches, for they had some heavy artillery, and the works were rotten; but they could not storm through the breaches when they had made them, and all their endeavours to take the place by surprise and escalade were defeated by the vigilance of the garrison. As there were but few regular troops in the place, and as the garrison was principally composed of a motley rabble, collected in haste from various quarters, and armed only with matchlocks, Ochterlony, Burn, and the few British officers serving under them, must have made very extraordinary efforts, and have given proof of very extraordinary ability. In some respects their defence of Delhi might be compared with Clive's ingenious and heroic defence of Arcot.

On the 25th of October Lord Lake's army was kept on the alert by continued reports of attacks being made on the foraging parties. They had also repeated night alarms during their short stay in the Mogul's capital, occasioned by the numerous robbers and thieves that infested the hills and ruins about Delhi, and that made their way into the bazaars of the army.

Having been foiled in his attempt upon the capital of the empire, Holkar determined to perplex and harass his pursuer in the true Mahratta style of predatory warfare. Moving secretly and rapidly to the northward, he crossed the Jumna near Paniput, threatening to lay waste the British territories in the Duab. But Lake and Fraser were soon after him. On the 31st of October the British crossed the Jumna at a ford about three miles from Delhi. Orders were issued to

march as light as possible; no private wheel-carriages were allowed; the number of tents and the quantity of baggage were greatly reduced; and six pounds of flour were issued to every fighting man and public servant, which was to last them six days, and to be carried by themselves. As the troops advanced, they encountered some fierce hostile bands of Seiks, who occupied nearly the whole northern quarter of the Delhi province, and who were a proud and irascible race, half Mussulman, half Hindu, and very fanatic in their complex faith: but Colonel Burn, who led the van, easily cleared the road with grape-shot, and got into the small mud fort of Shamlee. Here he was surrounded by a countless host, but it fled and disappeared on seeing the clouds of dust raised by the march of the main army. On the 6th of November Lake's army marched about twenty-four miles on the road to Soldana, or Sirdhana, the residence of the Begum Somroo, the widow of that European adventurer Sombre, who had shed so much good English blood in the days of Warren Hastings.* No woman has attained so much celebrity in the modern history of Hindustan. On the death of her husband, she kept the troops together which he had raised and disciplined, and by their means preserved her authority over a small but fertile district, extending about thirty-six miles from north to south, and about twenty-four from east to west. The country was highly cultivated, producing grain of all kind, tobacco, cotton, sugar-canes, &c., and rendering about ten lacs of rupees annual revenue. The principal town was pleasantly situated, and of considerable extent. Near the town was a fort, containing a good arsenal, with a foundry for cannon. The military force consisted at this period of five battalions of well-disciplined sepoys, commanded by European officers, with about forty pieces of artillery. The Begum had on several occasions rendered important services to Shah Alum, who had gratefully bestowed upon her the title of "Ornament of the Sex." She had a very masculine mind, and she had ma-

* For Sombre's or Sumroo's butcheries, see vol. i., p. 101.



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naged her affairs so well since the death of her husband, as not only to keep, but also to enlarge and improve her principality. Though descended from the Mogul race, and bred in the Mohammedan faith, she openly professed Christianity, and encouraged it in her territories. "When I saw her at Delhi in 1806," says Major Thorn, "she appeared to be about fifty-three years of age, of middling size, and fair complexion. She was then a constant attendant at headquarters, dressed in the European style, with a hat and veil, sometimes riding out in a palankeen, at others on a horse or an elephant."* Her husband, the aspiring

and fortunate sergeant, had been a bloody enemy to the English, a fact not calculated to conciliate the confidence of Lord Lake. It had been reported during the late war with Scindiah that she intended to join her disciplined battalions to the army of that chief; but she had wisely remained neutral during the whole of that war, and she seemed disposed to follow the same line of conduct now.

On the 7th of November Lake's foremost column got sight of a body of Mahratta horse, who took instantly to flight. Closely pursued by the English, the Mahrattas fled past the town of Meerut without stopping to plunder it. Having left at Meerut Colonel Burn, with three battalions of infantry and some irregular cavalry, for the protection of the northern parts of the Duab, Lord Lake marched after the marauders, who ravaged and burned the defenceless villages as they swept along, making no attempts upon towns surrounded with walls or capable of the least defence. On the 16th of November Lake reached Alligunge, which village was still burning when the English arrived. Holkar was encamped near Furruckabad, thirty-six miles ahead; but Lake resolved to make another attempt to surprise him by a forced night-march. The distance was great, but it was likely to add to the Mahratta's security. At nine o'clock in the evening the General, with the British cavalry, moved on without tent or baggage of any kind. Just as they were mounting their horses they received the agreeable news of the victory gained over Holkar's brigade at Deeg. This made them doubly eager to come up with the chief himself and all his boasted cavalry, in order to give the finishing stroke. The moon was up, and the night mild and pleasant. As they spurred along the road they were cheered

* Memoir of the War in India, conducted by General Lord Lake, Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, &c. London, 1818.

"Of late years," adds the Major, "the Begum Sumroo has resided principally at Delhi, where she built a splendid house, passing the remainder of her days in peace, under the protection of the British government."

Bishop Heber, who saw the Begum some years later, gives rather a less favourable account of her. She was then living, not at Delhi, but in her own capital.

"She is a very little, queer-looking old woman, with brilliant but wicked eyes, and the remains of beauty in her features. She is possessed of considerable talent and readiness in conversation, but only speaks Hindustanee. Her soldiers and people, and the generality of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood, pay her much respect, on account both of her supposed wisdom and her courage; she having, during the Mahratta wars, led, after her husband's death, his regiment very gallantly into action, herself riding at their head into a heavy fire of the enemy. She is, however, a sad tyranness; and having the power of life and death within her own little territory, several stories are told of her cruelty, and the noses and ears which she orders to be cut off. One relation of this kind, according to native reports, on which reliance, however, can rarely be placed, is very horrid. One of her dancing-girls had offended her—how I have not heard. The Begum ordered the poor creature to be immured alive in a small vault prepared for the purpose, under the pavement of the saloon where the natch was then celebrating; and being aware that her fate excited much sympathy and horror in the minds of the servants and soldiers of her palace, and apprehensive that they would open the tomb and rescue the victim as soon as her back was turned, she saw the vault bricked up before her own eyes, then ordered her bed to be placed directly over it, and lay there for several nights, till the last faint moans had ceased to be heard, and she was convinced that hunger and despair had done their work. This woman calls herself a Christian, of the Roman Catholic faith, which was that of her husband Sombre. . . . She has a Roman

Catholic priest as her chaplain, and has lately begun to build a very large and handsome church at Sirdhana, which will rival, if not excel, that of Meerut in size and architectural beauty."—*Indian Journal*.

It is from this strange woman that Mr. Dyce Sombre, whose unhappy eccentricities occupy so much of the public attention, is descended. The Begum's wit appears to have been very nearly allied to madness.

by intelligence that their foe was motionless in his encampment, and wholly ignorant of their coming. The day was just beginning to dawn on the 17th, when the head of their column reached the skirts of the Mahratta camp. Their horses were at picket, and by the side of them the men lay sleeping. Several rounds of grape fired from our gallopers into the thickest of their camp was the first intimation they received of Lake's arrival. The fire awakened them, but made the sleep of many an everlasting sleep. The king's 8th light dragoons got first in among them, charging and cutting them down in all directions: our other regiments did the same as fast as they came up, so that in a short time the whole camp was covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded. Holkar himself escaped, being the first to fly. He was followed by a small party of cavalry, the only men that could mount and escape and keep together; and he never drew rein until he had recrossed the Calini river, at a ford eighteen miles distant. By this one blow the cavalry of Holkar was ruined or dispersed, as his infantry and artillery had been at Deeg. When he first crossed the Jumna he had 60,000 horse; after recrossing the Calini he could not collect 10,000. Three thousand had fallen in the surprised camp; the rest deserted and dispersed, and never joined him again. Lake continued the pursuit for upwards of ten miles; and as his march during the preceding day and night was fifty-eight miles, the distance to which the enemy were pursued and the space passed over before he took up his encampment ground considerably exceeded seventy miles in twenty-four hours; an effort scarcely paralleled in military history, for it was made after a long and harassing march of three hundred and fifty miles in the space of a fortnight. Great was the fatigue, but small the loss: he had only two British dragoons killed, and about twenty men, Europeans and natives, wounded; and of the seventy-five horses that perished or became useless, the far greater part seem to have been foundered on the forced night march. The Mahrattas left plenty of good horses be-

hind them. With his infantry following him almost at the charging pace, Lake pushed on to the city of Furruckabad, whose flourishing condition had enticed Holkar thither, the Mahratta expecting to make a rich prize before the English could come up with him. His lordship arrived just at the nick of time, for the unruly Patans of the town and neighbourhood had not only engaged to co-operate with the Mahrattas, but had risen upon the English residents, and had driven the Company's weak detachment of sepoys into the fort of Futtyghur. If he had been a few hours later, he would probably have found nothing but smoking ruins and the disfigured bodies of the murdered English; for the Patans had already set fire to the cavalry's stables and officers' bungalows, and were besieging the fort. Having first knocked a good many of these Patans on the head, Lake's army fired three royal salutes; one in honour of the victory obtained by Major-General Fraser at Deeg, another for the capture of Chandore by Colonel Wallace, and another for his own action in the Mahratta camp.

While Lake with the cavalry was in pursuit of Holkar's horse, part of the British infantry and artillery, under Major-General Fraser, was marching in search of his disciplined brigades and his guns, which were known to be somewhere within the Bhurtpoor Rajah's territories. On the 12th of November, four days before Lake began his rapid night march, Fraser from some surrounding heights discovered his enemy encamped between a large deep tank and an extensive morass, their right being covered by a fortified village, and their left resting on the fort of Deeg. Every preparation was made for the attack the next morning. Major-General Fraser's force consisted only of the king's 76th regiment, two of the Company's European regiments, and six battalions of sepoys, two of which must necessarily be left for the protection of the baggage, together with a small body of irregular horse. The force opposed to him amounted to twenty-four disciplined battalions, with a tremendous artillery; and their position, in the midst of tanks, topes, forts, and morasses, was

exceedingly formidable. Nevertheless two European regiments and four battalions of sepoy marched gaily and confidently to the attack at three o'clock on the morning of the 13th of November. This gallant little column had to make a considerable detour to avoid the morass, so that it was daybreak ere it reached the fortified village on a hill which covered the enemy's right. Here the troops immediately wheeled into line; the 76th regiment and two battalions forming the first, and the remaining troops the second line. The 76th with charged bayonets drove the Mahrattas out of the village, and then running down the hill charged the first range of guns, under a tremendous storm of round, grape, and chain shot. The enemy abandoned their guns as our men came up to them, and retired to fresh batteries. When the second line arrived at the fortified village which the 76th had carried, the Company's European regiment, seeing the brave 76th regiment so far ahead in the thickest of the multitudinous enemy, ran to its support, and was followed by some of the sepoy, who again kept pace with the British and emulated their daring. Having entirely carried the first range of guns, the assailants were exposed to a still more destructive fire from the enemy's second range. Here a cannon-ball took off General Fraser's leg. The general was carried from the field, and the command devolved upon Colonel Monson, who had been very unfortunate, but who had never failed in courage or in soldierly bearing. He promptly executed the whole of Fraser's plan of attack. The British and sepoy bayonets soon drove the Mahrattas from their second range; one battery was charged and carried after another to the distance of two miles, till coming close under the walls of the town of Deeg, our troops were compelled to halt and fall back. In the meantime a body of the enemy's horse coming suddenly round, retook the first range of guns, and turned them against our troops; but Captain Henry Norford, of the 76th, with only twenty-eight men, charged them with the bayonet, drove them off, and took the guns again. It was a brilliant exploit, but Captain Norford was

unfortunately killed in the performance of it. At the lower end of the morass was a dense body of infantry, with a number of heavy guns from 12- to 18-pounders. With only two battalions of sepoy and three 6-pounders, Major Hammond had kept this corps in check during the whole of the action, and had maintained his position in spite of the terrible fire of the artillery. Now Colonel Monson ordered up some more 6-pounders, placed them in Major Hammond's front, and under cover of their fire moved round upon the enemy's left flank. These Mahrattas made a precipitate retreat into the morass, where great numbers perished, and amongst them two of the principal officers of Holkar's army. There was no more fighting. The field was fairly and gloriously won, though not without a very heavy loss for so small a force. The number of our killed and wounded amounted to 643, among whom were 22 British officers. Major-General Fraser died of his wound a few days after the battle. But from 2000 to 3000 of the enemy lay dead on the field; 87 fine pieces of artillery, of European fabric, well mounted on field carriages, and furnished with every requisite apparatus, were captured; and the best disciplined part, the flower of Holkar's army, twenty-four well-trained and disciplined battalions, were broken up and dispersed.*

The reduction of Chandore, the strongest place Holkar held on the side of the Deccan, was planned by General Sir Arthur Wellesley, before he resigned the political and military powers which he exercised in the country. The troops appointed to the service consisted of detachments from the Company's subsidiary forces serving with the Nizam and the Peishwa and of some contingents furnished by those two princes. They were commanded by Colonels Haliburton and Wallace; and through the care of General

* Major Thorn, Memoir of the War. Colonel Monson, Dispatches. All appeared to have done well; but Colonel Monson, in his dispatch to the governor-general, particularly noticed as deserving of praise, Colonel Horsford of the artillery, Lieut.-Colonel G. S. Browne, Brigade-Major Menzies, Captains Fraser and MacKnight, Brigade-Major Carr, and Ensign Bowyer.

Wellesley they were well supplied with money and provisions.* Early in October Colonel Wallace, after a long march, succeeded in capturing the dependent port of Lasselgong, about twelve miles from Chandore. An easy march then brought him to the famed stronghold. The town of Chandore threw open its gates, but not so the fort on the hill behind the town. This hill or rock actually forms the fort, being quite inaccessible everywhere but at the gateway, where alone it is fortified by art. There was thus but one entrance of any kind, and the narrow road which led to it could be swept by the tremendous batteries of the fortress. A vigorous resistance was expected: but as soon as Colonel Wallace had established a battery, Holkar's commandant held out the white flag, and surrendered, upon condition that private property should be respected, and the garrison be allowed to retire unmolested with their baggage, &c. The fall of Chandore induced the surrender of a number of small forts, and completely deprived Holkar of all his possessions south of the Taptee river. In the meanwhile Colonel Murray with the force from Guzerat had done good service. He had

* Colonel Wallace, who particularly distinguished himself during this campaign, had been selected for the service by General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who well knew the stuff the Colonel was made of, and who rarely chose amiss. Wallace, of the 74th regiment, had fought by Wellesley's side at the battle of Assaye. In a letter to Colonel Close, who was then doing diplomatic duty, Wellesley described Wallace as "a brave soldier and an honourable gentleman," but one "little accustomed to transact political business." On the latter account he endeavoured to place about Wallace such officers as could be useful to him, taking care, at the same time, to consult the Colonel's own inclinations. A good anecdote is told in illustration of Wallace's devoted zeal and implicit obedience to orders. At the siege of Gawlihur he had been charged with the execution of certain details. A heavy gun had been directed to be conveyed by night to an important point; and its transportation over a most rugged mountain so long baffled all endeavours, that the artillery officer, in despair, reported the accomplishment of it to be impossible. "Impossible, sir!" exclaimed Colonel Wallace, "impossible! Let us see!" He called for a light, pulled the instructions from his pocket, and, having read them, said, "O no! not impossible; the order is positive!" The gun, of course, was carried to its point. — *Note in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

been condemned to the necessity of a temporary retreat, but he had soon resumed his onward march, and had reduced Holkar's capital, Indore, without difficulty, and by the end of November he had occupied or reduced all the country that Holkar possessed to the west of the Chumbul. In other directions the allies of the Mahratta were either beaten or detached from him. The war would have been finished by the great battle of Deeg and by his other reverses, if it had not been for the alliance which Holkar had contracted with the warlike Jauts and their ruler the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, Runjeet Sing. This chief had sent his cavalry to fight with the troops of Holkar at Deeg; and when the Mahrattas fled from the English to his town and fortress of Deeg, the garrison, composed entirely of the Rajah's forces, opened a heavy fire of musketry and cannon on the pursuers, thus occasioning a severe loss on our side in officers and men, and enabling our enemies to carry off many pieces of artillery, which must otherwise have been captured. From this time Holkar and the Rajah were open confederates; and the Mahratta depended almost entirely upon the Jaut for supplies of money and military stores. Down to the time of the great battle of Deeg, this Rajah of Bhurtpoor had professed friendship and gratitude to the English; and General Lake had treated him as a friend: but now the most effectual way of extinguishing the remnant of Holkar's power, and of affording a salutary example to other Indian princes our allies, was to carry the war immediately into Runjeet Sing's territories. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, the cavalry and flying artillery marched back from Furruckabad to Delhi, to cross the Jumna near that city, and leaving the reserve to follow in a few days. During their march the cavalry and flying artillery passed under the strong walls of Hattrass, the principal fortress of the Rajah Dyaram Thakoor. This chief, who was of the Jaut race, and related to the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, had once been the subject and zemindar of Scindiah, but since the decline of that chieftain's power he had made himself completely



Hill Fort.

No. 30.

independent, and had assumed, like his relative Runjeet Sing, the title of Rajah. His fortress and country lay within the limits of the territories which Scindiah had ceded to the English in his treaty with Lord Lake in 1803; but Rajah Dyaram had kept everything as his own; and since Holkar's arrival on the banks of the Jumna, and alliance with the Jauts of Bhurtpoor, his conduct had been almost openly hostile to the Company. He had expended immense sums in fortifying Hatrass, and in entertaining troops in his service, who were exercised in the European manner. When Lake's foremost column approached the town, he fully expected an attack; but the troops marched quietly past the place hearing his drums and fifes, and seeing numbers of his soldiers, both horse and foot, encamped on the glacis. A little beyond the town, at a small village in a jungle, the English cavalry discovered a cavalry picquet which Dyaram had stationed to guard against a surprise; and about eight miles farther on they passed another strong fortress, occupied by another independent chief and close ally of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor. On the 1st of October, 1804, Lord Lake, having come up, and having resolved to reduce all the forts within the Bhurtpoor territory, joined, near Deeg, his cavalry and artillery to the infantry which General Fraser had brought into the country, and which were now commanded by Colonel Monson. Thus, after a month's separation, during which the cavalry had marched upwards of five hundred miles, the two branches of the army reunited with mutual congratulations, for the cavalry acting by itself had gained the great battle over the Mahratta cavalry in the camp near Furruckabad, and the infantry acting by itself had won the victory of Deeg.*

The fortress of Deeg was now garrisoned by troops of Holkar, in conjunction with the troops of his ally the Rajah of Bhurtpoor; it was well furnished with artillery before, and since the battle of Deeg all the Mahratta pieces which

Fraser's army had not taken had been carried within the walls and placed in battery. Holkar himself had fled to the town from the disastrous camp by Furruckabad. On one occasion, when Lake was encamped within sight of the fortress of Deeg making preparations for the siege, Holkar came up in person with a great body of horse, hovered round the English for some time, and charged the rear of a division which had been out reconnoitring. He was, however, beaten off with loss; and he never charged again. Having been joined by the reserve under Colonel Don with the battering train, &c., from Agra, Lake marched on the 11th of December, in two columns parallel to each other towards his final position in front of the fortress of Deeg. As the army and its accessories moved leisurely across the country in form of an oblong square, the spectacle was imposing; for the native bazaar people and other camp followers were not less than 60,000, and there were 200 elephants, 2000 camels, and 100,000 bullocks for carrying grain, equipage, baggage, &c. The fortified village where the 76th had made their memorable charge, the tank, and the topes were seized without firing a shot, and the place was completely invested by the morning of the 14th of December. The British were in possession of the town and all the outworks by the morning of the 24th of December; and on the morning of Christmas-day, 1804, the Mahrattas evacuated the citadel, flying in a panic, and leaving everything behind them. Deeg was a town of considerable size and importance, and had been considered as almost inaccessible to an enemy during the greater part of the year, from its being nearly surrounded by lakes and marshes. It had been a royal dwelling: it had massy gateways and tall towers surmounted by very heavy artillery. But the importance of this place was far inferior to that of the celebrated maiden fortress of Bhurtpoor, which stood amidst jungles and water at the distance of about thirty English miles from Agra. On the 1st of January, 1805, Lord Lake and Colonel Monson moved from Deeg to this well-defended capital of the rajah; and on the third the British took up their en-

* Major Thorn, *Memoir of the War in India*, &c.

campment-ground for the prosecution of a siege which has scarcely a parallel in the history of modern India, and which witnessed minings and explosions of unprecedented magnitude. Lake found that report had not exaggerated the strength of this place: Bhurtpoor was amazingly strong, both naturally and artificially, and its garrison was a numerous and resolute army. When breaches were made, several assaults were most successfully repelled by the Indians. In one of these affairs Lake lost nearly 300 Europeans and 200 sepoys: the enemy butchered in cold blood all the wounded who fell in the ditch or beyond the outer wall; and several of Lake's best officers were slain. With great alacrity strong stockades were formed behind the breaches. No progress was made until the 18th of January, when Major-General Smith arrived at camp with three battalions of sepoys belonging to the garrison of Agra, and 100 convalescent Europeans, who had performed a march of fifty miles, by a circuitous route, in twenty-four hours; and when Ismael Beg deserted from Holkar and joined the English with 500 native horse. Better advances were then made, and the batteries of the besiegers renewed their fire with greater vigour. By the 21st of January a very wide breach was effected; but the enemy, fearful that their guns would be dismounted, if they were at all exposed, drew them behind their parapets, and kept them in reserve to pour destruction upon the English, whenever they should advance again to storm the place; and, lured by the present of six lacs of rupees, and by the tempting prospect of plunder, Meer Khan, who was then in Bundelcund, marched with all his forces towards Bhurtpoor to assist the rajah. On the morning of the 21st, before daybreak, dispositions were made by Lake for trying another storm. Portable bridges had been made for traversing the ditch; but the head of our storming column found that the enemy had dammed up the ditch below the breach, and caused a great body of water that had been kept above it to be poured in, by which means the ditch was widened and deepened almost instantaneously. As the portable bridges were

now too short, and as there was eight feet water in the ditch, Colonel Macrae, who commanded the column, ordered an instant retreat, although some of his people had swum across the water and had even mounted the breach. This was another murderous affair, for during the whole time that Colonel Macrae was advancing towards the walls, or hesitating at the brink of the ditch, or retreating across open ground towards Lord Lake's trenches, the enemy kept up a heavy fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, and nearly six hundred men and eighteen officers fell at different points killed or wounded. And when this was over Meer Khan from Bundelcund appeared in the rear of the besiegers' encampment with clouds of cavalry, partly his own and partly the well armed and mounted people of Holkar. The British cavalry, however, held these forces in check, and towards night-fall the English artillery dispersed them, and killed some fifty of them with the galloper guns. Lake had commenced the campaign with gigantic *matériel* and supplies; but he was already in want of provisions and stores, and a convoy of 12,000 bullocks, loaded with provisions, was anxiously expected. As this convoy was guarded only by a small body of matchlock-men, a regiment of native cavalry and a battalion of a European regiment were detached, under the command of Captain Walsh, to meet it on its way and escort it from Mutra to the camp. Walsh joined the convoy without any difficulty; but on the morning of the 23rd of January, when only a few miles from the camp, he was beset and attacked by Meer Khan at the head of 8000 horse. Captain Walsh retreated into a large open village with the greater part of the convoy intact; but some of the bullocks were of necessity abandoned. Though assailed on all sides, his musketry and field-pieces repeatedly beat off the assailants, but, two of his guns getting disabled, the enemy made a desperate push on that point, and gained possession of part of the village. Walsh's guns were heard in the English camp, and forthwith Colonel Need sounded boot and saddle, and, with an English regiment of dragoons and a regiment of native cavalry, galloped to-

wards the spot. The sepoy in the village, on perceiving the clouds of dust which marked Need's advance across the plain, set up a loud and joyous shout, and, sallying forth upon Meer Khan's guns, they carried them at the point of the bayonet just as Need arrived with his two regiments of horse, who then dashed among the Mahrattas, and put them to flight. Six hundred of the Khan's people were left dead on the field, and he himself escaped with the utmost difficulty, leaving behind him forty flags, all his artillery and tumbrils, his own palanquin, arms, armour, and splendid attire, and flying in the disguise of a common soldier. On the 24th another detachment was sent from the camp for the protection of another and greater convoy coming from Agra, with many thousand bullocks carrying grain, and about 800 hackeries laden with stores, ammunition, 18-pound shot for the battering guns, and six lacs of rupees. On the 29th Holkar, the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, and Meer Khan, having united for the purpose all the forces they could collect, threatened an attack on this rich convoy; but Lake had sent out a second detachment to meet the other on the road; and, although the convoy was repeatedly surrounded, it was brought into camp without the loss of a single bullock, for the rajah's infantry fled on the first appearance of the second English detachment, and the cavalry would not venture near enough for a real attack. A good many of the latter were killed in the jungle by grape-shot and the swords of our dragoons.

As the number of the enemy within the walls of Bhurtpoor was increased rather than diminished, and as the two attempted assaults had cost so great a sacrifice of life, Lake resolved to proceed with more caution. On the 6th of February his army changed ground, and, after clearing the vicinity of the enemy's cavalry, which still came round about in clouds, he established a strong chain of posts, and then leisurely made his preparations for pressing the siege. Boats, or coracles, made of wicker-work and covered with hides, such as are described by Cæsar as used by the ancient Britons, and such as are still seen paddling on the

river Wye and other Welsh waters, were constructed to serve as pontoons; and, as an additional means of crossing the broad deep moat, a portable raft was made about 40 feet long and 16 feet broad, which was to be buoyed up by inflated oilskins and casks. But while this was doing in front of Bhurtpoor, Meer Khan wheeled round with his flying horse, rushed into the Duah, and invaded the Company's own territories, being accompanied or followed by clouds of Pindarees, the freebooters and moss-troopers of India, who made war solely for the purpose of plunder. The Rajah of Bhurtpoor had calculated that this unexpected invasion would induce Lord Lake to raise the siege; but his lordship merely detached Major-General Smith with a part of his cavalry, and with the horse artillery, and continued his operations as before. Smith executed the duty intrusted to him with spirit and rapidity, and with complete success, crossing and recrossing the Jumna and the Ganges, and plunging through other streams which intersected the country, climbing lofty mountains, the offshoots of the stupendous Himalaya chain, and making marches which were never surpassed by any army. The burning villages and the wasted country showed him the way which Meer Khan had taken. He came up with that chieftain on the afternoon of the 1st of March, near the town of Afzulghur, and routed him with great loss. The Khan's principal officers were killed or captured, and a band of stout, hardy, and brave Patans, the pride of his army, were literally cut to pieces on the field of battle, for they would neither fly nor surrender. Meer Khan went off like the wind, evacuating the Company's territories, and recrossing the Ganges with a very diminutive force. General Smith, after restoring order to the country, returned to Bhurtpoor, the point from which he had started. His chase had lasted him a month, during which he had ridden over 700 miles of the roughest country.*

* Major Thorn, who had accompanied General Smith on these flying marches, says, "The detachment after this expedition was somewhat the worse for wear; but, though many of the horses were completely knocked up; the state of the

If the energy and activity of our Indian armies had been infused into the armies of Europe that were contending with the French, or if the British Government had learned from them the reliance which might be placed on the English soldier, and had thrown at once upon one proper part of the European continent a force deserving of the name of an army, the career of Bonaparte might have been checked as early as 1805 or 1806.

During the absence of General Smith, Lord Lake had been joined by a division of the Bombay army, under Major-General Jones. This division, consisting only of four battalions of sepoy, one entire British regiment, and eight companies of another, a troop of Bombay cavalry, 500 native irregular horse, and a few field-pieces, had made another dashing and extraordinary march, having traversed the whole of Malwa, and having penetrated through the very heart of the Mahratta empire, including the hereditary dominions of Holkar and Scindiah. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, however, Lord Lake found that to take Bhurtpoor by storm or by siege was no easy work. When wider breaches were made, and when arrangements were being made for a fresh assault, the rajah's people unexpectedly sallied out in great force, and slew a heap of the besiegers with their long pikes and tolwars: when the assault was made by several storming-parties who were to rush simultaneously on different

whole was far better than what might have been reasonably expected. It merits remark, that the Bengal cavalry throughout the campaign endured trials and hardships almost surpassing conception. Independent of their previous long marches up to Delhi, they had pursued Holkar closely for above five hundred miles, till they overtook him and completed his overthrow at the battle of Furruckabad; shortly after which they were called off unexpectedly to the chase of Meer Khan, whom they followed through all his doublings and windings, over rivers of great magnitude, and to the mountains of Kemaon, from whence he was forced back, discomfited, and abandoned by the hardiest of his followers. In this fatiguing course the most harassing part which we had to undergo consisted in our nocturnal marches, which, continuing night after night through the whole month, proved exceedingly distressing to man and beast, in depriving them of that natural rest which they sought in vain during the heat of the day."—*Memoir of the War in India, conducted by General Lord Lake, &c.*

parts of the works, some fatal mistakes were committed, the sepoy's lost heart, and, after being enfiladed right and left by the enemy's guns, and witnessing the terrible effects of a mine which was sprung, the attacking columns retreated with a terrible loss, nearly 1000 Europeans and sepoy's being killed or wounded. One of the attacking columns, however, gained possession of eleven of the enemy's guns, and succeeded in carrying them all off to the camp. But the army was now suffering greatly by the want of supplies of every description; the cannon-ball and powder were nearly all spent; and, therefore, on the very next day Lake ordered a fresh assault. This time he threw the whole of his European force and several battalions of native infantry against those obstinate and fatal walls. Some of the English soldiers were seen driving their bayonets into the wall, one over another, and endeavouring by these steps to reach the top; but they were knocked down by logs of wood, large shot, and other missiles from above. Others attempted to get up by the shot-holes which the battering guns had made here and there; but, as only two at the most could advance together in this perilous climbing, those who ventured were easily killed, and when one man fell he brought down with him those who were immediately beneath. Some few got to the top. Lieutenant Templeton, who headed the storming-parties, was killed just as he had planted the colours near the summit; and Major Menzies, who had followed him, and had actually gained the dangerous eminence, was slain as he was cheering on his men. And all the while the enemy, who appear to have been aided by some French artillerymen, and by men who had studied the art of war under M. Perron, kept up an incessant fire of grape-shot, and the people on the walls continually threw down upon the heads of their assailants heavy pieces of timber, great stones, flaming bales of cotton, previously dipped in oil, and pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles. At last Colonel Monson gave up the case as hopeless, recalled the storming-parties, and returned to the trenches. This time the loss in killed and wounded seems to have exceeded

1000 : of English officers alone five were killed and twelve wounded. In Lake's several attempts to carry the fortress of Bhurtpoor by storm, 3100 men, and a very great number of officers, had been killed or wounded. His lordship now converted his siege into a blockade. His guns, which were nearly all blown at the touch-hole, were withdrawn (there appears to have been a want of artillery and engineering skill and science), detachments were sent off for supplies and for fresh guns, and parts of the army were moved to other positions to block up the roads leading into the town—a difficult undertaking, for the cavalry of the enemy was still very numerous, and Lake's cavalry was absent with General Smith, who had not yet returned from pursuing Meer Khan. But when the Rajah of Bhurtpoor saw that convoys, with supplies of all kinds from different parts, and battering guns and ammunition from Futtyghur and Alighur, were arriving daily in camp; that the old guns which had been blown were repaired and rendered efficient; that he had little or no assistance to expect from his allies, Holkar and Meer Khan; that new batteries were erecting, and that nothing seemed likely to shake the determination or interrupt the perseverance of the British, he lost faith in his lucky star, and sent vakeels to negotiate for a peace. But these negotiations were suspended by the re-appearance of Holkar in great force about eight miles to the westward of Bhurtpoor. Fortunately, however, at this moment, the British cavalry, which had been pursuing Meer Khan, arrived at the camp; and after resting a few days it marched silently out by night, headed by Lord Lake himself, who intended to beat up the quarters of Holkar. But the Mah-ratta got information of this intended visit, and was in full flight before his lordship could reach the spot. Some 200 of the fugitives were overtaken and slain, their camp was destroyed, and some elephants, horses, and camels were captured. Still, however, Holkar lingered in the neighbourhood, and was joined by Meer Khan with the fragment of his force, as well as by some predatory bands of Pindarrees, who rarely lost many men in

action, because they never stayed to fight when they could gallop away. This accession of force seems to have made Holkar careless; for on the 2nd of April he was charged in front and on both his flanks by Lake's cavalry, and put to the rout with a terrible loss. He fled across the Chumbul river with about 8000 horse, 5000 foot, and 20 or 30 guns, the miserable remains of the great army with which he had opened the campaign, threatening to annihilate the British dominion in Hindustan. Some troops that were advancing to his succour were beaten and scattered by a British detachment which marched out of Agra. Holkar then fled to join Scindiah, who, notwithstanding the dreadful chastisement he had received at the hands of General Wellesley, and the treaty he had concluded in December, 1803, was contemplating a renewal of the war with the English. But the Rajah of Bhurtpoor was in no condition to wait the effects of a new confederacy; and on the 10th of April he repaired in person to Lake's camp and implored for peace. This was granted by Lord Lake upon the following terms:—1. The fortress of Deeg was to remain in the hands of the English till they should be assured of the rajah's fidelity, who pledged himself never to have any connection with the enemies of Great Britain, and never to entertain, without the sanction of the Company, any Europeans in his service. 2. He was to pay the Company by instalments twenty lacs of Furruckabad rupees, and to give up some territories which the Company had formerly annexed to his dominions. 3. As a security for the due execution of these terms, he was to deliver up one of his sons as a hostage, to reside with the British officers at Delhi or Agra. Having received the first instalment of the money, and the hostage required, the British forces broke up from before Bhurtpoor, after lying there three months and twenty days. They began their march on the 21st of April, Lake going at once in search of Scindiah, who had expected that his lordship's army would be utterly ruined before Bhurtpoor, for the losses which it had sustained in that siege had been reported, with due exaggeration,

throughout the whole of the Mahratta territory. Scindiah and Holkar retreated with great precipitation towards Ajmeer; and several of the Mahratta chiefs came and joined Lord Lake, who found more reliable reinforcements in the arrival of some divisions of British troops and sepoys from Bundelcund and other quarters.

At this juncture the Marquess Cornwallis arrived to succeed the Marquess Wellesley as governor-general, and began his second and brief career in India by pronouncing sentence of condemnation on the policy of his active and energetic predecessor. But Cornwallis was now falling into the second childhood, and his attention had been too exclusively devoted to those who were murmuring about the expenses of a necessary war, and sighing for the easy happy days of peace and of full treasuries at Calcutta. Moreover, he had come out shackled by injunctions, and he was apparently restrained from following his own judgment, for, although neither Pitt, the prime minister, nor Dundas, the president of the Board of Control, could be called a timid statesman, they had been argued into the persuasion that the Marquess Wellesley's schemes were overbold.

As the rainy monsoon approached, one part of Lake's army found shelter in the splendid but decayed palaces of the great Akbar at Futtypoor Sicree; another part quartered itself in the remains of the palaces of the ancient Mogul chiefs in and about Agra and Mutra; and two regiments of British dragoons found comfortable lodgings in the immense mausoleum of the emperor Akbar, which is situated about seven miles from Agra, tethering their horses in the once splendid garden, and eating and sleeping and pursuing their troopers' sports among the white marble tombs of Akbar and his family, and of the Mogul Omrahs, those mighty men of old, who, could they have started from the sound sleep of the grave, would have heard sounds and beheld sights most strange and marvellous to their ears and eyes. The men were rough dragooners, without the slightest pretensions to taste, or to reverence for works of art and antiquity; but they had the English feeling

of respect for the dead, and they offered no violence to the sanctity of the tombs, and left the marble slabs and the ornamented Saracenic arches, the sculpture and carving, and the mosaic pavements, the cupolas and minarets, in as good a state as they found them.

It is scarcely necessary to interrupt the narrative of the war, or to make a separate chapter for the second and very short administration of the Marquess Cornwallis. We shall therefore proceed with the campaign, which did not terminate until it had extended to "the fabulous streams" of Horace and Milton.

As soon as the weather permitted, the marquess quitted Calcutta to travel to the upper provinces and there confer with Lord Lake and others on the best means of terminating the war; but at his advanced age he could ill bear the fatigues of such a journey: he fell sick on the road, and died at Gazipoor, near Benares, within three months after his return to India. According to his own wish and command, that "where the tree fell, there it should lie," the marquess, who had seen so many vicissitudes in the west and in the east, and who had narrowly escaped death at York-town in America, and a grave on the bank of the Chesapeake, was buried at Gazipoor, on the banks of the Ganges. At his age it was, perhaps, cruel in the home government to send him back to such a country and to such arduous labours; but Cornwallis never murmured when he considered himself called upon to serve his country, and he died as he had lived—a contented, happy man.

The government then devolved provisionally upon Sir George Barlow, senior member of the Supreme Council, who was equally anxious for peace, although he differed from Cornwallis as to the best means of obtaining it. Lord Lake, who had had ample experience of the faithlessness of all Indian treaties, was of opinion that the British possessions in Hindustan would never be secured until Scindiah and Holkar were driven beyond the Indus and the Mahratta power annihilated. The knowledge which he had of the character of the Mahrattas, and of the hollowness of all their treaties, made

him sensible that neither the British territories in India nor those of any of the minor states could ever be safe without the constant presence of a strong protecting force, if Scindiah should form an overwhelming power, by uniting all the dispossessed and desperate Mahratta chiefs. Lake felt that either Holkar or Scindiah, or both of them combined, would renew the war before many years were over. But at this time, what was termed the pacific spirit was again dominant in the English councils, and large and impolitic concessions to a faithless chief were contemplated, including the important fortress of Gualior, which was ours by a second capture, and a part of Gohud, the Hindu ruler of which had been true to his treaty with the Company, and had rendered important assistance to Lord Lake during his campaign in Bhurtpoor. We never were pacific in India without being unjust to some of our friends and allies. Nor could it be otherwise. Scindiah, who received some information of the pacific disposition manifested at Calcutta, separated his forces from those of Holkar, and entered into negotiations with Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm, the political agent of the governor-general in the British camp. Holkar thereupon, declaring that he had no other estate or property left than what he carried upon the saddle of his horse, spurred away to the banks of the Indus to seek fresh allies and instruments among the chiefs of the Seiks, giving out that he expected to be joined by the hardy and warlike tribes of Afghanistan, and by the king of Cabul himself. He had still with him a few pieces of light artillery, and some rabble; and in the country to the north-west of Delhi he found many adventurers quite ready to join him. He eluded Major-General Jones and Colonel Ball, who marched from different points to intercept him on his line of route. This induced Lord Lake to follow him himself with the cavalry of the British army and some of the best of his infantry, for it was imperative to prevent his calling the Seiks to arms. Saluting that poor shadow of a Grand Mogul, the aged and blind Shah Alum, as he passed through Delhi, Lake in an asto-

nishing short time got into the country of the Seiks, driving Holkar before him, and obliging him to cross the Sutledge. The force which made this extraordinary march consisted of his majesty's 24th and 25th dragoons, and the 6th native cavalry, under Brigadier-General Need; of his majesty's 8th dragoons and 3rd native cavalry, commanded by Brigadier-General Wood; of his majesty's 22nd foot, the Company's European regiment, and two battalions of sepoy, under Brigadier-General Mercer; and of a park and horse artillery, commanded by Captains Pennington and Brown. They saw many strange sights in the terra incognita, but few stranger than the capital of the late Rajah George Thomas.

This man was an Irishman, a native of Tipperary, and had come to India in the year 1782 (about the same time as M. Perron, the French petty-officer, who had attained to so much greatness), in the capacity of boatswain, or quarter-master, or, as some say, common sailor, on board of a man-of-war. Having the Oriental twist in his imagination, he deserted from his ship, and threw himself among the Polygars, or Hindu chiefs on the Malabar coast—or, as his biographer says, with more solemnity and rhetoric, "Shortly after landing in the vicinity of Madras, the activity of his mind overcoming the lowliness of his situation, he determined to quit the ship and embrace a life more suitable to his ardent disposition." He had not a rupee in the world, and his friends were all to make. But his personal advantages were very considerable. He was young (being only in his twenty-seventh year), more than six feet high, proportionately robust, erect, alert, and of a merry, well-favoured countenance. Possibly, before he became a boatswain, or quarter-master, or common sailor on board of a man-of-war, he had deserted from some foot regiment, for he understood drilling and other matters connected with the art military. After residing for some years in the country of the Polygars, he quitted their service, and traversed nearly the whole peninsula of India in search of adventures or employment. Such a man could not fail of finding both. About the year 1787 he

arrived at Delhi, and then and there received a commission in the service of the Begum Somroo or Sombre. It appears that this widow was not insensible to the personal merits of the tall and well-built Tipperary lad, and that George Thomas figured in the double capacity of pro tempore husband to the Begum and commander or instructor in chief to her army. He disciplined troops for her, and fought and won many battles for her, particularly over the Seiks, who had never ceased troubling her since the death of M. Sombre, her first husband. After five or six years of faithful and very active service, George Thomas found himself supplanted in the Begum's good graces by a European rival, a Monsieur or Signor Levasso, who was, we believe, a Neapolitan. [Adventurers of this kind abounded in Upper India; they were to be found in nearly every independent native court, every man acting for himself, without much regard to country or to laws.] Nothing disheartened by the success of his Italian rival, the light-hearted and adventurous Irishman betook himself to Anopsheher, a walled town in the province of Agra, on the west side of the Ganges, and there waited in the confident hope of obtaining overtures for employment from some of the native powers. A body of cavalry of his own raising quitted the Begum Somroo to follow his fortunes: in all they counted but 250, but they were picked men and of tried valour, having often fought under the command of George Thomas against the Seiks. With such a band, it could not be difficult to pick up a livelihood in those parts. Captain and men seem to have lived at free quarters for some months, or until the beginning of the year 1793, when George Thomas received letters from Appakanda Rao, a Mahratta chief, who promised high pay and a comfortable provision. This Appakanda had formerly been in the service of Mahajee Scindiah, who had intrusted to him the command or management of the districts of Gualior and Gohud; but he had made an unsuccessful expedition into Bundelcund in 1790, had lost many of his troopers, had gotten deeply into debt, and had been rather ignominiously dismissed

by Scindiah. Appakanda had therefore determined to throw off all allegiance, and to carve out an independent state for himself. He was in this humour when he was joined by George Thomas, who undertook to fight for him as bravely and as incessantly as he had fought for the ungrateful Begum Somroo, and to raise and discipline for him forthwith a battalion of infantry and a good squadron of horse. For the maintenance of this force three pergunnahs or jaghires, all in the Mewatee district to the south-west of Delhi, were assigned to him by Appakanda Rao, whose right to them appears to have been but doubtful, and whose authority over them was infinitesimally small. The Mewatee inhabitants were a terrible set—the greatest cattle-lifters, thieves, and cut-throats in all India! When a large force was sent against them to collect the revenue, or to make them give up their plunder, or to chastise them for their offences, they packed up their goods and chattels, and, driving their cattle before them, and leaving nothing behind them, they retired into their inaccessible mountains and forests. When a small force was sent against them, they fell upon it and cut it to pieces, never giving quarter. With their cavalry they committed depredations in every direction. Appakanda would have given their country to the Begum or to the Devil, if she or he could and would only have prevented these Mewattees from plundering and harrowing the industrious peaceful peasants, who would have paid their taxes quietly if the robbers had left them in possession of the means. The Mahratta chief had never been able to do anything with them; but our Irish hero undertook to bring them to reason, and to turn the pergunnahs into profitable estates. George Thomas was going to take possession when he received accounts, dispatched to him by M. Perron, of the death of Mahajee Scindiah and the accession of his nephew Doulut Rao Scindiah. As there was no enmity between Appakanda and the new ruler, that chieftain went to Delhi to congratulate Doulut Rao, and he took with him General George Thomas. Our Irishman was well received at the court of the Great

Mogul, where Doulut Rao Scindiah and M. Perron gave the law: he was presented with a *khelat*, or dress of honour, and was allowed to recruit for the service of Appakanda. During his stay at Delhi he raised 700 men. He was going to his Mewattees when his newly raised troops became mutinous, and began to plunder for want of pay. Appakanda Rao was obliged to remonstrate, and high words followed, our Irishman being a very irascible man. "Your people must not steal among friends," said the Mahratta chieftain. "They must not starve," said the Tipperary man; "pay what is due to them!" The business ended in a compromise, Appakanda giving George Thomas 14,000 rupees in hand, and more in promises—which were not kept.

On his march towards his Mewattees, George retaliated upon the Begum Somroo, laying under contribution all that part of her country which came within his route. At Goorath, a large and populous village, he made good booty in money and bullocks. But the very first night he came among his Mewatee subjects or tenants, instead of being the plunderer, he was plundered, and that too in the very centre and heart of his own camp. Among other things, he lost a fine horse. The next morning he detached a party to discover the village to which his horse had been conveyed. Like all small bodies, this party got well beaten by the robbers. George Thomas then threw forward all his cavalry, and advanced in person at the head of his infantry. He soon carried the Mewatee village, and set fire to it; but more robbers came down from the hills, a panic seized some of his raw recruits, and presently the whole of his little army broke and fled, leaving all their wounded to be made into mince-meat. George himself ran for it, with none by him except about a dozen foot and a few horse; but he succeeded in turning a nine-pounder gun, which had been left behind from its having stuck in the mud or in the bed of a nullah. Luckily for him, this gun was well loaded with grape-shot; one whiff of it was enough for the Mewattees, who turned and fled. George administered a few more rounds, during which his scat-

tered forces rallied, and came up valorously to challenge the robbers to another hand-to-hand fight. But the Mewattees preferred treating, and even *paying*, to fighting any more. They actually paid to their Irish zemindar a whole year's rent, restored his horse and whatever else they had stolen from him, and gave some securities for their good behaviour in future. The chastisement bestowed on this place, the strongest of all, awed the rest of the Mewatee villages, which submitted, though not until he had burned some of them also. How Zemindar Thomas managed his zemindarry, and kept the thieves in order, and kept his own property and his own throat out of their reach, we are not informed; but it should appear that he ruled with a strong hand, that he had some battle or skirmish almost as regularly as dinner, that he thrived among the Mewattees, among whom no zemindar had ever thriven before, that he protected the industrious peasantry of the neighbouring districts, and that he accumulated money, and raised a good many more troops. His late mistress the Begum sent troops to watch him, but nothing came of it. After he had received sundry other important services from him, Appakanda Rao adopted George Thomas as his son, conferred the jaghires upon him in perpetuity, and presented him with 3000 gold rupees "to purchase an elephant and palanquin suitable to the dignity of his new station."

The Begum, becoming more and more wroth, bribed some Mahrattas to assassinate or ruin our zemindar. But the Tipperary man was not to be caught sleeping; and his cook was good and true, and so would not put poison in his meat. At one moment Appakanda was, by some intrigue or other, so incensed against his adopted son that he meant to have him dispatched during a visit at his own house; but when the stalwart Irishman presented himself, Appakanda was awed and terrified, and gave up his foul intent. George Thomas might expect retaliations for those which he had made upon the Begum by levying such contributions in her country; but he conceived that the princess's resentment and

fury arose chiefly out of jealousy and the insinuations of Signor Levasso, who not only commanded her troops, but who had lately received her hand in marriage. "That Levasso," said our Tipperary zemindar, "was on every occasion the declared and inveterate enemy of George Thomas." At last the Begum resolved to march herself against him with her whole army. The Begum's force consisted of four disciplined battalions of infantry, 20 pieces of artillery, and 400 cavalry. George Thomas faced her with 2000 disciplined infantry, 10 guns, 500 irregulars, and 200 cavalry. But our Irishman's gallantry was not put to the test of fighting with a woman. Terrible dissensions broke out in the Begum's camp. Signor Levasso conceived a violent jealousy of another of the Begum's European officers—of an adventurer from Belgium, who had found it convenient to drop his own name, and to call himself, or to get himself called, the *Liege man* (*Liegeois*), after the place of his birth. At the instigation of Levasso, the Begum degraded the *Liegeois*, who had been for some years a great friend of George Thomas, and gave his place and appointments to a junior officer. Upon this the greater part of the Begum's troops mutiny, and join the *Liegeois* in inviting to the *musnud* Zuffur yab Khan, a son of M. Sombre or Somroo by another wife. The Begum attempts to fly, but is intercepted and stopped. She is called upon to lay down her arms, and deliver up her husband Levasso. In the confusion that arises a few shots are fired by the Begum's adherents. Upon this the mutinous troops wax furious: the infantry surround her palankeen; the cavalry surround her husband, who is on horseback at a little distance from her. Rising in her palankeen, the Begum draws a poniard, flourishes it, runs the point of it across her breast, and draws a little blood, without the least intention of killing herself. Signor Levasso hearing the tumult and the cries of her attendants for assistance, demands to know what has happened. He is answered that the Begum has killed herself. Twice he puts the same question, and receiving the same answer, he puts a pistol to his mouth, pulls the trigger, and

falls dead from his horse. The soldiery, who the day before had styled themselves his slaves, now commit every act of insult and indignity upon his body. For three days it lies exposed to the brutality of the rabble, and is then thrown into a ditch.

The Begum was conducted to a strong prison in Sirdhana, and her step-son was put upon the *musnud*. These events gave George Thomas an opportunity to display his magnanimity, and to make a round sum of money at one and the same time. In the extremity of her distress the Begum thought of the bold and fortunate Irishman, and of the bygone days; and in the most abject manner she addressed herself to George Thomas, telling him that she dreaded being poisoned or otherwise murdered; that she had no dependence but on him, &c.; imploring him to go to her aid, and making him immense offers of money, to be paid upon her enlargement and restoration. Our zemindar promised part of this promised money to Baboojee Scindiah, and thus obtained high Mahratta sanction for his doings. Having first set on foot some secret negotiations with the Begum's revolted troops, George Thomas marches in full force, and encamps near Sirdhana. Here he issues a proclamation, stating that unless the Begum be instantly reinstated, no mercy will be shown to the mutineers and rebels; that he is acting under orders of the great Mahrattas, and must be obeyed. Part of the troops in Sirdhana forthwith make an *émeute*, take the Begum out of the prison, and clap her undutiful step-son in it. But anon comes another revolution, the other part of the Begum's army proclaiming Zuffur yab again. Hereupon George Thomas marches from his camp into the town with a small part of his force, settles the business in a trice, salutes the restored Begum, and packs off Somroo's son a prisoner to Delhi, that pretender having been antecedently "plundered of his effects."

Mahratta friendships were never lasting, even though sanctified by paternal adoption. Appakanda Rao instigated the Ghosseins to attack his adopted son secretly in his camp, and there dispatch him. These Ghosseins were expert as-

sassins and daring fellows in the field; they were excited by the reward of 10,000 rupees, which the Mahratta chieftain had promised them if they did the deed well; yet our Tipperary zemindar seems to have cared no more for them than he would have cared for so many gossosons in the old country, with no other arms than shillelahs. He beat them all, nor let them hurt so much as a hair of his own head. George Thomas made up matters with his chief and adopted father, and they were great friends again when Appakanda contracted a cruel and incurable disorder, and determined, in the Hindu fashion, to devote himself to heaven, and to escape the pains and woes of this world by drowning himself in one of the sacred rivers. He by letter imparted his hard case and this resolution to his loving adopted son, begging that he might see him and embrace him before he died. The river he had selected for his final immersion was the holiest of all—the Ganges. George was hastening to pay the last offices, when he learned that Appakanda Rao, being impatient of his pains, or incapable of bearing the fatigue of the long journey to the Ganges, had drowned himself in the Jumna, which river was nearer at hand. His nephew and successor was no friend to our Irish zemindar. But what of that? George Thomas knew how to befriend himself, and enmity had never yet been able to find him off his guard or unprepared to fight. Without caring for his feudal superior, he went and made war on some of the Seiks who had ravaged and plundered one of his pergunnahs. These fellows, who never cut their beards or their hair, when mounted on horseback, with their jet-black locks and beards streaming in the wind, their half-naked bodies, stout athletic limbs, and glittering arms, presented a most wild and terrific appearance. And, though not quite, they were almost as terrible as they looked. Their horses were large and swift, their arms were spears, matchlocks, and scymetars, all of which they used with much dexterity. The Mahratta cavalry had rarely been able to make any stand against them; but George Thomas, with his disciplined infantry and cavalry, beat them wherever

he met them, and surprised them at times and places in which the Seiks thought surprise impossible. As he was happiest when fighting hardest, our adventurer continued these wars against the marauding Seiks; and in consequence of these campaigns, the Mahrattas, considering him as their bulwark on the side of the Seik country, gave him the wide districts of Suniput, Paniput, and Carnaul, yielding a revenue of ten lacs of rupees, for the support of 2000 disciplined infantry and 16 pieces of cannon.

The Irishman's ambition rose with his luck. Having obtained the distinctions of a chieftain, George Thomas aspired to be the founder of an independent sovereignty upon an extensive scale, in the country of Hurrianna, a vast tract of the Delhi province, bounded on the north by the Bhatti country (a land of robbers), and by the domains of numerous Seik chieftains. This country of Hurrianna had been for many years without any ruler or fixed authority: sometimes the Seiks held it, sometimes the Mahrattas, while at other times the Bhatties drove their flocks to pasture in the plains, and levied contributions on the road and in the villages. To a son of old Erin there was something dear and attractive in the name, for Hurrianna or Hurriannah signifies "The Green Country," and although situated on the verge of the sandy desert of Ajmeer, it is celebrated for its verdure. The country was chiefly inhabited by Jauts and Rungurs, the Rungurs being only Mohammedanized Jauts. They were very riotous and uncivilized, and in a state of perpetual hostility, town against town, village against village. The Irishman had qualities which endeared him to these people, and they left off fighting one another and joined him in fighting the Seiks and the Bhatties. After an arduous contest with the Rajah of Pattiallah and other chiefs of the Seiks—after fighting a battle about every week, and besieging or storming some town or fort about once a month—Rajah George Thomas succeeded in his object, established his power as far as the river Cuggur, in the Bhatti country, and fixed his residence at Hansi, about 90 miles north-west of Delhi. Intending this place for the capi-

tal of his newly acquired dominions, of which it was about the centre, he repaired the fortifications, and gave encouragement to strangers to come and settle in it. Like other reigning rajahs and sovereigns, he set up a mint and coined his own money. He also established an arsenal and a manufactory for muskets and matchlocks, and a powder-mill for making gunpowder.* Like other rajahs, too, he had a zenana, or harem, and some of the neighbouring regions produce handsome women as well as handsome horses. He had his little court, and held his durbar in state. At the same time he had plenty of fighting to keep his hand in good practice, for the Seiks and Bhatties, though beaten, often attempted to make incursions; and when taxes were to be paid, his own subjects were occasionally very turbulent. For a season his authority seemed to be firmly fixed all over the Green Land. But his views extended far beyond Hurrianna—he wished to conquer the whole of the Punjab, and to plant his standard on the banks of the Attock. “I explored all the country,” says our Rajah, “I formed alliances, and was, in short, dictator of all the countries belonging to the Seiks south of the river Sutledge.” But for untoward accidents and treacherous combinations among his own officers and people, he would, in all probability, have extended his conquests to the mouths of the Indus. His plan was to construct a fleet of boats, with timber cut in the forests near the town of Ferozpoor, or the “City of Victory,” on the banks of the Sutledge; to proceed down the river with his army, settling the

* “Here, at Hansi,” says our Irish rajah, “I established my capital, rebuilt the walls of the city, long since fallen into decay, and repaired the fortifications. As the place had been long deserted, I at first found a difficulty in procuring inhabitants; but by degrees, and by gentle treatment, I selected between 5000 and 6000 persons, to whom I allowed every lawful indulgence. Here I established a mint, and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country. As from the commencement of my career in these parts I had resolved to establish an independence, I employed workmen and artificers of all kinds; and as I now judged that nothing but force of arms could maintain me in my authority, I commenced making muskets, matchlocks, and powder.

countries he might subdue on his route, and making sure of each successive conquest before attempting a new one. It was on the happy conclusion of this design that it was his intention to turn his arms against the Punjab, which he expected to be able to reduce in the course of a couple of years. When his enemies were prevailing against him, he contrived to open a correspondence with Captain H. V. White, of the Company’s service. His letter was “in a patriotic and truly loyal strain;” but the patriotism and the loyalty seem to have been produced only by his misfortunes. What he offered to give, he clearly had no longer the power to keep. So long as he was an enthroned powerful and victorious ruler, the deserter from our man-of-war evidently thought very little of his king or country. This was quite natural to one in his situation, as was also the instinct which led him to keep for himself what he had gained with his own sword. Now, however, he wrote to Captain White that he had nothing in view but the welfare of his king and country; that he should be grieved to see his conquests fall to the Mahrattas; that the wish of his heart was to give them to his king, and to serve his gracious majesty (whose faithful and loving subject he had never ceased to be) all the remaining days of his life, as a soldier. After maintaining his little sovereignty in Hurrianna from the year 1798 to the close of 1801, without any assistance from the Mahrattas or from any other power, and in the teeth of a vigorous opposition, his musnud at Hansi was turned topsy-turvy by the treachery of his own officers, instigated by the Frenchmen in the service of Scindiah. His subjects rebelled, the Seiks fell upon him, and he was obliged to flee and seek an asylum in the territories of his natural sovereign King George. He got safely across our frontiers about the middle of January, 1802. He travelled to the city of Benares, where the governor-general then chanced to be. In the rigour of the law he was liable to be arrested and shot or hanged as a deserter. But, after a lapse of twenty years, and such an illustration as he had obtained, there was very little likelihood of any such cata-

strophe—under such a governor-general as the Marquess Wellesley, who sympathized with every one that was bold, or great, or adventurous, there was no chance of George Thomas's meeting with anything but welcome and kindness. The Marquess could not enter into his schemes for carrying our Indian frontier beyond the banks of the Indus to the regions watered by the Attock (though coming fast, the time for that gigantic enterprise had not yet come); but he gladly availed himself of our deposed Rajah's offer to afford every information within his power as to the state of those western countries, which were then so very little known. His lordship appointed Captain William Francklin (afterwards Colonel Francklin) to take down this information, and to construct some maps of the countries from George Thomas's rough notes and sketches. In nautical matters, for surveys made along both sides of the vast American continents, and in the Pacific Ocean, we had been previously indebted to those freebooting adventurers the Buccaneers; and now, for a map and a description of a large portion of the north-west of India we were indebted to this adventurer, George Thomas, who was but a sort of land buccaneer. Captain Francklin, though a sensible and judicious man, and very capable of performing the duty to which the governor-general had appointed him, was evidently not the person to seize and portray the real character of our Irish Rajah. He puts on bright colours and varnish when he ought to be drawing strong lines; and he has an unfortunate habit of comparing the dashing volatile Tipperaryman to the ancient Roman conquerors. Some traces of resemblance will, however, be found even in an indifferent portrait. George Thomas at this time was about forty-six years old; stout and strong; his countenance bold, his figure very erect; but he had contracted an elevation of the head which gave him some appearance of stiffness.* Although uncultivated by any

European education, he had acquired the languages of the country in a rare degree of perfection. When he first sat down with Captain Francklin at Benares to impart his geographical information, he proposed to deliver it in the Persian language, adding, that from constant use it was become more familiar to him than his native tongue. And his biographer, Captain Francklin (apparently a very competent judge), declares that he spoke, read, and wrote the Hindustanee and Persian languages with uncommon fluency and precision. He had a natural politeness of manner, and appeared to be frank, lighthearted, generous in the use of his money, and humane. But, at the same time, he was given to drink, and was very quarrelsome and savage when in his cups; or, as Captain Francklin saith, with more of the biographical rhetoric and stateliness, "a quickness of temper, liable to frequent agitations and the ebullitions of hasty wrath, not unfrequently rendered his appearance ferocious; yet this only occurred in instances where the conviviality of his temper obscured his reason."

Upon inspecting his affairs and collecting the wreck of a fortune acquired by so much toil and turmoil, our ex-Rajah found himself possessed of a sum which he judged sufficient to procure him the comforts of life in his native Tipperary. Continuing in the solemn rhetorical style, his biographer says that "he determined to retire from public life to the enjoyment of domestic ease and quiet." In simpler language, public life had retired from him, and he resolved to go home to Ireland, and there live upon what he had got. In this intent he was proceeding down to Calcutta, when death arrested his progress. It appears from Major Thorn's narrative of the Rajah, that he considered himself in the light of a lawful sovereign who had been dispossessed of his dominions by rebellion, treachery, and treason; and that before he died, he bequeathed his dominions and conquests to his majesty George III.* He died on the 22nd of August, 1802, and

* There is a portrait of 'General George Thomas' as a frontispiece to Captain Francklin's very curious and interesting volume. He is there depicted with mustachios of a portentous length, and in a general's uniform; but the thing

is a poor profile, without character or spirit, apparently the production of some native artist.

* *Memoir of the War in India, &c.*

found that ease and quiet—which such a man could have found only in the grave—in the English burying-ground at Berhampoor, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory.* His death is said to have been much regretted by the English who made his acquaintance during his seven months' residence in the Company's territories. We have called him George Thomas, as he is so called by his biographer, and as he called himself during the latter years of his life; but it is very doubtful whether this was his real name. From this curious episode in Indian history, which was probably floating in the mind of our great romance-writer when he wrote his East Indian story,† we return to the triumphant and romantic march of Lake and his small army, whom we left in the Seik country. The ameers or chiefs of the Seiks assured his lordship that their intentions were pacific: and so they were; but so they would not have been if Lake had allowed Holkar any rest or time.

Our little army halted for a day at Paniput, which had so recently been included in the Irish Rajah's possessions, and which was famous for the number of terrible battles which had been fought in its neighbourhood. The last of these terrible battles was fought in the year 1761, between the Afghans, under Achmed

Shah, the sovereign of Cabul, and the combined Mahrattas. It ended, after a most obstinate conflict, in the total defeat of the Mahrattas, who lost their whole army, with 200 pieces of artillery and everything else they had brought into the field. It is said that of 500,000 souls, including women and children and camp-followers of all descriptions, who were in the field with the Mahrattas, very few escaped alive. The bigoted Afghans murdered their helpless prisoners in cold blood; alleging that, on leaving their own country, their dear mothers, sisters, and wives begged them, whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, to kill a few of them on their account, that they also might obtain merit in the sight of God and his prophet Mohammed. As the Afghans cut off the heads of the Mahrattas, they piled them up before the doors of their tents. The son of the Peishwa of that day fell in the battle. His body was found and carried to the tent of the King of Cabul. The Afghans cried out—"This is the body of the King of the Unbelievers! We will have it dried and stuffed, that it may be carried home with us to Cabul!" His Afghan Majesty was, however, induced to prevent this barbarity, and to order the body to be burned. From Paniput Lord Lake proceeded to Carnaul, and from Carnaul to Ameergur, on the skirts of the great Sandy Desert. On his left there now appeared sandhills in endless succession, like the waves of the ocean, desolate and dreary to an immense extent; while to the front and right of these wastes, the eye was deceived by all the illusions of the mirage.* "These optical deceptions," says the historian of the march, who himself suffered what he described, "exhibited to us the representations of spacious lakes and rivers, with trees and other objects, in such a lively manner as almost to cheat the senses of persons familiarly acquainted with the phenomenon; while they who were oppressed by

* Captain Francklin's curious book, from which the above particulars are almost exclusively extracted, was printed at Calcutta in 1803, in 1 vol. 4to. The title-page is very long, but we will copy it, as it conveys a notion of the amount of the geographical information which was imparted by the Irish adventurer. It is "Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, who, by extraordinary talents and enterprise, rose from an obscure situation to the rank of a General in the service of the native powers in the north-west of India. Through the work are interspersed geographical and statistical accounts of several of the states composing the interior of the Peninsula, especially the countries of Jypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudipoor, by geographers denominated Rajpootaneh, the Seiks of Punjab, the territory of Beykaneer, and the country adjoining the Great Desert to the westward of Hurrianeh. Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas's original documents, by William Francklin, Captain of Infantry, Member of the Asiatic Society, author of a Tour in Persia, and the History of Shah Aulum."

† Walter Scott. 'The Surgeon's Daughter.'

* The Persians call this phenomenon *serab*, or *sir-ab* (miraculous water). In these western deserts of India it is known by the name of *tchittram* (picture). It is a pity that we should continue to employ a not very good French word.

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

Still pressing forward in what had once been the track of the greatest general of the gigantic conqueror Timour or Tamerlane, Lake crossed the Sutledge, and, skirting the great sandy desert which stretches from the left bank of the Indus to within 100 miles of Delhi, he plunged into the Punjab, or the country of the five rivers. On his way he was joined by Colonel Burn, who had brought up a detachment from Paniput by an entirely new route, and by one of those admirable marches which so often challenge admiration in these far extended campaigns. And then, still pressing onwards, and pointing the heads of his columns towards the spot where the Macedonian conqueror stayed his advance and turned back from the inauspicious gods of India, Lake reached the banks of the Hyphasis—now the Beah or Beas—the boundary of Alexander the Great's conquest, where his Greeks had erected twelve massive altars as a memorial. The British standard waved majestically over those waters, and the British troops eyed themselves in the same clear mirror which had reflected the Macedonian phalanges more than two thousand one hundred years ago. The scenery around was as sublime as the recollections. In the extreme distance, from north to east, towered the snowy ridge of old Imaus—a part of the Himalaya—whose loftiest peak exceeds the highest of the Andes by thousands of feet. The fleecy softness of this most faint and irregular outline rested upon immense masses of nearer mountains; still nearer were rugged

eminences and pine-clad hills sloping down to a fine undulating country of hill and dale, covered with luxuriant vegetation, enlivened by numerous villages, dotted with temples, pagodas, tombs, and ruins, and bounded by the noble river which flowed immediately before the English army on its way to join the Indus and the ocean. Many thousands of the native inhabitants collected on the opposite bank of the Hyphasis to gaze upon our troops; but as here, as during the whole march, the strictest discipline had been observed, and no wrongs offered to the people, these astonished spectators soon drew nearer, and, mixing with the bazaar of the army, agreed to bring in supplies of fruits, vegetables, and other commodities.*

Holkar at this time lay encamped at a place about midway between Lord Lake's camp on the Hyphasis, and Lahore, the capital of the Seiks on the Ravee or Hydraotes (another of Alexander's rivers). In two days and nights of his forced marches Lake could have reached the spot and have annihilated him if he had stayed to fight: and if Holkar had continued his flight, which it is almost certain he would have done, in four days he would have been driven beyond the Hydraotes. But, before this, Sir George Barlow had concluded a peace with Scindiah, and had sent Lord Lake instructions not only to treat with Holkar, but also to grant him very favourable terms; and the chief of Lahore and of the whole Seik confederacy, having called a great council, which unanimously agreed to withhold all aid from Holkar, and to interpose as mediators, as the best

* Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War,' &c.

"During our march," adds the major, "the most scrupulous regard was paid to the property of the inhabitants, as well that which was exposed as that which they had in their dwellings; and when any injury happened unavoidably to be committed, a liberal compensation in money soon prevented complaint or restored confidence. Thus our route through this remote part of India, and amongst a people naturally fierce and jealous, was pursued, not only without opposition, but with cordiality on both sides. As all supplies were punctually paid for, we wanted nothing that the country could produce; which accommodating reciprocity begat a cheerful intercourse, that increased as we proceeded."

* Major Thorn.

means of getting rid both of the Mahrattas and of the English, sent, on the 19th of December, a vakeel to the British camp. The negotiations were neither long nor difficult, though they must have been painful to his lordship, for he was bound by his instructions to reinstate Holkar not only in his own dominions, from which he had been driven, and which he had deserved to forfeit, but also to put him in possession of territory to which it was believed he never had any right. In conformity with the new system of policy which had been adopted of abandoning all connection with the petty states, and, generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna, and of making the Jumna the boundary of the British possessions, Lord Lake was instructed to dissolve the defensive alliances which we had contracted with the Rajah of Jypoor and other inferior powers who had rendered essential services to his lordship, and who looked upon their ruin at the hand of the Mahrattas as an inevitable consequence of their being abandoned by the English.

Although Holkar sent his own vakeel to the British camp, and although that negotiator agreed to the conditions, which were immeasurably more favourable than he had any right or reason to expect, Holkar withheld the ratification of the treaty, and had recourse to many objections and evasions. But Lord Lake told the Mahratta's vakeel that, if the papers were not presented duly signed within two days, he would cross the Hyphasis and continue his march against Holkar. And, to give more effect to this threat, his lordship marched his army down the left bank of the river to a ford or passage, and made his preparations for crossing over. This was on the 5th of January (1806), and in the afternoon of the 7th the treaty, properly ratified, was presented to Lord Lake with great ceremony.

Having gratified and in part terrified the Seiks (they are said at the sight to have blessed their stars that they had not joined Holkar and gone to war with the English) with a brilliant review on the banks of the Hyphasis, and with showing them some of the effects produced by our

horse artillery, Lake struck his tents, and retraced his steps towards Delhi.*

By the treaty with Scindiah, which was concluded and signed on the 23rd of November, the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum made by General Wellesley on the 30th of December, 1803, was generally confirmed; but with this exception, that the Company explicitly refused to acknowledge the right of Scindiah to any claims upon Gualior and Gohud, though, from *friendly considerations*, it was agreed to cede to him Gualior and certain portions of Gohud. In case of any breach these said territories were to be resumed by the Company. The river Chumbul was to be the boundary-line. Scindiah renounced certain jaghires and pensions which had been granted to some of his officers by the preceding treaty, and which amounted to fifteen lacs of rupees annually; but the Company granted to Scindiah personally an annual pension of four lacs, and assigned, within the British territories in Hindustan, a jaghire worth two lacs to his wife, and a jaghire worth one lac to his daughter. The Company further engaged not to interfere with any settlement or treaty which Scindiah might make with his tributary chiefs in Mewar and Marwar, and not to interfere in any respect with the conquests he had made between the rivers Chumbul and Taptee or Tuptee. Scindiah agreed not to entertain any Europeans in his service without the consent of the British government, and to dismiss from his service and his councils for ever his turbulent father-in-law Surjee-Rao-Gautka, who had offered many insults and injuries to the English, and who was generally believed to have driven his son-in-law into the late hostility. Holkar was to be admitted into this treaty, and was to

* Lord Lake quitted his command in India in February, 1807, leaving behind him a high and well-merited reputation, together with most affectionate remembrances. He appears to have had almost every one of the good qualities of a British officer and a gentleman. He died on the 21st of February, 1808, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and just six months previous to the death of his beloved and affectionate son and gallant companion in arms, Colonel George Lake, who, after sharing in the toils and dangers of his father's brilliant Indian campaigns, fell in Portugal.

obtain restitution of territory, &c., provided his conduct should be such as to satisfy the English of his amicable intentions towards them and their allies.

By the treaty with Holkar, which, as we have seen, was not ratified until the 7th of January, 1806, that chief renounced all claims upon any territories lying on the northern or English side of the Chumbul, upon Poonah and Bundelcund (a renunciation which greatly affected his interests and his pride), and all claims whatsoever upon the British government and its allies. He bound himself never to admit Surjee-Rao-Gautka into his service, and never to molest the territories of the Company or of its allies. But the Company agreed to restore, eighteen months after the conclusion of this treaty, Chandore, Gaulnah, and other forts and districts south of the Taptec and Godavery, belonging to the Holkar family, provided the chief fulfilled his engagements, and remained in a friendly attitude. He was to be allowed to return immediately from beyond the Hyphasis and the country of the Seiks into Hindustan, but by a route prescribed to him, by which he would avoid injuring the territory of the Company and its allies.*

The negotiation, in its kind, was far from being so good as the war, in its kind; and the new policy which was adopted was soon found to be impracticable. If the British had never crossed the Jumna and the Chumbul, and had never formed alliances and connections in the countries beyond those rivers, there might have been a temporary but very brief chance of success for this new system; but after the campaigns they had made, and the connections they had formed, there remained not a shadow of a chance; nor could the experiment be tried, or such treaties concluded, without diminution of credit and character—without a wound inflicted upon that moral force which must ever be our greatest force in India.

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.' Sir John was himself the negotiator and agent in all these transactions. But grieved would he have been to take the responsibility of a diplomacy which had been imposed upon him by Sir George Barlow, and of which, in nearly every particular, he disapproved.

With neighbours like the Mahrattas and their allies the predatory Pindarrees, there could not be any lasting peace in Hindustan, nor any permanent security to the Company's frontiers. By renouncing our connections beyond the two rivers, we threw our peaceful allies into the arms of Scindiah and Holkar, or left them exposed to the rapacity, vengeance, and tyranny of those chiefs: we brought the Mahratta confederacy to press directly upon our own territory—we knocked down the outworks and bulwarks to the rich countries which were beginning to thrive and grow happy under our dominion. As Lord Lake, Sir John Malcolm, and every other enlightened man in India (whose eyes were not distracted by the prospect of a present saving of money) had clearly foreseen, these treaties, with their concessions and renunciations, gave only a transitory calm to the country. But the campaigns, we repeat, had been conducted in a glorious style; the reports of them in England came opportunely to revive the spirit of the nation—a nation which had little to fear, when it could breed and send forth such men as fought with Nelson at Trafalgar, and marched and fought with Wellesley and Lake in Hindustan.

The Earl of Mornington, now Marquess Wellesley, had left India on the 20th of August, 1805, shortly after the arrival of the Marquess Cornwallis at Calcutta. All his plans were not accomplished, and some portions of them were impeded or spoiled by his immediate successors, or by the policy dictated to them by the home government. Nor had he done all that he had done without encountering numerous obstacles, as well in the Court of Directors as in the Board of Control, or without feeling the embarrassment which necessarily arises out of a double authority; for, notwithstanding Pitt's India bill, the declaratory act of 1786, &c., the power of the king's government, as exercised by the Board of Control, and the power of the East India Company, as exercised by the Court of Directors, had not been identified or so blended as to preclude disputes at home, and differences of opinion in the instruc-

tions sent abroad to the governor-general. As such a blending or identification of powers was impossible, the authority of the Board of Control ought to have been made more decidedly superior over the other power than it was. Our Indian empire was far too vast and complicate a system, even when Lord Mornington first arrived in the country, to be intrusted to the management of the representatives of a joint-stock company, or to be confided to any but the national government and the responsible ministers of the crown; and every year of his lordship's administration, by extending the dominions in the East, and by complicating the relations with the native states, rendered the unity of power in the hands of the home government more and more necessary. A mind less elastic and self-relying than that of his lordship, would several times have been crushed or stultified by the double instructions and double warnings he received, or by the Board of Control pulling one way and the Court of Directors another. During the latter years of his administration, when his difficulties were greatest, he was not cordially supported at home by any party, and his bold plans were understood by none. They were criticised in the spirit of ignorance or faction, and neither the Court of Directors nor the king's government defended him as they ought to have done. The government was, and continued long to be, too much in the habit of deferring to the judgments and opinions of the Directors and the head employes in Leadenhall Street; and the British legislature had but slowly followed the progress of the power of the Company in India. It had legislated for factories, when the Company was in possession of provinces; and by the time the laws were completed to govern provinces, the Company had acquired kingdoms. At no time was there a system formed calculated to the greatness of the empire.* Very frequently

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Political Hist. Ind.' In the second and enlarged edition of this valuable work, published in 1826, Sir John, though inclined to doubt the expediency of substituting any other medium than that of the East India Company for the direct government of our Indian empire, unhesitatingly expressed his opinion that

both the king's government and the directorial government were disposed to apply the old tiny factory scale to the vast empire, or to pretend that the laws laid down for a set of traders ought to regulate the conduct of statesmen, soldiers, and conquerors. The breaking up of Mr. Pitt's cabinet in 1801, and the mediocrity and feebleness of the Addington ministry, were mischievous to Lord Mornington, and subversive of all boldness of policy; and when Pitt was brought back to political power, in May, 1804, the vigour of his body and mind was greatly impaired, and Lord Castlereagh, who was then appointed President of the Board of Control, was, in that department at least, but a bad successor to Dundas. Without taking the trouble to make himself acquainted with the history, condition, and character of that restless, predatory, and faithless people, Lord Castlereagh took it upon himself at various times to write long-winded notes or treatises about the Mahrattas, in order to demonstrate that the English in India might live in friendship with them, or that they might safely be left to themselves. These crudities, and the notions upon which they were founded, were exposed over and over again by the governor-general's great brother, who, soldier though he was, never loved war merely for war's sake. General Wellesley knew that there could be no permanent peace in India until the Mahrattas were deprived of the means of invading and plundering their neighbours. "If," said he, writing to Major John Malcolm, in January, 1804, "a Mahratta could sit down quietly, and establish a regular government, with a view to future prosperity, I should not despair of peace: but unless Scindiah changes his nature, and that of a great proportion of his subjects, and dismisses a very large part of his army of horse (who must eat up more revenue than he can afford to pay them), and obliges the men to adopt habits of industry, which are entirely foreign to their nature, I do

the mixed power would not do; that the present government is inadequate, and the laws under which it exists defective, and not calculated for the greatness of the empire; and that *some great change must take place.*

not see how a peace is to last." As was Scindiah, so were all the great Mahratta chiefs; and there was no difference between their subjects. As Scindiah was humbled, Holkar rose and took his place, being enabled so to do by the old practice of the Mahratta horsemen, whose allegiance sat loosely upon them, and who were ever ready to desert from an unfortunate chief to join a fortunate one, even though it were the foe and rival of the master they had last served. These eastern Dugald Dalgetties looked merely to the best pay, or the best chances of making booty. They all lived in the saddle, loathing industry, and despising all pursuits except those of war and plunder. The chiefs were at once capricious and faithless, cunning and passionate, so that it was very possible to gratify them in their real interests, without securing their fidelity to a treaty; for in a moment of caprice or rage, their spears were in their hands, and their fleet hordes of horsemen were in motion. The curse of India was, and long had been, the freebooter system, and the Mahrattas might all be called freebooters. It was not reasonable to expect that persons of that description could adopt habits of industry, so long as the whole of Upper Hindustan lay open to their incursions, or so long as they had the power—by forming confederations and by following the banner of the greatest or most successful chiefs—of plundering all their neighbours, and then of baffling pursuit. No army, however great, could, by acting merely on the defensive, protect and effectually secure the far extending frontiers of Oude, the Deccan, Mysore, &c. &c.—frontiers which measured, altogether, many thousands of miles—and to have made the attempt would have been to incur a prodigious, a ruinous expense, together with most of the disadvantages of actual war, without any of its excitement, or glory, or advantages. When—as at Lord Mornington's arrival in India—this Mahratta confederacy contained within it the nucleus of a European system of military organization and discipline, which might in a few years have rivalled the sepoy system established by the Company—when M. Perron and other

alert French officers could bring into the field 20,000 well-trained native infantry, and an immense and well-served artillery to back the Mahratta horse—the danger which threatened the British power was assuredly so great as to justify the policy and the measures which the governor-general adopted. If Lord Mornington had attempted to continue the neutrality and non-interference system of his predecessors, instead of resorting to the bold measures which he employed, he might have escaped censure as to details, but he would, in all probability, have been impeached, if not for losing British India, for leaving its prosperity and the prosperity of the states in alliance with it to be ruined by the Mysoreans, the Mahrattas, and the French. The criticism of detail, and the recurrence to first principles, were invidious and absurd. If Mr. Mill's rigid rule of right were to decide such questions, we ought not to be in India at all, except as a humble and trembling factory; we ought to have given up the splendid conquests of Lord Clive, and the dominions obtained by Warren Hastings, and by the more scrupulous Lord Cornwallis, and have retired to our warehouses and counting-houses on the coast; leaving all the good we had done to be undone; leaving the country and the people a prey to the anarchy under which we had found them suffering: but if our empire in the East was to be preserved, then was it indispensable to have recourse to policy and to arms, and to employ the means by which it had been acquired. No other means could have been of any avail. This was seen clearly by the governor-general, by his brother, and by all the able men in the country—and England has not had abler men than were at this period advancing her fame and her interests in India—and all these statesmen and soldiers were equally convinced that the British must either be the first power in India or cease to be a power at all. The happiness of the native populations was as much at stake as our fame and profit. More than a hundred millions of people were beginning to enjoy peace and prosperity under our dominion, or were entertaining the hope of escaping the evils of invasion,

civil war, and anarchy, by being included in our system or taken under our protection. The discontent of a score or two of effeminate, cowardly, cruel, rapacious nabobs, rajahs, and polygars, could not be put in the balance with the contentment and happiness their subjects and all the teeming population of the country had acquired or hoped to acquire. "This empire," says one who had passed his life in India, "though raised by the operations of many and various causes, has been chiefly established, and must be constantly maintained, by the sword. But, though we must continue to govern as conquerors, it is our duty to make our rule a benefit to mankind, and to carry among those whom we have subdued the blessings of peace, knowledge, and improvement in all the arts of civilized life.*"

During the whole of his Indian administration the Marquess Wellesley laudably exerted himself to promote and extend these blessings. Like Warren Hastings, he was the patron of every project which seemed likely to improve the condition and civilization of the natives, or to be useful in giving the European servants of the Company the means of becoming better acquainted with their languages, their manners and modes of thinking, their ancient laws and institutions; and if, at times, his lordship gave too ready an ear to visionary projectors, it was mainly through a generosity of feeling which grasped at every chance of a benefit to mankind, and an activity of intellect which could not bear repose. As soon as he arrived at Calcutta, he contemplated erecting a college in that city for the proper education of civil servants. Like all his conceptions, this plan was on a large and liberal scale.† In the college of Fort William he was supposed to have projected a magnificent repository of European learning and principles, and Asiatic erudition—a vast moral magazine or treasury, in which the

stores of learning and wisdom might indefinitely accumulate, and in which the sages of the East might find studious solitudes more attractive even than the sacred shades of Benares.* But his first great object was one of a nature more practical, more immediate, and more pressing. It was, as his lordship expressed it in his own minute, "to supply the actual deficiencies of the civil service." Many of the servants of the Company had educated themselves, and had acquired most extensive knowledge under very difficult and often discouraging circumstances; but no proper provision had been made by the Company or by the British government for a general and systematic education. The servants of the Company were very different from what they had been in the days when poor young Clive sat in a warehouse making out invoices. "Lord Wellesley said: 'The denominations of *writer*, *factor*, and *merchant*, by which the several classes of the civil service are still distinguished, are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of the duties discharged and of the occupations pursued by the civil servants of the Company. To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue through districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions in the world; these are now the duties of the larger portion of the civil servants of the Company. The senior merchants, composing the Courts of Circuit and Appeal under the presidency of Bengal, exercise in each of these courts a jurisdiction of greater local extent, applicable to a larger population, and occupied in the determination of causes infinitely more intricate and numerous, than that of any regularly constituted court of justice in any part of Europe. The senior or junior merchant employed in the several magistracies and zillah courts, the writers or factors filling the stations of registrars and assistants to the several courts and magis-

* Sir John Malcolm.

† He wrote to Sir James Mackintosh, to invite him to become the principal or head of this college; and Mackintosh, at that time a barrister not overburdened with briefs, would gladly have accepted the post, having always professed much fondness for an academical situation and the life of a professor.—*Memoirs, &c. by his Son.*

* Quarterly Review, No. XXXIII.

trates, exercise, in different degrees, functions of a nature either purely judicial, or intimately connected with the administration of the police, and with the maintenance of the peace and good order of their respective districts. . . . Those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit. The mercantile title which they bear not only affords no description of their duty, but is entirely at variance with it. . . . The civil servants of the East India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern; they are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign. . . . They are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces. . . . Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world; with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the peculiar usages and laws of India, and the manners of its inhabitants.* He proposed that the institution should contain professors of ethics, jurisprudence, law of nations, English law, classical literature, the modern languages of Europe, history, geography, physical sciences, &c. &c. He made a good beginning, and appointed some able teachers of the Oriental languages, laws, &c.; but the Court of Directors were alarmed at the probable expense of the establishment, and treated it as a presumptuous innovation which might interfere with their patronage, by making merit, rather than interest, a qualification for office, and by transferring the estimate of fitness for judicial and other appointments from London to Calcutta. In spite of the governor-general's remonstrances, the college was broken up to make room for a system which is said to

be twice as expensive, without being half so complete.* As a political economist, he was far in advance of the governing statesmen of his day; and from this circumstance alone proceeded many of the criticisms and reproaches of the Court of Directors, who, as a body, were very backward in emancipating themselves from some of the prejudices of the old school. His most strenuous efforts were directed to the extension of the commercial intercourse of India, and to the commencement and formation of those important financial reforms which eventually raised the revenue of the Company from 7,000,000*l.* sterling to upwards of 15,000,000*l.* annually, with advantage to British commerce and without injustice to the natives. He saw that the employment of cheap India-built ships in the trade with Europe would be of equal advantage to England and to India; and therefore he prepared so to employ them. He was opposed by the whole shipping interest of the port of London, and by a majority of his own masters or employers, the Court of Directors; but he persevered and prevailed; and before many months had passed, the wisdom of his policy was so evident that most of his opponents acknowledged their error. In other matters he was obliged to yield to the monopolist spirit of the day. Without any abatement of zeal, he set himself to complete the internal organization of the British empire in Asia, and to establish it on a broader basis. With this view, as soon as the fate of Tippoo Sultaun and his family was decided, he made a vice-regal progress through the upper provinces, visiting the native princes with a pomp equal to their own, redressing grievances, conciliating enemies, and winning over friends to his system. His love of state and parade, which might have been out of place in modern Europe, was imposing and advantageous to him and his country among

* Rev. T. R. Malthus. Statement respecting the East India College, &c. Marquess Wellesley, Minute relative to the College of Fort William.

* The East India College at Haileybury. In the first instance the College of Fort William was suspended altogether; but it was subsequently continued on a reduced scale, being confined to a mere seminary for the instruction of the Bengal civil servants in the Oriental languages appropriate to that presidency. At later periods similar establishments, but upon a still narrower scale, have been formed at Madras and Bombay.